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PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN, M.A., D.D., Ph.D.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1927

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

We have met together to-day, to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest sons of Bengal. We read of mortals who receive gifts from the gods at their birth but in the case of the late Sir Asutosh, Mother Bengal opened her treasury and gave to him her best. She gave to his brains the fertility of her own soil, to his soul the ardour of her noon-day sun, to his heart the gentleness of her soft southern breeze, and to his mind the loftiness and calm strength of the great Himalayas. And as he grew up we can imagine the mind of Sir Asutosh acquiring its vast expansiveness, its power to dream, its clarity from the subtle influence of the illimitable plains of Bengal dreaming in the noon-day hush or stretching forth each object distinctly outlined by the clear pure rays of the moon. His nature showed the same luxury of growth as the soil of Bengal, and if a few rank and wanton weeds crept in, it was only the excess of a too generous nature and perhaps it is these very weeds that made him so lovable and human and endeared him to many.

Thus from the very beginning Bengal marked him out as her own, and is it not because he was so truly a Bengali that his name evokes an answering echo in every Bengali heart? I do not, however, indicate that Sir Asutosh was less of an Indian and a cosmopolitan because he was so truly a Bengali. On the contrary he was a better representative of both the former because he was so good a representative of the latter and to

the end of his days Sir Asutosh laboured in the cause of the mother who had given him so much. It is true Sir Asutosh's way of serving her was not the common way, Sir Asutosh would not have been Sir Asutosh if it had been so—but it was none the less effective, for who can deny that he was one of the great forces of Bengal of the present day, and will not his name go down to history as one of our great nation builders.

There has been much speculation of what would have happened had Sir Asutosh with his great force of character, his executive ability, his constructive genius and political acumen led Bengal in its fight for national freedom. Perhaps he would have been more popular had he done so. But when a man of his clarity of vision and dauntless courage, deliberately chooses another sphere for his activities, he does not do so unless he considers the object worthy of his effort. We are too apt to condemn those who keep aloof from the whirlpool of politics as selfish and unpatriotic. There are many who would even have our poet Rabindranath wear a loincloth and enter the political arena, not seeing that it would be just as mad to try and harness a beautiful singing bird to the plough. A subject race is bound to be politics-ridden, but even a subject race cannot live by politics alone—nay, political nationalism is bound to suffer if the spiritual and cultural background is neglected. And Sir Asutosh was (as Rabindranath is in a different way) a moulder of this spiritual background, an exponent of, and a combatant in, the cause of cultural nationalism. Just as Rabindranath, the wizard poet of Bengal, with his magic wand of words and tunes, is forging a golden chain of poesy and song which is binding us ever closer to our dear motherland, so Sir Asutosh with his iron will, his great courage, stood stemming the tide of Westernisation and narrow officialdom in our University where the mental background of the youth of Bengal is fashioned, and broadened its foundations to include almost the whole of our middle-class population. It was Sir Asutosh's aim to popularise education by offering higher

education as a bait to an increasingly larger number of students. Whether this did indeed lower the standard of University education is a point hotly debated. My own personal opinion is that the whole educational tradition was so bad that increasing the number of passes was immaterial. Education from the very start has in our country been prostituted to clerk-manufacturing purposes, and unless the attitude of both the educational authorities and the public changes it will be impossible to improve the standard of higher education. The number of failures in the Madras University is phenomenal but are the applicants for the clerical and legal professions any less, or is there any difference in the cultural level of a Madras and Bengal graduate ? Again the number of failures in British Universities is exceedingly small and the percentage of people getting higher education in America exceedingly high, yet the cultural level in both countries is maintained. Thus we see that the arguments of Sir Asutosh's opponents are not very deep.

In Sir Asutosh Bengal got the rare combination of a dreamer and a man of action. Nature must indeed have been in a happy mood when she formed him, for she seems to take a curious delight in making the Don Quixotes of this world tilt against windmills and the Sancho Panzas blunder through the world without once so much as viewing the ideal. But Sir Asutosh could dream his dreams and yet cope with all the difficulties of giving practical shape to his dreams. Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen tells us, how though it was one of his most cherished desires, he would not hear of introducing Bengali for the M.A. till he had first encouraged scientific research on the subject, which had resulted in histories of the language and literature, philological works, etc.

A great mind invests all it touches with something of its own greatness. It was Sir Asutosh's forceful mind and ardent nationalism which made University politics a great national issue. When his mighty voice gave utterance to his great speech ending with the famous dictum, "Freedom First, Freedom Second,

Freedom always," was not Bengal thrilled to the core? The retention of the Post-Graduate classes, their freedom from bureaucratic control, became a point of national honour, which had to be defended at all costs. Again if it is the national leaders who first gave Bengali a *status quo* in public life, if it is Rabindranath who gave it a *status quo* in the literature of the world, it is Sir Asutosh and Sir Asutosh alone to whom belongs the honour of giving it a *status quo* in the academic world.

If then we ask why it was that Sir Asutosh's nationalism was bounded by the University, the answer is that it was his sincere belief that if Freedom was to be won the movement must start and be guided by the intellectuals of the country. It was only in the Universities that this training could be given. The University must, therefore, become a national institution free from the iron grip of the bureaucracy. That he was not far wrong the history both of the French and the Russian revolutions shows us. It was in the Universities of Russia that Bolshevism was first dreamed of and it was Russian students and not serfs who were the first martyrs.

It would need a big volume to sum up all the gifts and accomplishments of so richly endowed a nature. I shall, therefore, end with a quotation from Rabindranath who in his usual manner touches the very springs of Sir Asutosh's accomplishments :

"Asutosh touched the Calcutta University with the magic wand of his creative will in order to transform it into a living organism, belonging to the life of the Bengali people. This was his gift to his country, but it is a gift of endeavour, of *Tapasya*, which will reach its fulfilment only if we know how to accept it."

I appeal to the youth of Bengal for whose uplift Sir Asutosh spent his best energies, whom he loved with all the strength of his great heart, to live up to his high ideal of them. If we would indeed pay tribute to his memory let us form our character and work with single-handed concentration for the uplift of our

country, each in our humble sphere. Sir Asutosh has shown us that political nationalism is not enough. If Bengal is to be free, if India is to be free, nationalism must invade every nook and cranny of our life. Whatever we do, whatever we think, whatever we feel, the national urge must be behind it, and above all, let us cast off all obsequiousness and fear, and walk with head erect to our goal. Remember Sir Asutosh's appeal to the Senators had a nation-wide appeal. With him I say to you—Forget the Government of Bengal, Forget the Government of India, Do your duty as children of India—Freedom First, Freedom Second, Freedom Always.¹

LATIKA BASU

¹ Read at the Calcutta University Institute, May 25, 1927.

POËMS EGYPTIAN

*In Egypt's golden sands sleep countless lovers,
 Whose hearts are urns where human love reposes ;
 But when two love as we, a heart uncloses
 And springs to life anew in living roses,
 And frees the spirit that above them hovers.*

INVOCATION TO OLD EGYPT.

Thee I invoke, Oh Egypt !
 Fadeless, eternal bride of Father Nile,
 Whose secrets lie beneath the subtle smile
 Of the great Sphinx, that symbolizes thee,
 Thy crouchant, hidden strength, thy full breast free,
 Upheld to all who go to thee in need,
 Upon thy ancient wisdom there to feed.
 Beneath the moon thy ghostly pageants glide :
 The Bedouins, who phantom horses ride ;
 The caravans, with camels' swinging stride ;
 The laughter of the dusky Arab bride ;
 The sweep of strings, the tom-toms' ceaseless beat,
 The cries of life and dance of rhythmic feet :
 The mighty hosts of kings, and lovers dead ;
 The march of stars by veiled Isis led ;
 The dark hours filled with sleep and mystery—
 All, all are open secrets unto thee !
 Oh, lean, brown mother of the Orient,
 I seek thee 'neath thy blue, high-vaulted tent—
 Thee, I invoke, Oh Egypt !

THE CARAVAN.

Across the desert's yellow dunes,
In clouds of dust, transmuted into gold,
The caravan slow wends its way,
Toward where the sun-set spread its flaming fold.
The camel bells, the creaking loads,
The sing-song cries of drivers, tired and spent,
The neigh of horses, bark of dogs,
That vasty space of silence rent.
Then camp was struck, and black tents spread
With magic swiftness in the ambient air.
The tethered stock glad nosed their food,
While clearly rang the Moslem call to prayer.
In camp-fire's glow, against the night,
There camp the twang of string and tom-tom's beat ;
And slender Arab girl away—
With waving arms, and lithe and twinkling feet.
Then, like a sword from scabbard drawn,
Her lover leapt from out the fringing shade,
While in delight the watchers gazed
Upon the rhythmic picture that they made.
Across her worn and wrinkled face
The Desert drew a grey and purple veil,
Through which she looked as Isis fair,
As came the moon with spread and silvered sail.
Then peace and quiet, and the stars—
That seemed white flowers from Night's hands to fall :
The Desert's brooding spirit stooped
With gift of dreams,—and Allah watched o'er all.

LOVE SONGS OF EGYPT

[*Scene*.—Moonlight on the banks of the Nile. *Time*.—When the gods held sway.
Characters.—A man and a woman (*lovers*.)]

He Sings :

Flower o' the Scented Dusk.

Flower o' the scented dusk.

Oh, unbound hair, night-strewn with sens'ous musk !

Oh, jasmine hands and henna-tinted feet,

Thou art so wonderful, thou art so sweet !

Flower o' the scented dusk.

Afar the ibis calls unto his mate

Where flows the sacred Nile, as old as Fate,

And lotus-lilies fold their cups to dream

Upon the breast of the soft crooning stream.

I am a harp, low-lying at thy feet—

Oh, pluck my cords and call forth music, Sweet !

I'll sing, and all my rhapsody shall be

Vibrant with love and ecstasy of thee !

I'll sing thine eyes of lapis lazuli,

I'll sing thy lips, that men might kiss then die,

I'll sing thy breast, like hills of lilies sweet,

I'll sing thy hands and henna-tinted feet,

Thy unbound hair, night-strewn with sens'ous musk,

I'll sing thy soul, Flower o' the scented dusk,

Flower o' the scented dusk !

She sings.

So still the Night.

So still the night, only afar

An ancient, high-priest crocodile,

Beneath his own propitious star, •

Prays to his god, great father Nile

So still, we hear the river croon
 To dreaming lilies on its breast :
 And 'neath the white enchantress Moon,
 All nature seems to sink to rest.

Now is the hour when gods are near :
 The silver fringe of Isis' veils
 Makes music that our senses hear
 As o'er the earth it softly trails.

So still the night—I hear thy heart
 Beat out in rhythm all its plea;
 Mine own seems but the muted part
 That soft responds to love and thee !

Thou art my harp? I'll pluck thy strings
 And draw forth melody divine,
 While vibrant all my being sings
 In answer clear, Oh, Heart of mine !

He Sings.

Love Me, else I'll die.

My heart has lighted a white flame
 Upon its sacred inner-shrine—
 Ah, love of mine, sweet love of mine—
 And there inscribed is thy dear name ;
 Thou art divine, all, all divine !

Thy brow is like a flower in bloom,
 Thine eyes are sparkles of gold wine
 Pressed from god Horus' sacred vine.
 My soul is steeped in thy perfume,
 Ah, love of mine, sweet love of mine !

All swooning at thy sandalled feet
 Like shattered rose my senses lie,
 Responsive to thy faintest sigh.

The breath of thy red lips is sweet—
 Ah, love me, love me, else I'll die!

Beloved, thou didst dawn on me
 Like Isis, shining o'er the sky,
 Enwrapped in charms and mystery :
 Stripped bare is all my soul to thee—
 Ah, love me, love me, else I'll die!

She Sings.

Thou art the Sun,

Thou art the Sun arisen on my life!
 As on the placid stream my heart-bud lay,
 Sleeping, dreaming, awaiting thy bright ray,
 Thou, thou didst wake me with thy burning kiss,
 Transmuting dreams into radiant bliss :
 Thou art Osiris, shining o'er my life!

Thou art the Moon arisen in my sky,
 Serenely shining through the darkened night,
 Tinging the earth with beauty by thy light.
 Thou, thou, thou, art both Sun and Moon to me,
 To thrill my soul with wondrous ecstasy.
 Osiris thou, and Isis both in one,
All hail to the Moon! All hail to the Sun!

TERESA STRICKLAND

SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN BENGAL DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The cry "Back to the Village" is expected to be much accentuated during the regime of the present Viceroy who prides himself as an agriculturist and whose declared policy has been to improve agriculture in India for which purpose he has already taken a practical step by the inauguration of the Linlithgo Commission.

In its origin in Bengal the cry was sponsored by a section of the Bengalee publicists who, in season and out of season, dinned into the ears of their readers the sin of deserting their villages and the romance of the golden days of the village life of their forefathers. Recently Mr. G. S. Datta, I.C.S., has become the official exponent of the cry, the Swarajists have made it as one of the main planks of their political platform; and Captain Petavel of the "unemployment" fame has given his dictum that "Back to the Village" is the only panacea of all economic evils to the Bhadrals of the presidency.

But any actual effort towards village-reconstruction in Bengal must be preceded by a diagnostic study of the cause of its decline as well as its present-day problems.

It is needless to say that the problems of rural Bengal are definite enough—Sanitation, Education and Economic Welfare; and that they are not much different from those of the other parts of India, except perhaps in one respect, that of sanitation.

The Presidency itself by nature was never so healthy as many other parts of India. Marshy, water-logged, damp and jungly Bengal has ever been a cause of enervation and disease to its inhabitants who were, even in their earlier and healthier days, regarded as timid and weak by their brethren of Western India and who were surely smaller in stature and

less sturdy in physical capacity in comparison with the up-country Hindustanis or the southern Bargaris.

But nature always knows its own defect and keeps remedies at hand, and the annual wash—the inevitable flood—removing the dirt of the year and checking the miasma of the clogged water, prevented the possible outbreaks of diseases in the depressed areas, and was a veritable boon as an invigorating manure- tonic to the land relentlessly subjected to the production of crops of various kinds for providing the material necessities of one of the most densely populated tracts in the world (940 per mile). The high lands, such as in parts of Burdwan and Bankura, naturally healthier than the depressed areas subject to annual flood, were indirectly benefited from the effects of the flood over their sister-areas, by being kept free from the present-day contamination of the diseased people in those unfortunate neighbouring places.

But man's ambition went counter to nature's beneficence and during the latter half of the nineteenth century railway lines were opened to facilitate distant trade and communication, bunds were erected to preserve them from the havoc of the seasonal flood, a net-work of metalled and unmetalled roads was interwoven for the amenities of the village life and the development of the rural economy, and canals were dug for the irrigation to help agriculture. All these were undertaken with the most praiseworthy motive, social utility and national prosperity, but unfortunately in their legitimate eagerness and enthusiasm to carry out the planned programme and policy in the cause of public utility services, the innocently inexperienced administrators of the period did not and perhaps could not provide for necessary safeguards against the evils that were inseparable from their programme for progress; and thus thwarted nature was not propitiated by any suitable offerings. The consequence immediately was the deadly plague of malaria, and ever after, the decline of the Bengal villages in her human as well as land factor, the enervation of the local people,

the continuous emigration of the well-to-do classes, and the gradual loss of fertility to the soil.

Nature, thus enraged, still continues in her ruthless vengeance over her sinning victims, and is expected to continue till propitiated by suitable sacrifices, or till the Bengal villages become another Surdarbans.

The local people everywhere welcomed the programme ; and regarded the notorious bund of the Damodar (from the point of view of the sanitation of the localities) as a veritable boon from the Company saving them from the annual inroads of the flood which caused them insufferable distress and immense loss of wealth. The embankment protected the people of a vast area in their life and property ; and they acknowledged with grateful hearts that no longer their paddy in the granary, fish in the tank and mud wall in the compound were liable to annual destruction. It is true that the protection of the newly laid railway line was a very strong motive for taking care of this guard on the Damodar, but it cannot be denied that there was an earlier and more human motive, that is, the protection of the people in that quarter from the dire effects, on their life and property, of the flood which beside causing annual distress and loss, occasionally assumed an extremely terrible and ruinous aspect. That of 1823 (1230 B. S.) was still remembered in the early years of the 20th century by some old and personally stricken villagers, and its description can still be read with thrilling interest in the records of the Government ; and the last of the floods in this part of the Presidency, that of 1844, was not the least troublesome.

There was no more flood, thanks to that extraordinary and awe-inspiring people, the queen's officials, there was unexpected facility for communication, thanks to British ingenuity, thought the elated people of the Burdwan Division, at that golden age of the village when in respect of population, wealth or honour, part of this area, notably the newly organised Hughli district, became the cynosure of all eyes in Bengal. Indeed at

that time the people of this prosperous tract could boast of much, and many of the names that have shed lustre on the annals of Bengal—Raja Ram Mohan Ray, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dwarkanath Mitter, Bhudeb Chandra Mukherjee, belonged to the district, and most of them including the immortal Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the author of the Indian marseillaise were the students of the Hughli College. The railway lines, to protect which the embankment was specially cared for, made it possible for many of the employees in the Calcutta firms to pay monthly or even weekly visits to their families while the earlier generation of clerks had to remain uncomfortably separated from their families almost the whole year, with the consolation of the Puja holiday visits. Calcutta which was then a city of gold for the Bhadrolokas came to be near at home to many and the district headquarters which were to be frequently resorted to for securing the “Queen’s Justice” became easy of reach. Thus the bund and the railways were not only agents of economic welfare but also of social amenities in the rural life of the areas. Under the circumstances it is not strange that the value of landed property, everywhere in the railway zone or the bund-protected area, began to rise by leaps and bounds. It is no wonder that the simple village folk could not foresee their dire future from these sources of their immediate happiness and prosperity, and surely there was a sense in the appreciation by the public, of the newly introduced measures which were immediately followed by increase of population, prosperity and comfort in the rural areas.

But this elation of the simple village folk and their unique prosperity did not last long; and nature, fettered hands and feet by embankments and railways and raised metalled and mud roads, began her terrible retribution. Within 25 years of the opening of the railway lines the unprecedented prosperity of the land traversed by them was gone, decline began in the flourishing villages, and the desertion of them became a rule for

their well-to-do people. The nature and extent of this decline may be illustrated from the following census of two of the typical villages in the tract :

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Population before fever. 1860,</i>	<i>After fever, 1870</i>	<i>At present.</i>
1. Dwarbasini	2,743	784	850
2. Dhaniakhali	1,112	415	285

The tide of decline and desertion continues up to date ; and whoever can afford to live in town, is forsaking his village home ; and those of their unfortunate brethren who have no other alternative than to stick to their life in the village, are rapidly becoming a dying race. The census report is an eloquent proof of the decline of the population in parts of rural Bengal, but it is not eloquent enough regarding the extinction of the indigenous Bengalee people, as the population is being maintained by the Santals and other immigrants from the neighbouring tracts.

The above dismal picture is fortunately not true *in toto* for the whole of Bengal or for all the Bengalees, but it is typical for the malarious zone and it may reasonably be apprehended that with the spread of malaria which is rapidly conquering healthy places like Birbhoom and Bankura in West Bengal and like Barisal and Faridpur in East Bengal, the horrible history of the deserted villages of West Bengal will be repeated everywhere within a quarter of a century.

This is the history of a part of Bengal during the last tri-quarter century during which period she has been losing progressively in population and labour power, and in productivity of land. This is the etiology of the decline of the Bengal village, of the disappearance of her man-power, of the backwardness in industrial life, and of the fell disease which has become a constant accompaniment of her village life. This should partly explain why her finest people, the Bhadrals, have had to leave the comfortable rural homes of their ancestors for the dingy and overcrowded city-bustees.

Much can be gathered about the amenities of life in rural Bengal in its prosperous days from the pens of poets and songs of rustics ; and that felicitous brightness of the past becomes more vivid by contrast with the painful darkness of the present and the hopeless gloom of the future, as are now depicted by literary geniuses or sung by village swans in the tune of doleful dirge.

The Bengal village of yore was a happy home with plenty of food, vigorous health, sincere social amenities and inviting enjoyments of life ; and throughout the whole year of his business life the homesick sojourner in Calcutta longed with eager expectation for the advent of the Puja days when he would be again in his elements in the village in the blissful company of his family. As much as possible of what he earned in the city he tried to save to be spent or invested in the village for comfort, display or future provision. Thus tanks were excavated, gardens were laid, palaces and temples were built ; Pujas and ceremonies were performed thirteen times in twelve months, as they say, and people were fed in lavish style ; localised industries rose to the pride of perfection ; the supply of capital was ready to co-operate with labour in agriculture ; and land was scrupulously cared for and covetously longed for as the excellent receptacle of all incomes earned in the city, either with reference to fertility or property. The annual Puja exodus to the village as sung by Işwar Gupta gives a thrilling picture of the mind of the holiday pilgrims and incidentally describes the enjoyments of the village life. The path was long but the heart was strong, and difficulty of the communication was annihilated by the eagerness of the desire to be amongst one's own. Calcutta was decried and the village was extolled, and not a single discordant tune in the praise of the city of palaces marred the harmony of admiring songs to the village in the whole of the literature of the period. Thus when by the opening out of the first railway lines in Bengal, from Howrah to Raneegunge, the communication to the villages became easy, the Bhadrals

of the village blessed the days and the Queen's Government for it, then little knowing that the seeds of destruction of their village enjoyments were lying in what apparently was a means of increasing them.

The first part of the nineteenth century up to the opening of the railway lines may be regarded as the golden age of the villages of Bengal which continued for a few years more, when attention and wealth were bestowed upon rural areas by the officials as well as the public. The zamindars sought to distinguish themselves by opening out new roads and founding schools and dispensaries, and the officials encouraged them by the impetus of distinction and titles; and the origin of most of the village roads and village schools may be traced to the period. The germs of the roadcess and the local self-government in the rural Bengal were voluntarily sown in this period in 1830 (some 50 years before the realisation of the cess), by the members of the Dhaniakhali Road Committee in the Hughli district, who with convict-labour freely allowed by the Government, were engaged in constructing the Hughli-Bhastara Road, the want of which, according to a high official, "through (such) a thickly populated and fertile country had long been felt," which now wears the appearance of a deserted and declining area.

The next generation of poets and litterateurs, however, began to see the effects of the new order of things about the villages and little analysing the causes of the desertion of the village by the finest of her sons, began to put all blame upon those devoted heads who naturally forsook their village homes for more reasons than one. The literature of the period is prolific in satires and comical writings criticising the English-educated Bengalee gentlemen who were regarded by their elders to be perverse enough to prefer secluded and crowded town life to the airy and social village life. These elders regarded it to be the crowning immodesty for the husband to take the wife,—the

daughter-in-law of the family,—away from its bosom to the distant residence of his business life.

The elders instinctively felt that this revolution in the domestic system was a calamity to the family as well as the village, but their prejudiced eyes were blind to the fact that it was natural and inevitable under the new order of things.

But the taunts of the elders, the humours of the village wits and the satires of the Bengalee literature all alike fell before the tide of the western culture, new-born individualism, the changed circumstances of society and economic necessities. The duty to the joint family paled before the duty to one's own family for which the sense of responsibility developed in a new light along with the development of the idea of a new and higher standard of living and comfort. The patriotic instincts ceased to be parochial and began to be national; and the village was no longer the compass of ambition, distinction and service but the whole country, and it was regarded as much meritorious if not more, for a successful Bengalee gentleman to subscribe to the newly started national fund as to re-excavate a tank in his own village. The time-honoured practice of looking at the mother as the head of the inner world of the household slowly but steadily gave way to the Western idea that the wife was the mistress of her husband's house. The economic conditions so changed that the erstwhile joint families could not but become joint-messes or a sort of co-operative organisations with a great deal of individuality. The idea that the Calcutta streets are strewn with money only to be collected by an enterprising village young man, was strengthened by the hoards brought from that golden field after each sojourn of not only of an English-knowing gentleman but also of those who entered there into a grocer's business or barber's profession or in any other work like that; and a silent revolution in the economic organisation of the village society began to eat into the very vitality of the joint family system. No longer the contributions to the family fund from the different earners—those who

remained at home to look after the cultivation of the family farm or to conduct the established banking business of the family and those who went to town to earn money in service, were equal. The Calcutta Babu's earning; at least in cash, was much greater than that of his brother at home, and the idea of good living of the former as well as his tendency to individualism through his coming into contact with the westernised people in the city, was much different from that of the latter. The petty jealousies coming out from the natural rural economic consideration of unequal incomes gradually began to overshadow the sunny and peaceful atmosphere of the family life of the Bhadrakols in the villages. The evil appeared first in the insidious shape of reserved saving of a part of the earning of the Calcutta Babu, concealed from the family head, but soon after the delicate feeling was overcome and it was openly avowed that he would be glad to make only a fixed contribution to the family fund irrespective of the consideration of his increasing income. So long as the wife and children of the town-worker remained under his paternal roof in the village, the contribution continued on a rather liberal scale but afterwards in accordance with the calculated expenditure on the people particularly his own. But the day came very soon when the wife, and of course along with her the children, was taken away to the town residence in consonance with the newly developed idea of home comfort and conjugal duty; and along with her Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth) was gone, and the Sree (grace) of the village was lost, and the contribution to the family fund by her husband began to dwindle till it came to be mere occasional mites or ceremonial presents instead of a regular and dutiful instalment. Thus the joint family of the Bhadrakols began to decline during the latter half of the nineteenth century; and by this process the rural areas were shorn of the flower of that intelligentsia who have ever been the pride of Bengal and the source of its prosperity. Rural Bengal thus became solely the field for those who were less enterprising and

able, less in touch with the western civilisation which was doing splendid works in all the diverse departments in social life in the city, and less fit to assimilate the new ideas and practices without recourse to which no progress was possible in the nineteenth century. It is no wonder that the Bengal village began to decline like a pool of stagnant water filled with germs of disease and decay.

But the disruption of the joint family was not the only social cause for the decay of the village.

The land ceased to be the property of the villager, were he an actual cultivator or a capitalistic farmer supervising the cultivation of his own farm. The economic effects of this was the loss to the village of a growing source of income. No parts of the surplus produce of the land would benefit the village but go away for the uses of the absentee landlord; and as the surplus went on increasing with the development of communication, the landlord's rent-roll inflated, and progress in the social environment of Bengal meant increasing exploitation to the Bengal villages. But in its social effect the new land system was altogether disastrous. The revolutionary enactment of 1793, which deprived him of his immemorial right in his land, a rude shock to the helpless villager at the moment, began to develop as a veritable source of harassment and humiliation to the village gentleman. The haptams and the panchams with the warrants of distrains and distresses, began to make life intolerable for those who had been imbued with the idea of family pride and domineering dignity of leaders over the common folk for how many generations who knows. The Baniadi families of the village—the Brahmins, the Baidyas and the Kayesthas generally—had their peculiar pride and time-produced susceptibilities which began to receive rude shocks at the hands of the unscrupulous agents of the new zemindars whose forefathers mostly were but landless money-lenders or service-holders by profession in the towns; and the well-known cry was raised “Don't live in the

territory of a zemindar." Thus the family-pride as well as the immemorial leadership of the village-Bhadraloks received frequent rude shocks at the hands of the local agents of the newly created landlords—the gomasthas and the naibs who were very often of low or unknown origin, foreigner to the villages they came to work in, and unsympathetic to the traditions of respectable families in the villages. The administrative history of the period and the old records of the criminal as well as the civil courts if unearthed would surely show the distress and humiliation of the village Bhadralokas of the period. One couplet of poet Hem Chandra (the district of Hughli trembles before the might—"হুগলি জেলা কাঁপে দাপে") is expressive enough and the tale of Govinda Samanta by Rev. Lal Behari De has become a classic in Bengal. But nothing can be more eloquent than the unwritten tales of distress and humiliation and loss of long enjoyed family lands through the rising *patnidars* and the crimes committed during the struggle. A new order of things came over the simple and peaceful life in the village. No longer there the oldest respectable man in the village was the Patriarchal leader but the Patwar—the zemindar's agent—took his place. His chicanery and his master's tyranny began to eat into the vitals of the time-honoured village organisation. No longer the village was the self-contained unit, no longer were its affairs to be managed by the wisdom of its own panchayat and the sympathetic arbitration of its respected elders,—the Mandals and the Pradhans—but the zemindar's agent must be approached and his decision must be accepted under the autocratic sanction of the zemindar through his law agents and lathials. (Cf. Toynby regarding the Regulation V of 1812 for registering the *Nugdis* of the zemindars, also regarding the organisation of the village Police and its complete subordination to the zemindars.) Everywhere the intellectuals did not give up their rights and interests, enjoyment and prestige without struggle. The struggle was long, bitter and fierce and its history contains occasional triumphs of the villager, but mostly

pathetic tales of his ruin and ultimate meek submission to the new order of things in the rural areas, where the rule passed from the villagers themselves to the zemindar's agent, that is, the local democracy was supplanted by a far-away autocracy. Under such circumstances the self-respecting and capable section of the village Bhadralkas who could earn income for themselves and had not to depend upon the paternal farm in the village for the maintenance of their families began to forsake the rural areas to live the free life of towns where the Queen's justice prevailed in its fullest glory and where there was not the zemindar's gomastha with his chicanery and tyranny.

Thus the socio-economic cause already mentioned was strengthened in its effect by the administrative measure of 1793 to depopulate the village of its best men who might be compared with its brain.

The eyes of the administrators were however soon opened, not indeed to this aspect of the village life, but to another one—to the evils of the new system in respect to the ryots who lost their immemorial rights on land. The literature about land tenure of the period, the remarks of the judicial authorities in course of adjudication of cases that cropped up in multitude in the wake of the settlement of 1793 regarding property in lands, the tenure to it and settlement as well as payment of rent, were supplemented by the remarks about the oppression of the landlords in the village areas by the Magistrates responsible for the life and property of the British subjects. The situation no longer could be ignored and genuine and earnest efforts were made by the British rulers through legislation and otherwise to remedy the defects of the settlement and to give all legitimate protection to the people of the mufasil.

Perhaps it would be pertinent here to quote a few passages from an official document of the first quarter of the nineteenth century referring to the Hughli district :—

“ All the early records turn with allusions to the oppressions and exactions by the zemindars towards their ryots...every possible mode of

getting rid of them was adopted...remeasurement, resettlement and a so-called improvement by making a bund or water course. The last was, the Collector says, "the most galling evil the ryots to suffer...every time a putni was sold the purchaser enhanced the rents. Zemindars often created putni tenures on the ground that the leases granted by them to their ryots became thereby cancelled."

"...The illegal exactions of cesses on the occasions of marriages, festivals, Police visits were incessant though rents were already as high as they could be. Petitions poured in but the Collector was helpless and could only suggest...an act to make abwabs penal. The powers given...to zemindars to compel the attendance of the ryots at his Kuchari...were openly and flagrantly abused."

It is no wonder that the Bhadralkas of the village who were hit hard by the land system of 1793, not only in their pockets but in their self-respect, will raise the cry "Don't live in the *raj* of the zemindar," and that those of them who could live in towns more comfortably on incomes earned through various new avenues for employment there, should forsake their villages to enjoy the liberty, peace and amenities of the wonderful Pax Britannica.

This socio-economic cause for the desertion of the villages by the higher classes, was supplemented by what might be regarded as a purely economic one. About this time commenced the disestablishment of the factories for dealing in indigo, silk, cotton, etc., with which the whole rural tract of West Bengal was strewn by the East India Company at first, and by the European private merchant adventurers afterwards; and which were a ready source of employment to the soft-handed labourers of the mofussil. They attended the factories near about their homes and prospered through combining their monthly money incomes with what they got from their paternal lands under their personal supervision. After the decline and abolition of these mofussil factories, they had to go to distant Calcutta for employments, leaving those of their relatives at home who were less able and less educated. Then, as now, it was true that a Bhadralka could not flourish in life unless he earned ready

money in service or profession and he flourished well if he could combine his money income with the production in kind of his land. After the abolition of factories in the mofussil only one source of employment for soft-handed labour remained there and that was under the zemindars who wanted troops of patwars to discharge duties which could be efficiently done only by men of easy conscience and bullying character. Thus the village while deprived of its flower of population became the playground of the agents of the zemindar who are even now very meanly paid by their masters and eke out their paltry incomes by exploiting the timid and ignorant peasants through various abwabs and *parvanies*, and by acting as the agent provocateur of ruinous litigations among the unwary villagers. Every octogenarian resident of a village will admit that there was a time when all lands in the village belonged to the non-cultivating Bhadrakok classes round about whom veered the landless common people as labourers or bhagdars who were helped by their landed proprietors with capital and advance payments for production on land. Thus there was no dearth of capital in the cultivation of land, so loudly complained for now-a-days; neither there was paucity of intelligent supervision the want of which is regarded as a great desideratum in respect of turning to useful purpose the fullest potentiality of the fertile Bengal fields, and which is advocated to be supplied through agricultural education, the mania of the day.

The contributory economic cause to the decline of the village is the loss of its crafts and industries through the competitive inroads of the European and Indian factory articles, which left in the village no other source for livelihood but land and which caused a continuous drain of its surplus production to foreign lands or to distant Indian towns.

On the one hand the absentee landlords got all the surplus from land for their use far away from the village, and on the other hand the foreign manufacturer got the surplus from the labour of the villager. The land was pressed increasingly and

mercilessly for production but it got nothing back to restore its power. No longer the villager had any expectation of being benefited by the munificence of his zemindar whose ancestor excavated tanks for him, lent money to him and helped him in his distress with sympathy and medicine. All touch between the landlord and the cultivator was cut asunder by the new settlement and seldom if ever the villager could see his landlord in the village to approach him with his grievances.

Thus the village was incessantly bled white, surplus of its land going to the absentee zemindar to be spent monthly in his palaces, cars and nautch girls, and sometimes in schools and hospitals, it is true, but not in the village itself and the surplus of its labour going to distant destination to procure necessities or luxuries which formerly could be had in the village itself, or were never a temptation to the villager.

There was another reason which served as no less a potent cause for the decline of the rural Bengal and for the desertion of the village homes by those who could afford to live in towns. It was the fell epidemic to the malarial fever which visited some of the finest districts of the Presidency at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Flourishing villages and densely populated pergannahs were dismally desolated. The well-to-do people fled for their very lives and the scum of the society was left to die a rotten death in their paternal homes, uncared for during the last few hours of agony and unblessed with the last ceremony of their corporeal existence. Thus the death-stroke was given to the declining village by malaria, which must be regarded as the last and the most deadly cause of the ruin of rural Bengal not only through its intensively poisonous effect on the occasion of its sudden epidemic appearance but also through its cumulative effects over a period of four generations of Bengalee rural life.

Thus the causes of the decline of the rural Bengal may be summarised here as :—

I. The Economic revolution, which attracted the flower of

the rural population to Calcutta and other towns for prosperous living. This tendency was accentuated by the revolutionary land measure of 1793, which deprived the proprietors of land in the village of their immemorial rights on it ; and the inauguration of which deprived the village-Bhadraloks of their traditional status as the leaders of the folk there, and of their functions as the arbitrators in village disputes, as the patrons of the simple folk in their distress and danger, as their natural representatives and intermediary to the State ; which, in a word, removed the brain of the village, and left its body inert.

Then the leadership and patronage of village life as well as the duty of representation fell on the newly created absentee landlords whose agents of management of the affairs of their distant mahals, were mostly a set of unscrupulous amlas, ill educated, ill paid, and without much of a social status or tradition, and generally foreigner to the village, and so unsympathetic to its people. Thus, not the intelligent and self-made zemindar himself but his hireling firmly situated in the village as veritable pests became its leader.

II. The economic invasion of the western manufactures was the next cause that began to ruin the village. No longer it was a self-sufficient economic unit with its own weaver, blacksmith, oilman and other craftsmen. Cheap Manchester piece goods, foreign ploughheads and implements, adulterated mustard oil produced in factories in distant towns began to ruin the domestic industries of the village leaving only three sources of employment for the villager—agriculture, service and petty trade. A land hunger was created and land butchery went on remorselessly. Before this land hunger both custom and superstition went down, pastures were tilled, Bhagars were, as they say, broken, and the tracks were narrowed, and even a number of public roads of the Mahomedan period disappeared, of course immensely benefiting the zemindars whose rent roll swelled from 2 crores in 1793 to 12 crores in 1925. But all these devices would have been insufficient to appease the hunger

of the village folk but for the disappearance of the Bhadrak village cultivators from the field whose lands now became available for the labouring classes.

III. The social revolution due to the English Education in the wake of which the ideas of *laissez faire* and individual liberty, rationalism, intolerance of social restraints and customs, came in such a flood-tide on the young Bengal that particular merit was attached to drinking in company of the elders, to taking the prohibited beef and throwing the bones into the orthodox neighbouring houses, to cutting the *sikhas* and to keeping beards. This ridiculous effervescence in social life, no doubt, soon vanished, but the society ceased to be what it had been. The conception of family and duty towards it became different and the joint family system as well as the village household was broken.

IV. The insanitary conditions due to the obstructions to the natural drainage caused by the railways, raised roadways and embankments.

It is well-known that the fell malaria came in the wake of the first railway line that was laid in Bengal, and in the areas too which was traversed by the East Indian Railway line, from Howrah to Raniganj, to protect which the famous bund on the Damodar had to be maintained.

It may be noted here that as the circumstances of the different tracts of so wide an area as the Bengal Presidency are different, all the above causes of the decline of the villages may not be working everywhere and their attacks differ in vigour and virulence in different areas. Historically too the onsets were not synchronous. Thus the economic revolution regarding the change of employment—service holding—first worked most vigorously about Calcutta, the city of offices and factories. Its spread to Eastern Bengal was slow and gradual. The consequent social revolution of the disruption of the joint family, and the starting of the individual families in the places of service was long delayed by the conservatism of custom

among the people of Eastern Bengal who looked with peculiar aversion on the taking away of the daughter-in-law of the family by her husband in his abode in towns. Thus while the joint family in Western Bengal by this time has become a phoenix-like rarity, in Eastern Bengal many of them are still preserved, at least in semblance. Again the Bhadrалoks of Eastern Bengal are still not so landless as their compeers in West Bengal though gradually the old history is repeating itself there too. Through this process the gentry of the eastern districts following the examples of their brethren of the West who first got the light of civilisation have been going away from their ancestral homes for service in towns ; and their lands are either gradually slipping away from their ownership or being leased to actual cultivators, who are mostly Mahomedan labourers, in a flourishing condition. Thus here too gradually the brain of the village is becoming weaker and weaker but its body is perhaps not declining so rapidly as in the other parts of the Presidency, as the fell malaria is not doing its havoc so much in the naturally well drained area which is annually washed in the rainy seasons by water that finds its way in every nook and corner in the tract, and, in fact, keeps it submerged for a considerable period of time during the year.

Now we find that of the causes of decline of rural Bengal, (1) the economic revolution regarding employment of the Bhadrалoks leading to the desertion of their village homes and destruction of the joint families, (2) the socio-economic changes due to the land settlement of 1793 imparting additional momentum to the force of the first cause, (3) the purely social cause, which brought into the mind the idea of individual liberty and duty to the individual family, and that of Western comforts and living and which also accustomed them to the particular amenities of town life in the modern days of scientific inventions for facilitating human enjoyments, (4) the ruin of the indigenous handicrafts by the inroads of manufactured articles, and (5) the change in the character of the physical

environment—the local insanitation due to railways and embankments ; perhaps the last one is not working in East Bengal with so much force extensively as well as intensively, as in Western Bengal. The other causes are acting with the fullest vigour there, though they visited the area a little later, after almost completing their works in the more unfortunate part of the Presidency. Thus there seems to be still some life left in Eastern rurality and there the conditions of climate and habit are still more favourable than in West Bengal for the success of any movement for the rehabilitation of the village. In West Bengal all the causes are working with their fullest vigour and they have almost completed the ruin they had begun in the sixties of the last century; and so the task of rehabilitation there is much more difficult if not altogether hopeless.

The natural sequel to any diagnostic study of the etiology of the decline of rural Bengal, must be suggestion of remedies; and though the scope of the present discussion does not extend to that, a few words may be permitted towards the consideration.

It seems that most of the remedies applied up to date to ailing rural areas of Bengal, have failed to be effective for two reasons—insufficiency of doses, and inaccuracy in diagnosis.

Local application of palliatives—tanks and tube wells, subsidised medical practitioners, charitable dispensaries, anti-malarial societies and kala-azar centres, are no doubt good in their way, but they will not remove malaria neither they will rehabilitate the village with its brain-like cultured population without whose co-operation no organisation for improvement of the village can permanently flourish. Any outside impetus will spend itself up in no time unless sufficient response be forthcoming from inside. Thus men and money required for the improvement of the villages must mainly and perennially be found in them.

It is necessary, therefore, to look to the man power and the money power of the village before any attempt at organisation is made there. There may be found villages at convenient quarters where it is not yet completely denuded of its man power or where the monetary resources are not altogether wanting. Such villages—near about railway stations or by the sides of good metalled roads with the possibility of the motor-bus communication—may be taken in hand, so that the people living there may reach towns for their daily work. Organising sanitary and educational institutions in such villages is feasible, because good men may be available and money also flows into them from the outside centres. But in the case of most of the villages, organisation is not at all easy and any arm-chair attempt in that direction is sure to fail. There the problem is to go to the root and to boldly make programme for years and to pursue the policy of removing the causes that have led to their ruin.

It may be finally urged that those who cry “ Back to the village ” must know that to rehabilitate the rural area of Bengal two things would be necessary—to undertake to find out an enormous quantity of money for its sanitary improvement and facility for communication and other amenities of life, and to purge it of the baneful influence of the agent of the absentee landlords who far away from the eyes of their masters, not infrequently deliberately shut, lord over the solitude he surveys and does not rest till he drives out of his jurisdiction any champion of the simple villager or compel him to wink at his misdoings.

The money may be obtained by preventing the illegal exactions or abwabs which may be calculated to amount annually to 50 lacs of rupees, and by intercepting the unearned increment from land which means on an average about Rs. 10 lacs a year.

It can be calculated that on the mortgage of 50 lacs out of the 60 lacs most of which annually goes out of the pocket

of the village toiler in an illegal way, a capital loan of 10 crores can be raised, and the monetary problem for the rural reconstruction in Bengal can be solved forever and effectively.

But who knows when, if ever, the dream will be realised in the destiny of rural Bengal. Now if you go to the administrators of the land they admit the mistake of 1793 and the grievous injury done to the village but are embarrassed by the pledge of 1793; if you go to the political leaders they say hush, no question of class against class; and the zemindars assert that the land settlement of Bengal is sacrosanct. Well may a student of Indian Economics cry in despair in the pages of the *Modern Review*.

“The British Parliament.....can make fundamental changes at home and in India.....can abolish the House of Lords, alter the constitution of the Government of India, deprive an Indian prince of his hereditary throne; but only cannot modify or even discuss a particular land revenue system, admittedly introduced in unwise haste and suspected of cumulative injurious effects on the community in diverse ways! Private property in land is being growingly unpopular along with the progress of Democracy everywhere, only in Bengal no cry can be raised or should be listened to, against the Permanent Settlement!”

AKSHAYKUMAR SARKAR

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONTEST AND INDIA

England's internal situation—the rift caused by the Government's Trade Union Bills and the international situation—have forced the hands of the Tories to break relations with Russia, which has been in the air for the last three years. It is believed that Britain will receive support from the United States of America, Italy, Roumania and some other states. But neither can England carry on any active warfare against Russia, nor can her anti-Russian policy be a success, unless she can isolate Russia in world politics. In this Anglo-Russian conflict of to-day, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia are holding the key positions.

Traditional enmity between Russia and England has come to a new focus ; because Russia is undermining British supremacy in Asia—in the awakened Asia which is trying to become free and independent. So far Britain has met serious defeats in her contest with Soviet Russian diplomacy, which has played the game of attacking England not directly, but by supporting Asian states which stand between Russia and the British Empire. The victory of nationalist Turkey is a victory for Russia, organization of a strong Persian state free from British control is an asset towards Russian security, assertion of Afghan independence is a military as well as political victory for Russia against British efforts to control Afghanistan. Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan are bound to Russia by treaties of friendship and neutrality, pledging not to join Russia's enemies.

Russia signally defeated Britain in her China policy by supporting the Chinese nationalist cause. In fact Britain felt the pressure of isolation in China when France and Japan refused to adopt the British policy and took the stand of neutrality. America at first supported Britain in China, but now

both America and Britain have taken a very different stand. The main object of the Russian diplomacy in China has been nothing less than creating a condition in the Far East where nationalist China will become an important factor in the Balance of power, and Britain will not be able to use China against Russia or any other power. Whatever may develop in the Russo-Chinese relations of the future, the main purpose of Soviet Russian diplomacy in China is on the way to success. The new awakening of China, on the basis of *China for the Chinese* is bound to grow and it will bear fruit, which will not add to the permanency of British Imperialism in Asia. After these victories of Soviet diplomacy, British statesmen were exasperated and supported General Tchang Tso Lin to bring about a war between North China and Russia, through a raid in the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Russia refused to be stampeded into a war with China.

Russia has entered into European diplomacy, by participating in the World Economic Conference held in Geneva, under the auspices of the League of Nations. This dramatic gesture of Russia in Geneva has been regarded by all well-informed observers that she will participate in the discussions of the coming Disarmament Conference to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations ; and on that occasion she will take a stand with the French position, opposing British stand. This possibility is hated by British statesmen, because the Anglo-American stand on the disarmament question will not make the position of France so weak if Russia stands by France.

Russian diplomacy has again appeared in the Balkans, with her pre-war position. Italy has ratified the Roumanian annexation of Basarabia, and has taken a stand against Yugo-Slavia on the Albanian question. In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's declarations that Britain is not directly interested in the Albanian question, it is well-known that while Britain is supporting Italy in the Balkans, Yugo-Slavia is being supported by Russia as well as France ; and there is a strong rumour that

Yugo-Slavia is contemplating signing a treaty of friendship with Turkey. The most significant thing regarding the reappearance of Russian influence in the Balkans is that, during the recent conference of the Little Entente, held at Jochimsthal, Russian observers appeared on the scene and the Little Entente Powers adopted a resolution to the effect that every member is free to carry on its relations with Russia without supporting communism. This is a distinct gain for Russian diplomacy.

There is every indication that Russian diplomacy might play a very significant part in Europe. British statesmen seem to have the apprehension that Russia will follow the general policy of being in cordial terms with France and Germany in opposition to Great Britain. A success of Russian diplomacy in Europe may mean that Britain may have the support of Italy, but otherwise she will be isolated in Europe.

British statesmen are apprehensive of the audacity of the Russian moves in Asia and Europe and they do not know what to do to check further development of Russian success in international diplomacy, except to use all the influence they can command to adopt counter measures which might bring about isolation of Russia in world politics. British statesmen hope that by breaking off diplomatic relations with Russia, they will be able to bring pressure on other states to follow their initiative. They are frantic to devise means that they may receive support from other states against Russia. This can be seen from the recent efforts made to win France to British side, by the talk of assurance of the revival of the *Entente Cordiale* and the visit of the French President in London.

It is very doubtful that France, to please the British and American statesmen, will adopt any policy which will be regarded as definitely hostile to Russia. No French statesman, particularly M. Poincare, can overlook the fact that the British policy; since the conclusion of the World War, has been to ignore French interests and to promote Anglo-American-German understanding. French statesmen will not forget the way

France was treated at the Washington Conference by Anglo-American statesmen, by placing French naval strength to the minimum level with that of Italy. French statesmen know that Britain, in case of difficulty, looks upon Italian support in the Mediterranean, and she in return is pledged to support Italian policy ; this is not entirely agreeable to French interests. If France adopts a hostile attitude to Russia, the security of Poland, an ally of France, may be endangered, and there may arise closer understanding between Russia and Germany. To-day there is some prospect of an understanding between France and Russia regarding the settlement of Franco-Russian debts which may help France economically ; and any sign of French hostility to Russia may endanger this prospect. France has her own difficulties in Asia, Africa as well as in Europe and it is quite unlikely that France will borrow further trouble with Russia to please Anglo-American statesmen who discarded the Anglo-American-French alliance agreed upon, after the conclusion of the World War, as a measure of security to France.

The British statesmen and journalists who once took the leading part in carrying on despicable and lying anti-German propaganda all over the world and who did their best to deprive Germany of her colonies and to destroy the German navy and economic power are now begging Germany to side with Britain and to give up her cordial relations with Russia. This is being done through responsible journals which often speak for the Government. The notable instance is that Mr. Garvin, in a signed article published in the Observer of May 22nd pleads for German friendship in the following way :—

“The German question is the real key of Europe. In this country (England) the desire for a final reconciliation with the German people has been wide and deep for a number of years, and a similar statement would be as true of France of to-day. The response remains uncertain. Political conditions in the Reich are known. The majority of the German people are for peace, but broken up into parties as it is, that majority is not necessarily a sure dependence.

"By far the most vigorous single force is the Nationalist minority, which regards itself as having a natural right to rule. A vehement number of its adherents are Bourbons in modern Europe. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They maintain that all war guilt lies on the heads of the Allies. They tell their countrymen that the result of the war was a German glory only reversed by political treachery. Just like the blind Holstein-Bulow School before the war and like all the post-Bismarckian epigoni, they are victims of the Asiatic mirage and assume that the British Empire must perish somehow. Threatened empires like threatened men, live long, if they seek no quarrels, but are capable of defence of formidable fibre and resource. Herr Hergt, the Nationalist "loud speaker" in the present composite German Government, recently breathed on the Polish frontier sentiments which either meant war in due time or meant nothing.

"We are ourselves unchangeably for the early and complete evacuation of the Rhineland. But utterances like Herr Hergt's make French stiffness intelligible. Nor at present can a premature attempt to force the question of Colonial Mandates lead to anything but a deadlock and open or suppressed antagonisms. France and Britain would concede much indeed to a friendly majority of the German people capable of asserting its will to govern and its will to peace, but neither Britain nor France can be facile towards the militarist minority which regards every concession not as a gain for peace, but as a gain for strategy."

According to the *Munchener Zeitung* (Munich) of May 24th, a responsible British journalist who enjoys a great deal of confidence of the highest official circles of London and writes under the nom de plume of "Augur" has openly suggested that if Germany ceases to lean on the Eastern Powers, *i.e.* Russia and others, and adopts a pro-British and anti-Russian policy then the following things can be secured for Germany through British influence :—

1. Rhineland will be soon and quickly evacuated.
2. The disagreeable and humiliating clauses of the Versailles Treaty will be soon revised.
3. Limitation of German armament imposed on Germany be removed.
4. Dawes plan will be revised in favour of Germany and the feature of international control in collecting reparation be removed.
5. Allies will not oppose the union of Austria with Germany, and
6. Great Britain will use all her influence to solve the question of Polish corridor although it may be very difficult to solve it.

Every far-sighted German nationalist realizes that the recent development in Anglo-Russian enmity has created a new situation in world politics. In this progressive conflict Germany holds the key position in Europe, if not in the world. German nationalists are not anxious to accept the bribe offered by the British statesmen and make Russia Germany's eternal enemy. German nationalist argument should run as follows :—

In the present world situation, if the German statesmen fail to direct the ship of state in the most far-sighted manner, then Germany will not only fail to reap the advantage, but will be placed in the position of a semi-independent state, for some-time to come. It is needless to point out that Germany's fate to-day does not lie solely in the hands of the German people, on the contrary it largely depends upon the ever-changing international situation. It can never be too strongly emphasised to remind the German people and statesmen that if Germany could have secured an understanding with Russia which would have prevented the formation of the Triple Entente, then there would not have been a World War to crush Germany. If Russia remained neutral in a war against Germany, Germany would have come out victorious. The failure of German diplomacy of the past was directly responsible for Germany's defeat in the World War and the consequent economic and political bankruptcy of to-day.

It may be suggested that an Anglo-German Alliance might have averted a calamity. In 1902 when Germany was approached by Britain to become a party to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Germany had to stay away from such a combination, because it was definitely directed against Russia, with whom Germany had no quarrel. Later on an understanding with Britain could not be arrived at, because Britain wanted that Germany should give up her naval programme and colonial ambitions in Africa. To-day Germany is dispossessed of her colonies and navy ; she is no more an economic rival to Great Britain and so we notice the great solicitude of Great Britain

for the welfare of the German nation. Some opportunist German statesmen will possibly ask the German nation to throw in its lot with Great Britain against Russia. To them we have to say that at the time of the Crimean War, Prussia was approached to fight Russia, but Bismarck maintained German neutrality which secured Russian gratitude and friendship. Without this Russo-German friendship there could not have arisen the glorious German Empire. So far as we can see that Germany has no reason to adopt a hostile attitude towards Russia. Germany, following the spirit of neutrality treaty in existence between Russia and Germany, and in accordance with the spirit of Locarno, should remain neutral in the Anglo-Russian conflict. Germany wants peace with all nations and must not make other nations her enemy, just to please the Anglo-American statesmen..

It is now accepted by all that if Sir Edward Grey would have frankly informed the German Government about the existence of the British secret treaties and British determination to fight Germany in case of a war between Germany and Russia or Germany and France, there might not have been a world war. In the present crisis of Anglo-Russian relations, German Government owes it to the German people and the world at large to declare that it will remain neutral and will not participate in the contest between Britain and Russia. Indecision on this question may lead to final destruction of Germany. Certainly Germany wants to recover her full sovereignty and modify the disgraceful treaty of Versailles and wants to assert her national dignity, but she must not play the role of a British hireling to fight the Russians, to gain this end. Opportunism may bring temporary gain for the German nation, but ultimately it may lead her to destruction.

It is tremendously interesting that British statesmen are solicitous to secure Japanese support in China and the Far East against Russia. Mr. Garvin writes :—

“Here we come to our (British) relations with Japan. Nothing but

co-operation between the chief foreign Power¹ can restore peace in China, and ensure the progressive success of a reorganising regime. In that co-operation Japan must play an equal and indispensable part. There nothing effectual can be done without her or against her. Any notion to the contrary is pure delusion. The results of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, as maintained for twenty years, changed the political face of the earth, and revalued all values, as a Nietzschean might say. To denounce that Alliance became a necessity of Anglo-American good will. We regretted the necessity. We knew that the results in the Far East would be as disadvantageous to American interests as to our own. No possible good purpose was served. There never was the remotest possibility that the Anglo-Japanese combination, invaluable as a steadying influence in Asia, ever could be prejudicial in any way to the United States. Now our policy towards Japan is one of sincere friendship and respect. It rises to generous understanding of misunderstandings. It never swerves from recognition that the interests of the Empire of the Mikado in the Chinese question are interests of economic life and death. Both London and Tokyo must wait until Washington moves for real Chinese settlement as well as naval readjustment."

However it is not expected that the Japanese statesmen will adopt a policy of hostility to Russia. Japan in the past depended upon the Anglo-American support in world politics and even fought Russia, not only for Japan's interest, but to serve the cause of Anglo-American supremacy in World Politics. Japan fought the Central Powers to aid the Anglo-American powers, and the only profit Japan has secured from this policy is that after the elimination of German naval power Britain has started the great Singapore naval base and concentration of English and American navies in the Pacific which may some day endanger the very existence of Japan. The Japanese statesmen cannot forget that British journalists as well as naval experts like Mr. Bywater and others have been engaged all over the world to carry on anti-Japanese propaganda. The Japanese statesmen know it well that the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance did not come as a measure to please America, but as a definite result of the Imperial Conference which placed Japan as British rival in World Politics.

as in the Imperial Conference of 1907 Germany was picked out to be the future enemy of Great Britain. Japanese statesmen fully realise that the Washington Conference for reduction of armament was called to put a limit to Japanese naval power, and to find out ways and means which might lead to isolation of Japan in World Politics. It is to be noted that the Japanese statesmen and people cannot ignore the passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act by the United States and agitation by the United States that the South American and Central American states may follow her anti-Asian and anti-Japanese policy. Japan has been patient in finding a way out of possible isolation in world politics, and she is now on friendly terms with all nations and paying special attention in cultivating friendship with China and Russia, her neighbours, as well as France, Germany and others. By taking a hostile stand against Russia, Japan has nothing to gain and much to lose, by upsetting the balance of power in favour of Great Britain and America and against herself and other nations. If America and Great Britain have any quarrel with Russia, they must fight it out amongst themselves and Japan must remain neutral in this quarrel. Japan has learnt her lesson by the recent developments of world politics particularly from the attitude of America and England—after the World War.

In the existing world situation, Britain is seeking support from all quarters to aid her against Russia; and Britain is willing to pay reasonable price in the form of concessions to various powers. Indian statesmen should visualise the world situation and realise that Britain will call upon India to contribute and sacrifice a great deal in any contest between Russia and herself. The Moslem world may be with Russia and in that case the Indian Moslem may object to support Britain unless they are given special concessions in the field of the administration of India, and thus there is the apparent spirit of favouritism towards the Moslem minority of India. World is facing an international crisis and Britain will be seriously involved

in it, unless she is willing to pocket the Russian affront now. It is very doubtful that Russo-British conflict can be averted in the future ; and in that crisis, Britain will have to depend upon India for the very existence of the British Empire. British statesmen may well analyse for themselves, if it would be to the best interest of India to sacrifice her man power and economic interests just to serve Great Britain. It may be well for the Indian statesmen to inquire from the British statesmen, if they are willing to pay the price of Indian support in international politics. The least consideration that any self-respecting Indian statesmen can demand is that the humiliating conclusion of the last Imperial Conference, in which India has been placed as inferior to all the so-called white dominions, be wiped out by immediate granting of full dominion status to India. Are the Indian statesmen aware of the potentiality of securing this concession, if they are united enough to make an effective demand, through vigorous participation in world Politics ?

TARAKNATH DAS

REALITY AND RELATIVITY

[This is an essay on the part of the writer, meant to record some feeble strivings to serve the earnest seeker of truth with certain means of protection against the artificial dazzling glare of the modern cultural policy of the world, so that he might, through the help of this, have some glimpse of the almost vanishing "distant mountain hue" of some of the ancient attainments of the people of India. In these days, when a noble patriotic feeling for the love of one's own birth-right is riding high over every mind, it will not be idle perhaps to attempt to turn people's attention to his own much neglected "patrimony" of acroamatic acquisitions. Such an attempt at least may be expected to count as a positive help for a comparative study between the civilisations of the world, ancient and modern, with the view of knowing for certainty, as to whether the present world is progressing towards, or receding from, the direction of acquisition of true knowledge or real experience, which, it must be said, is an aspect of the *activity* of Supreme Experience, the ulterior Reality.]

The idea of Reality, as something existent (*Sat Vastu*), can be conceived, but It cannot be defined properly for human intelligence; although in fact this Reality is the essence and basis of apprehensions of everything existent, however minute it might be—of electrons and of ether even, both of which are more or less objects of supposition for ordinary men. Reality, in Its nature, is a formless substance; so It is supposed to pervade everywhere and penetrate every atom of materiality. Again although It has nothing of substantivity in It, yet it is Reality that manifests materiality. Thus the true nature of Reality is supposed to be Consciousness proper in the form of Supreme Experience, including awareness and sentiency. So that all our conceptions also owe their origin to this Reality. Our experiences, which happen, due to actions and reactions taking place between two portions of this Reality differently situated, are possible only because they react with the fullness

of Reality. The word "fullness" here is applicable qualitatively and not quantitatively to Reality; so that a point of Reality is as much a container of all Its contents as the "real whole" of Reality.

Accordingly, the origin of all our experiences is to be traced to the contents of Reality as Supreme Experience. It is thus Reality, which serves the purpose of a general solvent or absorbent for all other experiences. Just as chemistry tells us that all salts possessing water of crystallisation or having water-ions in their composition are liable to be dissolved in water, so, since all our empirical experiences are conceived to have derived their experience-ions from substances that go to build or synthesize into Supreme Experience, on dissolution they are absorbed into this Reality. Our Indian way of expressing this fact is that the salt in solution assumes the same essential liquid form as water; and this is called *Samarasākāra*. This is equivalent to saying that all elements to form any empirical experience are already potentially present in Supreme Experience, while in its inactive state: and that unless any activity arises in Reality, no manifestation for experience is possible. This is why Mr. J. E. Turner in his work called "Personality and Reality" has conceived that the attributes of active Reality are "complexity, plasticity and activity." The only explanation of such a state of affairs, according to our Shāstra, is that *Srishti* or evolution of Reality is beginningless. So that inactive Supreme Experience is always beyond ordinary human apprehension so to say.

It is rather a mistaken notion to attempt to synthesize and arrive at Reality through the functions of mind alone; because mind in its functional aspect occupies a much lower level in the role of evolution of Reality, which is accordingly called *Amanah* or without the instrument of mind (*Antahkarana*). Besides mind is always active, whereas Reality in the beginning of evolution is conveniently conceived, to suit our understanding, to have started from a completely inactive state. Of course

mind is a particular mode of active Reality or Supreme Experience. But mind rests in the Self, which is an unit manifestation of the flux of Selfhood—the prime phase of manifestation of active Reality. Thus the Self is a fusion into a single centre of activity or cosmic process of functions, such as—imagination, memory, thought, volition, etc., since the Self is always the subjective aspect in active Reality.

The eternal primordial Reality, of course not in Its absolute inactive aspect, may be called in the language of relativity the universal coherence or continuum, which is nothing else but Cosmic Consciousness. Thus Reality, called *Chit* or Consciousness in the Agamic language, is conceived to consist purely of Experience in its wholeness and fullness in the form of inactive Supreme Experience. While by Its evolutions are produced certain resultant delimitations or dimensionalisation in It caused by the instrumentality of *Mâyā* through Her powers of “superposition” (*Āvaranī*) and “stultifications” (*Vikshepa*), that causes the apprehension of all empirical experiences.

As the result of the activities of these powers of *Mâyā*, the process of delimitation grew out of the self-movement of Reality, which ultimately veiled the Supreme Experience; and the creation appears quite in a different light from reality, and tends more and more towards artificiality. Mind and Matter arose thus as *Vrittis* or modes of Consciousness or Supreme Experience, which appears as the Unchanging basis of all empirical experiences of living beings. So that it is to be remembered always that *Jīva* or embodied souls evolve, body and soul, out of and as forming parts of this Reality, although they are eternally engaged in apprehending the artificiality of the phenomenal world only. From this, accordingly, we may deduce that all empirical experiences merely carry us further and further from the actual centre of true Knowledge. It is no doubt a settled point now-a-days that the phenomenal world including our own selves owe their origin and existence, as they stand, to some sort of movement happening in the cosmic

continuum, which surely is an evolute of the Absolute Reality. So there is no escape out of this motional sphere so long as the manifested world exists. And under the circumstance, the only convenient motion, to help one to apprehend the real truth, would be to have a circular translatory motion round the central point of awakened Supreme Experience, with the least variable radial distance from such centre. Such an aim of course is attainable *by keeping the face always turned towards this central point*, like the status of a dead satellite round a planet; *i.e.*, by always thinking of and comparing with the source.

From this source we derive our idea of Reality in our sense, and say that It is a subtle psychical medium homogeneously pervading everywhere. This sole Reality has cognising power, since It is Consciousness Itself called *Chit-svarūpa*, and It becomes cognoscible in evolution for the same reason. Any movement taking place in this medium would be psychical in nature; but for our better understanding we may describe it in the mechanical sense nevertheless. In this homogeneous medium no sort of locomotion is possible unless heterogeneity is first created therein by the Will of the One to become many. At first this Will is supposed to generate whirling motions within the body of the medium, whereby the centres of the whirls became condensed, and consequently their surrounding areas comparatively rarefied. Of course by locomotion here is meant—locomotion of the effect of condensation of Consciousness, in the mechanical sense, resembling the conception of electromagnetic fields being carried by Ether in accordance with the theory of relativity. These condensed points in the motional medium of the psychical presence assumed the form of a flux of Selfhood called *Asmitā* or “I-ness,” the subjective aspect. Accordingly the not-“I” portions of *Chit* became *Idam* or “This,” or that which appeared as other than “I.” This is the first differentiation in the form of a subjectivation-objectivation process taking place in Consciousness. But what is Consciousness—It has been translated as Supreme Experience; because this Consciousness

is both the material cause and the instrumental cause of all our experiences. Accordingly we say that our experiences are due to the knowing of the like by the like.

We have already noted that Consciousness or *Chit* is a psychical principle, so that Its movements are always to be considered from psychical as well as mechanical aspects. Supreme Experience may be defined as a diffused collectivity of all sorts of experiences, that for the purpose of evolution first gets condensed into cognising centres. This central or punctualised, condensed and cognising aspect lasts up to the time of final dissolution of such evolution or manifestation, *i.e.*, until the happening of a coalescence of the subject with its objects. The latter term surely implies apprehensions of objects by a subject consciousness. So that evolution practically signifies manifestation of Consciousness or Reality to Its condensed and subjectified aspect. But what does establish the connection between the subject and this manifestation—it is some sort of potency called *Shakti* inherent in the subject, which is technically known as *Yoginī*. How this *Yogini* causes variations in experience will be explained later on while proceeding with the exposition of the process as understood by the Indian psychology.

Through the comparative study of the civilisations of the world in the light of Reality, one may expect to be able to realise some day the true worth of the acroamatic acquisitions of the ancient Indians. In this study, however, it is not safe and wise to be led by any jealous opinion of people, who we daresay can never be supposed to have direct realisation of the truth of any metaphysical and spiritual fact required for properly appreciating the activity of Reality, for want of competency, as enjoined by the ancient Indian system of culture in that behalf. In connection with this, it should be borne in mind that without *Sādhana*, metaphysical and spiritual facts are seldom apprehended in their true light by the help of intellect or *Buddhi* alone. So in matters metaphysical and spiritual it is always prudent to be guided by the sayings of

personages who had direct realisation of them through *Sādhana*. This question of competency called *Bhūmikā-bheda* has been eminently discussed by Bhāskararāya in the commencement of his "Setu-Bandha," a commentary on the "Vāmakeshvara Tantra." This has been made accessible to English readers by Sir John Woodroffe in his contribution under the head "Conflict of Shāstras." The gist whereof is that the different branches of knowledge, that go to build up complete knowledge, are eligible only in accordance with the competencies acquired by the aspiring seekers respectively ; and not otherwise. Surely competency requires purification of mind first.

The modern so-called advancement of the world, whose only cry is cry for gold for indulging in luxury, bristles with the tempting glow of materialistic principles, and has cast the spiritual side into complete shadow. So much so, that one must proceed very cautiously to discern the "distant mountain hue," properly shielding his eyes from the glare of material gold. No body can deny that by a materialistic survey pure and simple of the universe one becomes liable to lose sight of Eternity, which really lies beyond the limits of objective time altogether. The physical materialist thinks that this world is all, and there is no past nor future beyond the present. Naturally enough to such a limited thinker the idea of this Reality is absolutely incomprehensible. He cannot conceive that it is quite possible to have a timeless moment in future, when past, present and future will all coalesce to form one Existence, which, in Its ultimate homogeneity will be beyond four-dimensionality even. Perhaps the scientist will not hesitate to admit that the soul is indestructible. But to where does this indestructibility lead? Surely to a sort of coalesced or undifferentiated Existence or Beingness (*Sattā*), leading towards an ultimate Absolute stage. This undifferentiated state is named by the Indian *Kālavādins* as *Mahākāla*, the root cause of evolution and the destination of involution of the universe. This *Mahākāla* is an aspect of Consciousness or Supreme Experience, the ultimate Reality, vitalised by a mere

generic introspective activity. Due to the effect of activity or motion that arises in Consciousness to cause the evolution of the universe to set in, It at first assumed a subjectified-objectified aspect of differentiation in One ; and the relation between these aspective evolutions, ultimately when the subjectified and the objectified aspects separated from each other, induced a perception of time-order in the already subjectified Supreme Experience, that resulted in the experience based on *Kālatattva*, as we shall see later on.

The above consideration leads us to think of the question of evolution of Reality as conceived by the Indian *Shāstras*, which say that creation commenced with a motion (*Spandana*), that ultimately resulted in locomotions taking place within the body of Reality. But the effects of *Spandana* created whirling motions at first in the homogeneous medium, which ultimately opened out into locomotions, like the uncoiling of a coiled spring. But as often as the spring was let alone, the coiled aspect returned and the psychical centre resumed its original introspective habit. Accordingly the notion of a mechanistic locomotion forming the first objective presentation to its subjective centre of a psychical presence in a motional sphere was the inception of the idea of Space, which appeared as a presentation called *Tatātva*. But this presentation on being identified with the subjectified centre or the perceiving Self, due to resumption of introspective attitude, became subjectified and assumed the form of a subjectified psychical experience of a gliding motion of Self over the presentation already presented ; thus creating a sensation of time-order. The Self must have been the first limited psychical experience of centralised or punctualised Supreme Experience as a “ self-feeling ” or *Asmitā* in the form of the apprehension of the existence of Self ; and the above subjectified experience became the inception of the intuition of Time and is technically called *Santatātva*. Thus space is defined by motion but time is the result of subjectivation of the first objective presentation, both which sensations,

when felt as simultaneous events, will create a four-dimensional experience, and otherwise the empirical experiences of daily life by veiling the Supreme Experience.

It is through the help of these notions of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva*, that we generally proceed to imagine that the phenomenal universe is being constantly conveyed towards Eternity; since the notions of space and of time, thus first created, arose as the effects of a psychical locomotion, but Eternity is the idea of cessation of all such motions; yet it is not a motionless state. Now what is this Eternity—can it possibly be conceived to be an experience of dead-rest? It cannot be, for in that case its very conception by human intellect would be an impossibility; since all human conceptions originate out of motion only in the substance conceived. Eternity leads to the introspective stage of Reality in Dissolution at first and then to the theory of cycle (*Kalpa*) in creation, which is admitted more or less by everybody. As has been said above, *Kāla* is a *Tattva* or phase of evolving Consciousness, and *Tattvas* are experiences arising out of a combination of apprehensions of motional or mechanistic and psychical aspects of movements of Consciousness or *Chit*, resulting in the experiences of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* respectively; so *Mahākāla*, the embryonic container of the potentialities of the intuitions of space and of time, can never possibly be a dead-rest, since it will manifest again as a conscious psychical presence.

With the hope of warning busy readers, it might be said, that a cursory perusal of the subjects in hand might mislead such readers, in forming a notion altogether wrong concerning them; accordingly these are not to be treated in the light of an after-dinner amusement on the easy chair. The Indian readers specially, who are imbued in imitating Western ideas in every item of their life, and so are wanting in originality more or less, are sure first to fall easy victims to such a misconception. From the time perhaps the latter had begun learning the spelling of words, they never in their life saw an opportunity to

care for knowing the worth of their own "patrimony" of knowledge. On the other hand they have been trained in such a way as to believe beyond doubt, that as far as knowledge is concerned, whatever has not come from the West is not worth knowing. And no wonder: for they never were in possession of, nor ever sought of their own accord to possess, their inheritance. Thus it is not at all a matter of surprise to hear such hasty and ill-equipped readers saying that perhaps in these pages a futile attempt has been directed to reconcile some of the ancient rusty principles of Indian philosophy with the machine-polished theories of modern science and philosophy of the Western *Gurus*. But a careful perusal of these pages is expected, however, to convince such readers, that these Western *Gurus* have up to now not been able to make any real progress in the direction of knowledge of the Absolute and so of *Jnana*, to come within hailing distance of the attainments of Indian hoary sages of pre-historic ages. What the former are still labouring at in this direction are things of past achievements in the East, already discovered centuries ago.

The same grand principle, which the modern western mind is striving to achieve through the theory of relativity, was in essence realised and excelled long ago by the sages of this sacred land: so, notwithstanding the fact that they used to live in search of Truth in secluded forests by way of retirement from the world and upon fruits and roots spontaneously grown there, they should not be supposed to have lived in vain and remained completely innocent of the knowledge of briskness so essential for the maintenance of the modern busy world. Of course in one sense it may be, that they were probably more fortunate in finding the world less artificial than what it is at present; but that is only a guess.

Thus, knowledge in its absolute sense is the Knowledge of the Absolute, the Reality, the Unchangeable, in Its active aspect. But the activities in the physical world—not to consider the psychical world at all, as in the case of heavenly

bodies in the universe as also the electrons composing the material bodies—generate such a complexity of motions in a motional but physical sphere, that it becomes next to impossibility for a cognising being to analyse truly any such motion, unless a body of reference, thought of to be in rest in comparison with the moving bodies, be assigned to for the purpose. The velocities of these motions are the true elements to generate the idea of motion in the mind of the observer. But the velocity of such a mind is something beyond all comprehension as a psychical activity ; whereas the motions of material bodies in the universe are presentations merely of mechanical motions of objective material bodies. Accordingly the relativity theory refers to the position on earth of the observer in every calculation, making allowance for the motion of the earth and the velocity of light. So that all notions of presentations arising in a motional sphere are due to relativity of individual motions happening therein. This relativity is ascertained by referring to a body of reference, which is conceived to be at rest during a trice of a moment in its motional career. This brings home to us the idea of time as co-operating with the idea of space in the true ascertainment of any motional aspect of a moving body in the physical world. But for this consideration the value of time should be taken as low and instantaneous as is possible, but the effect of the motion should be felt as wide-spread as is possible. Thus we are led to fall back on the velocity of light as the highest velocity known to us. From this it is easy to find, that when the value of time is zero and that of space is infinity the effect of motion becomes ubiquitous—an idea that ends to establish the omnipresence of God.

Up to now we were discussing of objective time, as known to science, *i.e.*, time perceived as an objective presentation to a cognising subject. This principle is applicable in the physical world ; but in the psychical world, time is always conceived as a subjective process ; because the Indian psychology tells us that all objective presentations in the psychical world ultimately

merges in the subject consciousness, and then creates an experience. Now the psychical world is also a motional sphere, wherein the subject, the idea of rest in motion, is also a psychically moving substance. So that here again we can apply the principles of theory of relativity to our advantage. In the psychical world the idea of space and the idea of time are both subjective experiences, *i.e.*, they are felt in identification with the feeling of the subject as "self-feeling," which has been so called by Dr. Eriksen. This subject or "self-feeling" is a mode or modification of universal consciousness immanent in us. So that in the psychical world we are always busy with active aspects both subjective and objective of Consciousness or *Chit*, and the experience of space and time become also modifications of this *Chit*. Here we may say that *Chit*, whose content is unlimited and undirected Supreme Experience, first gets directed and dimensionalised or conditioned by the notions of space and of time, as we shall see later on. Accordingly the co-ordination of the notions of space and of time is supposed to present a four-dimensional aspect of the modification of Consciousness ; since space conditions the experience in three dimensions and time in the remaining other dimension required to form a simultaneous experience of a motional presentation. Regarding this idea of simultaneity, it ought to be noted, that it conveys the idea of coincidence of two events happening in a motional sphere in an instant, the smallest possible conceivable unit moment of time in the physical world. But in the psychical world this must be the coincidence of at least two psychical motions, creating the ideas of space and time as combined together or arising conjointly. Thus the resting place sought for the purpose of reference-body is this idea of simultaneity in the psychical world.

Surely philosophy, whether ancient or modern, always seeks for a body of reference as a resting place in some idea of the Absolute, which, for the monistic idea, is One and one for ever as the fundamental Reality. So that, by evolution is meant that this one Reality undergoes all sorts of aspective modifications

to create the phenomenal world. But of all these modifications the first and prime aspect assumed by Reality is felt as the creation of the Self, which has been named by Mr. J. E. Turner as the "Dominant reality" ; because this is the subjective aspect assumed by Reality as Supreme Experience in substance, which will last up to the final Dissolution of creation. This is also called the *Asmitā* or "self-feeling" aspect. So that this subject aspect of *Asmitā*, called *Shiva* by *Āgama* philosophy, is the groundwork or basis to form the apprehension of world-manifestation on. Accordingly in the psychical world this subjective aspect of Consciousness or *Chit* is considered the reference body. The Indian *Āgama* philosophy calls this subjective aspect *Ahantā* in contradiction with *Idantā*, which means that whatever existent there is and is not *Ahantā* is *Idantā*. Oldness or newness are attributes not properly applicable to a changeless, eternal Beingness (*Sattā*) like this Reality, which is nothing less than the ideal Absolute. It is no exaggeration to say that the western world is none the less labouring under a perpetual disadvantage of being compelled to throw overboard every now and then, on the discovery of a new materialistic fact, old ideas that perhaps had worked as a theory for over half a century. Euclid and Newton are going to be dethroned by Einstein.

We should not forget that artificiality is the opposite pole to Reality. And it is quite true that the Indian philosophies, being free from all the vicissitudes of modern Western philosophies, are generally condemned to have attained too crystallised an aspect, which is considered as absolutely unfit to suit the needs of the modern so-called progressive theory of the world. But by keeping pace with the vicissitudes of the phenomenal world no one can expect to reach the regions of Reality easily. Besides one cannot refrain from saying that to the present progressive world, whereby is undoubtedly meant the artificial world, the shore is not yet in sight ; neither, when will it be, can be positively said. Does not the word "progress" itself imply changefulness ? In connection with this, it may be said

that *Shiva* is the principle of changelessness or immutability, which is the background called *Chit* ; and *Shakti* is the principle of all changefulness, common to the phenomenal world. Thus the Western science is ever busy with the Shakti-aspect of the material universe alone. Surely it is a pity, that the present Indians have climbed down much from the altitude of their forefathers, concerning, amongst others, the attainment of the knowledge of the absolute or *Jnāna* proper, and consequently of what is meant by *Shiva* and *Shakti*.

A real truth, like the knowledge of the absolute, will seldom tarnish by a materialist's derisive eye being turned towards it ; and neither is it a table-delicacy to stand the brewer's test of ageing it, in the light of the modern cultural policy of setting value to any foreign idea. The truth regarding Reality generally deals with things of higher dimensions, and at times does actually surpass all idea of dimension altogether—to say nothing of four-dimensionality only. Accordingly time, as we ordinarily understand the term to mean, should not be counted as an element to estimate the worth of any Truth regarding Absolute Reality.

Of course by dimension, one is to understand the limitation or condition brought about on *Chit* or Supreme Experience, which is to last up to the end of the phenomenal world, through some variation in velocity of Its initial vibration. The elements in the estimation of velocity are the notions of space and time in a particular combination. But a simultaneous subjective perception of space and time, as when the value of time is almost zero, will create a space-time experience of motion, which is the experience of four-dimensionality. Prof. Eddington says that—"In the so-called 'four-dimensional' world of the relativity theory the past and future lie, as it were, mapped out along with the near and distant. Each event is there in its proper relation to surrounding events ; but events never seem to undergo what has been described as 'the formality of taking place.' Here is what Prof. Weyl says about it ; 'It

is a four-dimensional continuum (which is *Mahākāla*) which is neither time nor space. Only the consciousness that passes on in one portion of this world experiences the detached piece which comes to meet it and passes behind it as history, that is as a process that goes forward in time and takes place in space."

If objective time is to be taken into consideration, then one should not forget, that the ancients were more in proximity than the present world to the real source of knowledge, *viz.*, the Supreme Experience, this we say in point of evolution ; so that their knowledge was less contaminated by admixture with artificiality than ours.

As against any charge of reading modern notions into ancient views, one cannot do better than simply remain thankful to his own system of education, which is surely the only light through which it is possible for him to see at all. It may be said here regarding this system of education that it should not be a system that makes human intellect solely dependent upon the mechanical or mechanistic side of things, neglecting the psychical and so intuitional propensities altogether. The present world seems to be quite forgetful of the fact that the universe must rely on a material as well as on a spiritual basis positively. Any attempt to understand ancient views must be by looking at them in the light of the present system of education based on modern thought, as is not totally antagonistic to the ancient ones ; because that is the only way open for such an attempt. Otherwise such ancient views and doctrines, prompted more by intuitional and psychical realisations, would simply appear as chimerical hallucinations. They can only be read "in the light as far as possible of the inferred pre-suppositions and inner arguments" of the minds of the ancient seers ; and so for the purpose, one should refer to all the available writings of those seers, with a firm belief that they were far more wise than what any one of the present day is prepared to give them credit for.

Rivers may flow through different channels, but will

ultimately end in the ocean ; of course at different points of it, showing different aspects of the same ocean. Again, the shallower the river the more likely it is to be dried up the sooner, even before reaching the ocean. Further, the biggest rivers in India draw their supply mainly from the clouds, and the clouds in their turn, from the ocean ; but the same rivers are again lost in the same ocean. So it is futile to attempt to assert that philosophical notions, like the commerce of some cruminal or purse-loving people, can be branded as the sole monopoly of particular sets of inhabitants of the earth. Everything arise out of, and all subside in, the same ocean of Truth or Reality, which is Supreme Experience ; since the doctrine of *tabula rasa* is absolutely untenable by the principles of Indian philosophies.

Nowadays it can boldly be said that this ocean of Truth is one and one only (it must be so—true knowledge can never vary), which, every civilised nation on the face of the earth, that can claim a philosophy of its own, is trying to learn to be the root cause of the phenomenal universe and so to realise it as the fundamental Reality. The Āgama philosophy, in its *Shāuta* form, did realise the fact long ago ; and what modern world is trying now to find out through the absolute side of the relativity theory, namely the idea of the Absolute, by establishing an universal coherence between the phenomenal world and its ultimate cause, forms the groundwork of all Indian sacraments, both ritual (funeral or hymeneal) or otherwise, intended for the proper realisation of the cosmic consciousness and the ephemeral nature of all phenomenality.

But how from One this diversified phenomenal world arose as many, to explain that is not a very easy task to undertake. Great many giant geniuses of different ages, according to their respective ability, have directed their energy to unravel the mystery ; but none seem to have succeeded so triumphantly as the Indian sages. However, to arrive at a final conclusion on this point, as to how far who has succeeded better, the best test will be to

compare notes. Accordingly it is, amongst others, with such an intention the present enterprise has been undertaken. In connection with this, one should not forget that—"however dogmatic a system of philosophical enquiry may appear to us, it must have been preceded by a criticism of the observed facts of knowledge"—there is great force in this argument of Prof. Surendra Nath Das Gupta.

Indian philosophy is generally charged by the pragmatic European mind as being purely of a speculative nature, serving no useful purpose for the benefit of the present-day humanity in its ordinary daily life. Of course, if materialism pure and simple, that only engenders artificiality and so criminal or mercenary propensities more easily than anything else, be taken as the highest aim of human life on this earth, then the Indian philosophy is no doubt much deficient in that respect and quite incompetent to cope with the purpose of the present world. But one cannot refrain from saying here that this is rather taking too poor and narrow a view of the aim of philosophy. The chief object and real aim of the Indian philosophers of yore (who vastly excelled in self-denial the present civilised world and used to look upon present life as a grand opportunity offered to improve future existence in rebirth) were to benefit posterity and bring peace and knowledge into the world. There is no denial that a legacy of true knowledge was more valuable in their opinion than the luxuries obtainable by wealth.

When the existence of a fundamental Reality and that of an initial vibration, for manifestation thereof as the universe, be admitted, then it becomes self-evident that the world is an order or Cosmos, wherein all beings and things are inter-related and vitally concerned to keep up the world-show as a whole. The interest of none therein can be neglected or overlooked with the false hope of making human life generally a happy one. The true observance of, and proper compliance with, this inter-relation and interest are, according to Sir John

Woodroffe, called *Bhārata Dharma* or religion. It should never be forgotten for a moment that the observance of and compliance with the cosmic order is the highest duty in man's life ; any violation therefrom is sure to tell on the welfare of the world, either immediately or remotely. Accordingly this compliance is called Righteousness. Why does young people run amock—surely in great many cases for want of better examples in their elders. Besides, it is a common proverb that grandfather's sins generally visit the grandchildren. All efforts to conform with and preserve the cosmic order are therefore sure means to self-realisation, that holds in check all the natural evil propensities of human nature. Sir John Woodroffe has said—"all religions are agreed in the essentials of morality and hold that selfishness, in its widest sense is the root of sin and crime (*Adharma*).” To properly understand the above relations and interest, it is absolutely necessary to consider both the material and the spiritual sides of every phenomenon in the universe ; and not to sacrifice or neglect one side, for some apparent or immediate benefit, to the other side, by being solely prompted thereto by some individual sordid motive, either under the garb of state- or trade-policy. For this reason none can deny that a proper appreciation of the organic psychical as well as the motional or mechanistic aspects of Reality is not an essential help for the realisation of the cosmic order. Hence the importance of studying the subject of cosmic evolution from a pragmatic's point of view, apart from its other good and really beneficial effects. There is no doubt that such a study goes a great way to help humanity to build its own character on a truly firm basis. Besides, a sure appreciation of the cosmic order is of great use to enable mankind to rightly cope with all sorts of trammels of worldly life.

The relativity theory conceives the significance of space and time and is quite different from what we understand it to mean in the physical world. Ordinarily we understand these terms to mean something outside our own selves, *i. e.*, they represent

objective presentations to the subjective Self. But according to relativity theory these are subjective conceptions : so much so that Mr. Bertrand Russell says that—"Measurements of distances and times do not directly reveal properties of the things measured, but relations of the things to the measurer." Similarly our *tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences are absolutely subjective conceptions depending upon the sensation of Self as "self-feeling."

Again the relativity theory abolishes the idea of force (including gravitation) from the phenomenal world, and says that bodies move in curves because these curves appear to the moving bodies as the routes of "least action" to them. The *Āgama* philosophy also gives one active principle called *Shakti*, which has been rendered as Power. We may also say, that due to *Shakti*, motions are created having two aspects—motional and psychical. As the result of the former aspect, extension is perceived ; whilst the latter induces the idea of intension. Thus a curve is described due to the effects of these extension and intension tendencies of the moving presentation.

Besides the above, there are other points of semblance between the principles of relativity theory and the doctrines of *Āgama* philosophy ; and we shall notice them as we proceed in our discourses.

BEPIN BEHARI NEWGIE

SOME EARLY BUDDHIST MISSIONARIES OF PERSIA IN CHINA

China came in contact with the Iranian world for the first time towards the end of the 2nd century before Christ when Chang Kien, the famous Chinese explorer came back to China (126 B. C.) after a long absence of twelve years. Chang Kien was sent to negotiate with the western powers, specially with the Scythians, established at that time in the valley of the Oxus, in view of forming an alliance against the Huns who were a formidable menace to the empire. Though the political mission of Chang Kien did not immediately succeed he brought definite information about the kingdoms which were flourishing at that time in the western region—specially *Ta-yuan* (Ferganah), *K'ang Kiu* (Sogdiana), *Ngan-si* (Parthia), etc.

Subsequently when the first official embassy of China was sent to Parthia under the reign of Emperor Wu-ti (140 86B. C.), the King of the country ordered twenty thousand cavalry to meet them on the eastern frontier and entertained them well. All the Chinese annals trace their relation with Parthia from this date. Parthia came to be known to the Chinese as *Ngan-si* through the name of the dynasty ruling over Parthia in that period namely the Arsacidan. *Ngan-si* (An-si) in ancient Chinese pronunciation would give as *Ar-šak* (Arsak). The description of the country, as given by the Chinese historians of that period answer very well to the empire of the Arsacides. “The king of the country of *Ngan-si* (Parthia) rules at the city of *P'an-tou* (Parthava? *παρθοι* of Herodotus). It bounds north on *K'ang Kiu* (Sogdiana), east on *Wu-yi-shanli* (Alexandra, *i.e.*, Herat), west on *T'iao-che* (Chaldea). Several hundred small and large cities are subject to it and the country is several thousand *li* in extent, that is a very large country.

It lies on the banks of the *Kuei-shwei* (the Oxus). The carts and ships of their merchants go to the neighbouring countries.”¹

Parthia was, in this period, playing an important role in the eastern commerce. The Chinese commodities passed to the Roman world through Parthia. The Chinese soon came to know about this western power, the territory of which was bounded on Parthia on the east and felt the necessity of coming in direct touch with the Roman orient (called *Ta ts'in*, by the Chinese). In 97 A. D. the famous general Pan-chao during his Central-Asian campaigns sent a certain Kan-ying as ambassador to the Roman orient (*Ta-ts'in*). He arrived in *Tiao-che* (Chaldea) on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Ngan-si (Parthia) told Kan-ying that the voyage was a long and a terrible one. Kan-ying therefore returned home without fulfilling his mission. Direct relation with the Roman orient was established as late as 166 A.D. when an embassy of Marcus Aurelius Antonius reached Tonkin (then a Chinese province), with presents. The ‘motive of this embassy was very probably to ruin the monopoly of eastern trade which Parthia was exercising by the land route. The Roman world wanted to have direct commercial relation with China. The official relation was established but we do not know how far the project of direct commerce was realised.

Whatever it might have been there was an active commercial relation between China and the Parthian world in the beginning of the Christian era. It is very probable that the Parthian merchants had formed a community by themselves in the capital of China (*Si-ngan-fu*) already in this period. The existence of such communities of different nationalities, Indian, Persian, Indo-Chinese, etc., are attested in a later age. Whatever might have been the position of the foreigners in the capital of China during the first centuries of the Christian era, it is certain that the commercial exchange of the merchants of

¹ F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 139-140.

different countries facilitated also an intellectual co-operation and China gradually began to get interested in foreign religion, art and literature.¹

It was in this period in 148 A.D. that a Parthian Buddhist missionary reached the capital of China with the intention of propagating the new religion. He is known as Ngan She-kao or She-kao the Parthian.² If She-kao be a Buddhist church name it may be reconstructed as *Lokottama*. He was prince of real royal descent of Parthia and most probably of the Arsacidan dynasty. From his childhood he had a religious bent of mind; so he abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle, embraced Buddhism and became a monk. He devoted himself to the study of the Buddhist scripture and determined to travel in different centres of Buddhist learning, evidently for a better knowledge of the scriptures. Though it is not known if he ever visited India, he certainly was acquainted with some Indian language (probably, Sanskrit) as is evident from the vast number of translations of Buddhist texts he made into Chinese. He travelled extensively and reached China in 148 A.D. He worked there till 168 A.D. and is said to have translated 176 Buddhist texts. Fifty-five of his translations still exist in the present collection of the Chinese Tripitaka published from Japan. We have no sure information about the end of She-kao, but all traditions agree in relating that after 168 A.D. She-kao travelled in South China for preaching Buddhism till the end of the century when he met with some mishap which caused his death.

¹ For the commercial relation between China and Persia, and for the names of Persian commodities preserved in Chinese and the Chinese commodities preserved in Persia, see the work of Berthold Laufer—*Sino-Iranica*.

² The Chinese had the habit of adding a prefix to the name of a foreigner to indicate his nationality. An element of the name of the country was generally prefixed to the name of the person, e.g. She-Kao of Parthia (Ngan-si)—*Ngan She-Kao*; Seng hoëni of Sogdiana (K'ang-Kiu)—*K'ang Seng hoëni*; Nandi of India (T'ien chu)—*Chu Nan-ti*, etc. In the Buddhist Church of China, the pious disciple of a foreign teacher sometimes used to attribute to himself the same nationality as his teacher, e.g., Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) son of Scythian parents in Ka-usu used to call himself *Chu Fa-hu* as his teacher was an Indian. There are many other similar cases.

The fifty-five works which still exist amply show that She-kao was very well-read in the Buddhist scriptures. Many of them are judicious selections from the mass of Buddhist texts and the translations, though not literal, are good adaptations of the original texts, many of which are missing. She-kao was not satisfied only with the work, he did himself but founded a school of translators which did such an admirable work that it came to be known as "*unrivalled*." In this school, there were Sogdian, Scythian and Indian monks working side by side for the propagation of Buddhism, and Buddhist scripture.

Buddhism was introduced in China in the year 2 B.C. and the first missionaries, Dharmaratna and Kāśyapa Mātanga are said to have come to China in 65 A.D. They translated four or five texts, one of which still exists. But the informations on these two first preachers are all very hazy and do not seem to be very reliable. Real history of the Buddhist literature in China begins with the works of She-kao and his collaborators, though it is certain that some of the works attributed to him are either later additions or apocryphal. The very style proves it. But many of them are, without doubt, authentic. We will not enter here into a detailed discussion of his works. Almost all of them are texts from the *Āgamas* (corresponding to the Pāli *nikāyas*, but greatly differing from the latter). Though some Mahāyāna texts are attributed to him, they seem to be spurious. An important question, about the original language of the texts translated by She-kao, has not been replied to. It is certain that it was not Pāli. A study of the transcription of proper names do not allow us to say that the original language of these texts was Sanskrit either. We have two alternatives to suppose, either an Indian Prakrit, or an Iranian language which She-kao learnt easily. An analysis of the Chinese *Āgamas* might prove one day, that some of these *Āgama* texts, specially those translated by Parthian or Sogdian monks are of Iranian *provenance* and point to an incomplete

Iranian version of the comparatively more ancient part of the Buddhist scripture.

From Ngan She-kao, we pass to two other Parthian names Ngan Hiuan and Ngan Fa-K'in. Ngan Hiuan came to Singan-fu in 181 A.D. as a merchant. On account of some distinguished services, which he rendered to the public, he received an official favour and was made "the chief officer of cavalry." But his temperament was religious and he therefore joined the Buddhist community founded by She-kao and devoted himself to study. He translated two Buddhist texts into Chinese and both of them exist in the present collection of the Tripitaka. Ngan Fa K'in came to Si-ngan-fu in 281 A.D. and translated Buddhist texts till 306 A.D. Five works are ascribed to him, and two of these still exist.

These few names of the early period have been preserved along with the names of other translators. But they are sufficient to point to a past history which now remains forgotten. They break the silence of this voiceless past and present new problems to us, which remains to be answered. We do not know as yet anything about the propagation of Buddhism in Persia as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The conversion of Ngan She-kao presupposes the presence of Buddhists in the capital of the Arsacides and their history is still to be traced out. The Parthian monks who went to China are not isolated figures and are only landmarks in the history of Indo-Parthian relation.

P. C. BAGCHI

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND FRENCH INFLUENCE

There is a common impression that Thomas Jefferson's political ideas were borrowed from French sources, that his "democracy" was French "democracy".....that it was "caught" in the French Revolution.

William Ellery Curtis,¹ in his life of Jefferson, says, "His long residence in Paris made him an ardent admirer of the French People, and an enthusiastic champion of the French Revolution, which had a powerful influence in shaping his own political convictions."

Again, he says, "His plan of government was acquired from the French Revolution."² Also the old Federalist (using the word in its partisan sense) ideal of Jefferson is shown in the remarks attributed to Daniel Webster that "Jefferson was addicted to French tastes, French manners, and French principles. Often unjustly attacked by them, the Federalist yet did him no injustice in charging upon him a preference for French opinions, whether in politics, morals, or religion."

"He used to dwell with pleasure upon his acquaintance with D'Alembert, Condorcet, and others of the Liberal philosophy, and often spoke of the conversation of Madame Duffard, at which he was a frequent and not undistinguished guest."³ But Henry S. Randall⁴ says, "The errors in this saying can be easily proved because, death had closed the doors of Du Duffard's 'Conversazioni' some years before Jefferson arrived in France! And we think D'Alembert died in 1783.

¹ See William Ellery Curtis, "Life of Thomas Jefferson," pp. 147-8.

² *Ibid*, p. 288.

³ See H. S. Randall: "The Life of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 492.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 492.

Thus it has been the fashion to say the feelings and ideas gathered by Jefferson in France constituted the predominant influence throughout his subsequent political career. In this there is much exaggeration and toward him much injustice. The object of this paper is to show that his political ideas were not borrowed from a French source.

Jefferson's connection with France began in 1784. He was a man of mature years when he went abroad, and had been busy from early youth, alike in theory and practice, with the political and social problems of the government. The originality of his disposition and the radical temper of his mind had made themselves felt from the outset, and were only confirmed, not created, by his foreign experience. As John T. Morse¹ says, "Neither was his affection for France nor his antipathy to England, then first implanted. Both sentiments were strong before he crossed the Atlantic; they were only encouraged by the pleasures of his long residence in one country, and the convictions borne in upon him during his brief stay in the other." "He would always have been a radical, an extreme democrat, a hater of England, a lover of France, a sympathizer with the French Revolutionists, though he never sailed out of sight of American shores."

At the outset it can be shown from Jefferson's letters written from France to Mr. Carmichael² when he heard of "Shay's insurrection" that these expressions of his, implying a pitch of democracy he never afterwards exceeded, were made before there was a revolution in France. He wrote, "These people are not entirely without excuse.....However, I am satisfied the good sense of the people is the strongest army our governments can ever have, and that it will not fail them."

¹ See John T. Morse: "The American Statesman Series, T. Jefferson," pp. 79-130.

² See Randall: Vol. I, p. 59.

In order to thresh out the question of his indebtedness to French thought, it is better to examine his connection with France. While he was a student in William and Mary College¹ he studied "to some extent French." That was the beginning of his connection with French thought. But there is no proof positive that he studied seriously and systematically current French thought in his student life.

In 1774, while a member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, he penned his first political essay, called by Edmund Burke "The Summary View of the Rights of British America."² This was extreme and contained every idea that is to be found in the Declaration of Independence. It claimed the same "inherent" and "natural" rights.

Here we find the radical philosophy of Jefferson in its rudimentary form, and no trace of French is to be found here.

Then comes the Declaration of Independence written by Jefferson in 1775. "This Declaration," says John H. Hazelton³ in his "History of the Declaration of Independence," is now proved undoubtedly to be Jefferson's own work and does not evince any borrowing from any source either prior or contemporary.

William Ellery Curtis⁴ says, "Many charge this Declaration of Independence as a bad piece of composition,—plagiarized from various authors." But no one has ever found out the source of such alleged plagiarisms.

Even Curtis, who is emphatic in his statements that French thought "had a powerful influence in shaping Jefferson's own political convictions" cannot trace any French source for the Declaration.

¹ Morse, p. 5.

² "The Jeffersonian Cyclopaedia", edited by John P. Foley, p. 963.

³ John H. Hazelton: "The Declaration of Independence—its History," Chap. VI, pp. 161-180.

⁴ Curtis, p. 120.

George Otto Treveleyan¹ in his book "The American Revolution," Part Two, says of this declaration that it is said its "author was a Plagiarist. It was an imitation of the state papers of the Long Parliament; it owed much to Locke, and much to Milton, and still more to Rousseau."

Jefferson's observations² on these charges are: "I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas and offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before." "Also I turned neither book nor pamphlet in writing it." (*His works—1853-VII, p. 315*).

Thus Jefferson himself dismisses this charge of plagiarism. Many attempts have been made to impeach the originality of this paper, and to prove Jefferson's debt to foreign sources. It was claimed that it contained many ideas already advanced by other writers, but on close investigation we find that if Jefferson borrowed from his predecessors at all it was rather from the British than from the French.

As the object of this paper is to trace the influence of the French philosophy on the politics of Jefferson, we can waive aside the charge that he borrowed his political ideas from an English source, and discuss only the supposed French influence on his political thought.

As far as I know the political principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence show no trace of French influence and this was written in 1775.

On the 7th of May, 1784, Jefferson was appointed minister plenipotentiary to act in conjunction with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and on the 6th of August of that year he reached Paris. From this time began his close contact with France and the warmth of his reception there, contrasted with the coldness with which he was received in England, cemented that admiration for France which he so cherished ever afterwards.

¹ G. O. Treveleyan: "The American Revolution," Vol. I Part II, p. 164.

² Randall: Vol. I, p. 186.

IN France, his own predilections and his intimacy with Lafayette brought him from the outset into the society of the Liberal or patriotic party. These men found in him a kindred spirit. They recognized him as one of themselves, a speculative thinker, a preacher of the extreme doctrine of Political Freedom, or in other words, in the slang of that day, a Philosopher. His house in Paris became the central point and a common rendezvous for French Officers and literati.

The French found that he preceded the French patriots in their current of ideas. He had already acted a high part and enunciated a noble principle where they were only commencing to speculate.

Thus the French saw in him rather a kindred spirit than a disciple of French political thought. The French Officers and Savants consulted him on various occasions.

In his letters written from Paris on January 30, 1787,¹ to James Madison, he expounded some of his political principles. He wrote :—

“ There are three forms of Government :

- (1) Without government, as Indians.
- (2) Under government, wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as in the case of England.
- (3) Under a government of force.

In looking into Montesquieu's² *Spirit of Laws* (Bk. III) we find this author expounding the same principles. Here is a startling coincidence, giving the priority to Montesquieu ; in this case Jefferson must have been the borrower. Again in 1782, in his notes on Virginia (VIII, 38-39), he said, “ Every government degenerates where trusted to the rules of the people alone.” Also in Rousseau's³ “ *Social Contract* ” is to be

¹ “ Writings of Jefferson,” Ford Ed., Vol. IV, 1786-1787, pp. 351-362.

² Condorcet's “ A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, Book III, p. 15.

³ Rousseau : “ *Social Contract* ” : Livre III, Chap. I, p. 299.

found a somewhat similar expression (*Social Contract*,"-Chap. 10.) :

" *Il y a deux vocs generales par lesquelles un gouvernement degene : Savior, quand il se resserre, on quand L'Etat se dissont.*"

" *Le gouvernement se resserre quand il posses du grande nombre au petit. C'est a dire de la democratic a la aristocraie. eta a l'aristocra-tie a la royantie.*"

Judging these two utterances and giving priority to Rousseau, Jefferson's saying seems to be a faint echoing of Rousseau's ideas, though Jefferson nowhere mentions Rousseau or his works.

Thus far we find some utterances of Jefferson similar to those of the above French philosophers.

In 1807, in his letter to John Narvell¹ he said, "I think there does not exist a good elementary work on the organization of society into civil government: I mean a work which presents in one full and comprehensive view, the system of principles on which such an organization should be founded according to the rights of Nature. I should recommend Locke 'On Government,' Priestley's 'Essay on the First Principles of Government,' Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' Beccaria's 'Crimes and Punishment,' Say's 'Political Economy.'" Nowhere in this list does he mention any French author.

In another letter² written May 30, 1790, to I. B. Randolph, Jefferson said: "Locke's little book on government is perfect as far as it goes." Again, to the same man he writes, "In the science of laws, Montesquieu's 'Spirit of the Laws' is generally recommended. It contains indeed a great number of political truths but also an equal number of heresies, so that the reader must constantly be on his guard."

In his last letter we find that Jefferson had read some of the French Political writers. But examining the above list it is found that he read more British than French authors.

¹ Ford Ed., Vol. IX, 1807-15, p. 71.

² *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 171.

As for the stray coincidence of a few of his utterances with those of some of the French Political Philosophers, it can be said that they do not take away Jefferson's claim to originality nor do these coincidences prove his discipleship.

Great thinkers often borrow each other's expressions, but that does not lay them open to the charges of plagiarism, or of lack of originality.

It has been said before that Jefferson was a radical in politics from the beginning of his career. He was a born Democrat. His king-phobia was increased by his cold reception at the English court and by observing with his own eyes the corruption of the European Courts. When he went to France, naturally he sympathized with the French Democrats, as there were affinities of temperament.

Jefferson in his autobiography¹ says that it was France itself that was pupil of the United States in democratic principles. He says, "Celebrated writers of France and England had already sketched good principles on the subject of government. Yet the American Revolution seems first to have awakened the thinking part of the French nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk. The Officers came back with new ideas and impressions."

Here Jefferson proves clearly that it was France that was the borrower of the democratic ideas from America, and he himself was one of the men who worked for this Democracy in America. G. Jellinek² also gives originality to America. Jefferson says in his autobiography, speaking about the beginning of the French Revolution that in the National Assembly of France the Marquis de La Fayette³ prepared and proposed a Declaration of Independence. And the Marquis was in constant consultation with Jefferson regarding

¹ Ford, Vol. I, p. 96.

² G. Jellinek: "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens," translated by M. Farrand, pp. 80-81.

³ Ford Ed., Vol. I, p. 133.

politics. In his letter¹ to the Marquis of May 6, 1788, written at Paris, he advises him about his political attitude in that great struggle. Again in his letter of June 3, 1789, to M. de St. Etienne² Jefferson says he drew a "proposed charter for France" to be signed by the king. Also in another letter, July 19, 1789, to L'Abbe Arnold, he sends "a list of books on the subject of juries."³

Jefferson says he was requested by the chairman of the committee to draw up a constitution in France on July 20, "to attend and assist at their deliberations." His house was a rendezvous of French politicians for settling up difficulties. In his autobiography, he says⁴ "Marquis de La Fayette informed me that he should bring a party.....when they arrived, they were La Fayette himself, Duport, Barnave, Alexandre La Meth., Blacon, Mounier, Maubourg, and Dagout."

Jefferson concluded his association with the French Revolution by saying⁵ "the appeal to the rights of man, which had been made in the United States, was taken up by France, first of the European nations."

His narration of the early phases of the French revolution, and his intimate connection with it clearly show that it was he to whom the French politicians and philosophers came for guidance and new light, and not he to them.

The influence that the French revolution exerted upon him was clearly expressed by Jefferson in "Anas."⁶ After his return to the United States, "I had left France in the first year of its revolution, in the fervour for natural rights and zeal for reformation. My conscientious devotion to these rights could not be heightened, but it had been aroused and excited by daily exercise."

As regards Jefferson's connections with the pre-revolutionists, it is seen that he was interested in the Encyclopedia, as

¹ *Ibid*, p. 91.

² *Ibid*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. I, "Jefferson's Autobiography."

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 145.

⁶ Ford, Vol. I, p. 159.

shown in his latest letter to James Monroe, written from Paris, June 17, 1785 (July 9) 1786¹ when he sent him this volume. Then in his letter August 25, 1786, to Count Van Hegendorff, he acknowledged he had contributed an article² on political economy to the new Encyclopedia.

These were all the connections that he had with the Encyclopedists but these letters do not explain much. An acquaintance may be merely an acquaintance and need not mean relationship of master and pupil and *vice versa*.

Also on scanning Rousseau and Montesquieu, not enough material is to be found to prove Jefferson's actual discipleship to those men. And no conclusion can be drawn on the basis of a few stray similar utterances.

Regarding Jefferson's connections with his predecessors, Mr. C. S. Merriam in his article³ on "The Political Theory of Jefferson" says, "From the classical writings Jefferson apparently derived little inspiration: Aristotle he knew, but thought of little value, and Plato's writings he considered as so much worthless jargon. The chief source from which Jefferson drew his inspiration is commonly supposed to have been the philosophers of the Eighteenth Century Democracy in France. It is often said that his head was turned by French ideas, that he was a 'Rousseauist' and that the speculative Jefferson was really a Frenchman. The extent of the French influence upon Jefferson was, however, really far less than is generally supposed. Montesquieu and Rousseau, who might be presumed to have had a large share in determining his views, seem to have affected him very little." Jefferson himself held Montesquieu in little esteem; he says, "I am glad to hear of anything which reduces that author to this just level, as his predilection for monarchy, and for English monarchy in particular, has done mischief everywhere and here also to a certain extent."

¹ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 251.

² *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

³ C. S. Merriam, *Political Science Quarterly*, 1902, pp. 26-45, on "The Political Theory of Jefferson."

Mr. Merriam again says¹ “also Rousseau is not discussed or recommended for reading by Jefferson ; nor do the latter’s theories show as much resemblance to Rousseau’s as to the other French writers. Jefferson recommended Condorcet’s “*Esquissé d’ un Tableau Historique des Propos de l’Esprit Humain*” and probably obtained from this source his ideas on human improbability.

The only writer that he cites with enthusiasm is Destutt de Tracy’s “*Commentar sur Esprit des Lois*.”

This volume he had translated into English (1811). Indeed, it is unnecessary to go outside of the English theory of politics to find ample precedent upon which Jefferson might draw.

In the English writers of the 18th century are found revolutionary and democratic principles of the most decided character, anticipating not only Jefferson, but in a large measure Rousseau himself.

There seems to be little evidence to prove that Jefferson borrowed anything from others, ; if he did, it is more probable that he borrowed from Locke and other English writers rather than from Rousseau, Montesquieu or Helvetius.

Jefferson followed a line of thought marked out during the English Revolution, following to a certain extent the views of Milton, Sidney, and Locke who also served as models to colonial thinkers before Rousseau had begun to write.

Thus we find the source of Jefferson’s thought, was more English than French.

No one can deny that the French Revolution made a great impression on him. When two people come together they are sure to attract each other ; this happened in Jefferson’s case. The same thing might be said of Charles James Fox who “gloried in the French Revolution.” But he would be a bold man who could suppose Fox to have been the creation of any foreign influence.

BHUPENDRANATH DUTT

THE HISTORY OF ORISSA AND ITS LESSONS

Orissa as a land of refuge.

The province of Orissa has a peculiar interest for the student of Indian history on account of various reasons. Orissa is a land which is sheltered from the rest of India by a massive block of low hills and deep jungles, and the only approach to it is either by the sea or the rivers or along the narrow strips of low land, which runs parallel to the coast. The land route again is intercepted in many places by river-courses which render the province still more difficult of access. Thus separated from the rest of India and connected with it only through difficult pathways, Orissa has served as an admirable place of refuge for the oppressed throughout the course of Indian history.

It has so happened in the plains of North India that each wave of civilisation has completely wiped away the traces of its predecessors. But in Orissa, those very waves forced their way through a barrier of hills and jungles and of uncultured tribes. Their force was broken, so that when they reached the haven, they were too weak to struggle against each other and existed in the same place side by side. The fact that the former cultures of Northern India are thus preserved in Orissa in a living state has made the place so important to the student of Indian history.

Consequent contact of cultures.

There is a second reason why students of Indian culture are interested in Orissa. North India is cut off from the Deccan by the Vindhya hills and their numerous offshoots in Central India. One of the two routes from one country to the other lies through the Orissan coastal plain, while the other is across

the Narmada and the Tapti in Central India. We know that the Deccan was the home of a great and powerful civilisation, *viz.*, that of the Tamils. The influence of the Tamil or Dravidian civilisation extended at one time even to Bengal, and Orissa lay well within its dominion. Orissa like Andhradesa or the Telugu country, has formed a stepping stone between the Aryan civilisation of the North and the Dravidian of the South. As we proceed, we shall try to indicate a number of the currents and cross-currents which flowed between the two.

The civilisation of Orissa is not maritime.

It seems strange that the civilisation of Orissa is connected more with the land than with the sea, although much of Orissa is washed by the sea and there are many great rivers which make their way into it. Not that maritime activity was wanting in the past, but the inhabitants of this country were concerned more with the countries which lay to the north, south and west than with those which lay beyond the sea to the east. Among the thousands of scenes depicted in stone on the temples of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Kanarak, there is not one which may suggest that the sea played any great part in the life of the people. Of boating scenes there are only two or three in Puri and Kanarak, and these boats are far from being seafaring vessels. There is one scene in the temple of Kanarak depicting a group of men presenting a giraffe to the King of Orissa. This solitary picture proves that Orissa was actually in touch with other countries through her ports, but that is far from saying that her culture was maritime in character.

This may seem very strange on account of the fact that Kalinga was famed far and wide as a great maritime power, so much so, that the people of Java called India by the name of Kalinga (actually "Kling") just as the Persians called India by the name of the province of Sindhu with which they were in touch. The only explanation which seems probable is that Kalinga culture was not the one from which the culture

of Orissa was directly derived. The former was probably more Dravidian in origin and its centre lay further south along the coast.

The culture of Orissa was not maritime and it resulted from an integration of a number of separate cultures which met in the country to the north and north-west of ancient Kalinga. Nature has favoured Orissa greatly and things which have disappeared from the rest of India have found a resting place in the hill tracts of this province.

The early inhabitants.

In very early times, Orissa was inhabited by a number of wild tribes. They did not know how to plough the land, and lived entirely on what they could procure from the jungle and by chase. Fruits, berries and roots constituted their principal food. Such men live in the hills of Orissa even now, and some of them are so rude that they do not wear clothes, but only make aprons of leaves.

Their share in the growth of Orissan culture.

Although the early inhabitants of Orissa were so wild, yet they had their own society and were ruled by definite laws framed by their tribal leaders. They also practised a crude form of religion and were guided in such matters by medicine-men. In their worship they marked a piece of stone with vermilion and sacrificed fowl and sheep to the spirits. Sometimes they offered crude earthen images of horses and elephants for the gods to ride. The village-gods of the Hindus of Orissa are still worshipped in this way and it is very likely that this cult was derived from the former aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

Of the many aboriginal tribes who inhabited Orissa in early times, the foremost were the Savaras. They have been in contact with people talking in the Indo-Aryan speech for a very long time, and they have had some share in building

up Orissan civilisation. Scholars who study the history of languages say that the language of Orissa owes something to the Savaras. One of the principal religious cults of Orissa was also derived from the same people.

There is a tradition that the worship of Jagannath began with a Savara fowler named Basu. A Hindu King learnt that the God worshipped by Basu was great and powerful and so he sent his priest to learn the secret of His service. That deity has finally come to be worshipped as Jagannath. The descendants of Basu still live in the town of Puri and some duties are assigned to them in the temple of Jagannath. It is very probable that none of the rites with which Basu worshipped his God long ago have survived till now, but the fact that the Savaras supplied the germ out of which the cult of Jagannath grew up is itself of great significance.

Like the Savaras, the Bhuiyas have also played an important part in the history of Orissa. That they were once the rulers of the highlands of Orissa is a well-known fact, and their former rights are still symbolically maintained in a very interesting way. In the state of Keonjhar, the crowning ceremony of the ruling chief has to be performed by Bhuiya clansmen to signify that the present house rules by their permission. In the state of Seraikela, too, the same custom is present, and moreover, the goddess worshipped by the former Bhuiya kings is still worshipped by the ruling chief, the rites being performed by a Bhuiya clansman. Thus the influence of the Bhuiyas is felt in a small way in Orissa and it is quite possible that their influence reached deeper, and some of the social customs of Orissa may owe something to them.

After the Savaras and the Bhuiyas we come to the Odras. In old Sanskrit books, they are mentioned as a wild tribe like the Savaras. But they have now been almost completely hinduised and live by agriculture. Their number is the greatest in the Khurda sub-division of the district of Puri, where they are called Oda' Chasas. These Odras gave their name to the

land of Orissa, for that name has come from Odra-Visaya, *i. e.*, the district where the Odras live.

Relations with the North through Buddhism.

We thus find that in its early stages Orissan civilisation grew by the accumulation of the tribal cultures of wild tribes like the Savaras, Bhuiyas and the Odras. But already in the time of the Buddha, *i. e.*, in the 6th century B. C., there was trade intercourse between Magadha or Bihar and Orissa. Asoka also conquered Kalinga in the 3rd century B. C. He taught Buddhism to the people and that religion remained predominant in Orissa even as late as the 7th century A. D. At one time the worship of Jagannath fell into the hands of the Buddhists and it was probably then that three idols were substituted in place of one. In some old Oriya songs Jagannath is spoken of as Buddha in disguise, and there are some features in his cult which scholars consider to be survivals from the Buddhist age. The absence of caste-restriction with regard to the rice-offerings of Jagannath is considered to be one of these. Buddhism thus formed a link between Northern India and Orissa, and the influence of the North came into Orissa through trade and religion. Scholars have discovered that the Odras and other dweller of the sea-board tract of Orissa spoke non-Aryan languages about this time, but they rapidly became Aryanised through the influence of the neighbouring provinces of Suhma and Rādhā in Bengal.

Relations with the South.

But the influence of the North was far from being alone in shaping Oriya civilisation, for as we have already said the South was not less effective. At one time the dominion of Dravidian civilisation extended to Bengal, and Orissa received many civilised arts of life from the Southerners.

Proofs of contact with the Dravidians have been discovered in the language and the script of Orissa, and also in

some of the material arts of life. Perhaps the influence extended deeper and even affected the social and religious life of the people. Some rites in the cult of Jagannath like the dance of the temple-maidens were derived from the South where the employment of temple-maidens is a well known custom. The worship of Uchchista Ganapati, miscalled Bhanda Ganesh, in the temple of Puri, evidently came from the South. In Orissan architecture too, there are indications of a contact with the South, but we know so little regarding these matters that it is not possible at present to form a correct estimate of the debt which Orissa owes to the South.

There is an inscription in the Udaygiri cave in Bhubaneswar written by a king named Kharavela. He is supposed by some scholars to have been a southerner. In the inscription he describes the principal events of his reign, and he says how one year he made an image of an ancestor of his with the wood of a bitter-tree and how he had it carried in state on a car through the town. There are a number of tribes in the south, namely, Badaga, Billava, Karna Sale, Kannadiyan, who carry a corpse upon a processional car before it is committed to the pyre or buried. The same custom is also found among the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and also in the Imperial family of Siam. It is curious that the custom of carrying a corpse (or an image of an ancestor in the Kharavela inscription) should extend from Southern India along the eastern coast, then down past Burma into Siam. The fact that it is not found in any other part of the world goes a long way to prove that they were derived from a common source somewhere in or near southern or eastern India. However that may be, our interest in the custom lies in its probable connection with the cult of Jagannath.

It is a well-known fact that the idol of Jagannath can only be made of the bitter *nim* tree (*Melia*), and the most important ceremony connected with that deity is the car-festival. The Kharavela inscription is situated only about 40 miles away

from Puri. Would it be stretching imagination too wide to suppose that there was some connection between the two, when we consider the remarkable identity of the materials and of festivals?

The North again.

Long after Asoka and Kharavela, about the 8th or 9th century A. D., a part of western Orissa came under the sway of the Guptas of Kosala. Their inscriptions have been found near about Sambalpur, and the influence of Gupta art has also been discovered in some parts of Mayurbhanj and the neighbouring district of Manbhum. Perhaps southern influence was operating at the same time in the sea-board tract of Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack.

We thus find that the Northerners and the Southerners, and before them the aboriginal tribes, of whom we do not know much, went on building the civilisation of Orissa. The people of this land had not yet succeeded in integrating the chips of civilisation which they received from other countries. A national sentiment had not yet grown, and the Orissans were more like provincials who lay on the border of the great civilisations of the North and the South.

The growth of Orissan individuality and later streams from the North and the South.

It was only in the time of Yayāti Kesari that the foundations of a cultural individuality were first laid. Yayati Kesari was a Hindu and a worshipper of Siva. He made strenuous efforts to establish Hinduism, or rather Brahmanism in Orissa. He is said to have brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanouj in the United Provinces and they performed a great Vedic Fire-Sacrifice in the newly founded town of Jajpur. From that time onward, Orissa has been a land of Hindus, and the older cult of Buddhism has been gradually swamped out or changed and

absorbed into Hinduism. Jagannath was no longer Buddha and He was worshipped as Bhairab or Siva. This state of affairs continued till the fifteenth century, when due to the personality of the great reformer Chaitanya, the people of Orissa were converted to Vaishnavism. Jagannath became a form of Vishnu and the Saiva form of worship was practically given up. Still there are some usages in His cult, which have come down from the periods of Buddhist and Saiva predominance.

As we have already said, the germs of a separate Orissan culture were laid during the reign of the Kesaris. And it was in their time that art and architecture flowered up to an unexampled extent, until finally there came to be a distinctive Orissan School of art. Many of the temples of Bhubaneswar were built in the reign of the Kesaris.

After the Kesaris, the Ganga dynasty came into power. The first Ganga king was a man from the South, but his descendants soon identified themselves with the people of Orissa and they went forth to conquer new lands as the lords of the free state of Orissa.

The Gangas followed the Kesaris in being great builders. The temples of Puri and Kanarak were built in their time, and it was during this period that a very interesting cult reached Orissa from Northern India.

A part of North-Western India was ruled from the 5th century B.C. by the Persians and it was probably at that time that a band of colonists reached India from Persia. They were the Māgis or Māgās, and according to Indian tradition they came from the land of Sakadwip, being driven therefrom by Jarasastra or according to another version being invited by an Indian king named Samba. These Māgās worshipped a peculiar form of the Sun-god named Mithra and they were deeply skilled in astrology. The Māgās first settled in Multan on the Chenab or Chandrabhāgā and Alberuni saw the image of the Sun when he visited that place in the 11th century A. D. The Maga-priests became famous and their influence gradually spread all

over the Indo-Gangetic plain. In course of time, Bengal took up the cult of Mithra or Mitra and Orissa soon followed her example. The temple of the Sun-god in Kanarak was built in this period by a King of the Ganga dynasty named Narasingha-deva. But the cult of Mithra soon after fell into disrepute and has now almost completely disappeared from the soil of India. The priests from Sakadwip called Māgās, still exist, but they occupy a very inferior position in the Brahmanical hierarchy.

Conclusion.

We find that the Orissan civilisation resembles other civilisations in being made up of elements derived from many tribes and many lands. The integration, incomplete though it still is, took place in the middle ages, and from that time onward, it has influenced the neighbouring countries through its striking individuality in art and architecture.

NIRMALKUMAR BASU

THE COLOURS OF SKY AND SEA

ADHARCHANDRA MUKHERJI LECTURE.

Of all natural optical phenomena, the blue colour of the sky is the most familiar and conspicuous. The writings of Tyndall have made familiar to the many readers of his fascinating books, the idea that the origin of sky-light is to be ascribed to the scattering of sunlight in the atmosphere and that the blue colour is a consequence of the smallness of the particles concerned in such scattering. Tyndall considered these particles to be composed of extraneous matter such as dust, drops of water or minute crystals of ice suspended in the atmosphere, and this was in fact the view generally held till about twenty years ago. Experience however shows that dust or other suspended particles cannot be the cause of the blue colour of the sky. After the heavy monsoon showers of Bengal have washed down the dust from the atmosphere, our skies are bluer than ever, and are bluest on a bright clear day when clouds of water or ice have all evaporated. We have therefore naturally to seek for some cause more fundamental than suspended matter for the light of the sky. The suggestion was first put forward by the late Lord Rayleigh that skylight represents the result of the scattering of sunlight by the molecules of the air itself. The idea was received very favourably by physicists and has now gained general acceptance.

Making Gases Visible.

Some of the implications of Rayleigh's theory of the blue of the sky are rather startling and it is only recently that it has received experimental confirmation by physicists. If we accept the view that the blue of the sky arises from the gases of the atmosphere, we are forced to give up the familiar idea

that the air about us is a colourless, transparent, invisible gas, and must expect to find that under suitable conditions of illumination, the air about us can be made visible and should then exhibit a blue colour. This remarkable conclusion has been tested and indeed found to be true. It is possible to make all the so-called invisible gases and vapours visible by strong illumination, and they then actually exhibit a beautiful sky-blue colour as the result of the light scattered by the molecules. In order to observe this phenomenon and demonstrate its existence in a satisfactory manner, two important points have to be borne in mind. In the first place, it is necessary to purify the gases carefully from suspended dust-particles and other impurities and secondly, to use intense light under such conditions that the illuminated gas is seen against a perfectly dark background.

In carrying out experiments on this subject, the brilliant sunshine we have in India is very helpful, and extensive and systematic studies have been carried on for some years in the writer's laboratory. In order to perceive the brightness of the light scattered by gases and vapours to the fullest advantage, it is desirable for the observer to remain in complete darkness, and the chamber used for the purpose has been appropriately labelled the "Black Hole of Calcutta." After a little rest in total darkness, the eyes of the observer become several thousand times more sensitive than in ordinary daylight, and the track of a beam of sunlight through a column of gas carefully freed from dust appears conspicuously bright and of a beautiful blue colour. From observations of the intensity and character of this light, it is possible visually to recognize the nature and determine the quantity of the gas present.

Determination of Molecular Structure.

The experimental study of the scattering of light by gases, besides confirming the correctness of the Rayleigh theory of

the colour of sky, possesses a high degree of intrinsic interest. Not only is it possible from the observations to estimate with fair accuracy the number of molecules in a gas, in other words to carry out a molecular census, but, as has been shown in papers by the author and by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan, it is possible to obtain a very fair idea of the dimensions of the molecule and of the arrangements of the atoms forming it. The latter possibility depends on the fact that molecules composed of two or more atoms obviously cannot, in general, be equivalent to a simple spherical scattering particle. With certain simplifying suppositions, it is possible to calculate theoretically the optical behaviour to be expected from a molecule having any specified structure and to compare it with observation. The two features in the scattering of light which vary with the nature of the gas are, firstly, its intensity, and secondly, its state of polarisation, that is the character of the vibration in the scattered light-waves. The second feature is specially sensitive to the structure of the molecule and indicates in an unmistakable way any departure of the optical behaviour of the molecule from perfect spherical symmetry. The observations indicate striking relationships between the chemical structure of the molecule and the manner in which it scatters light.

The Colours of Twilight. .

The theory of Rayleigh explains not only the blue colour of the sky but also the beautiful glows of sunrise and sunset. In some experiments made by the present writer the varying colours of sky and setting sun are strikingly reproduced in the laboratory. When the sun is on the horizon, its rays have to traverse long columns of the atmosphere and suffer much attenuation in the process. The molecules of the air, being exceedingly small in size, scatter by preference the shortest waves forming 'the blue-violet end of the solar spectrum'.

Hence the sunlight that has passed through the lower levels of the atmosphere is denuded of the blue rays and the change of colour of the sun to yellow or orange as it sinks near the horizon receives a natural explanation.

Twilight phenomena are often complicated by the dust, water-vapours or clouds present in the atmosphere. But such disturbing factors are eliminated when observations are made on a bright clear evening from a high mountain. Dr. K. R. Ramanathan has recently made some very interesting observations on twilight phenomena during the winter months at Simla, and it seems fairly clear that the effects noticed by him can be explained as consequences of the molecular scattering of light. Perhaps the most striking demonstration of the part played by the atmosphere in twilight phenomena is the fact that the dark-blue shadow of the earth fringed by a purple glow can actually be seen above the eastern horizon creeping upwards as the sun goes down in the west.

It may also be mentioned that observations made by the writer on a clear day from Mount Dodabetta in the Nilgiris have furnished valuable confirmation on a large scale of those effects depending on the structure of the molecules which were first revealed by experiments on the scattering of light made in the laboratory.

The Blue of the Sea.

Another natural optical phenomenon of great interest is the blue colour of the waters of the deep sea. To the unsophisticated traveller on his first ocean voyage, it appears remarkable in the highest degree to find that the same water which in the bath-tub appears quite transparent with the faintest tinge of green appears from the deck of the steamer to be of a dark-blue or indigo colour. The explanation usually suggested for the blue colour of the sea is that it consists of reflected skylight, and in support of this, it is often urged that when the sky is completely overcast, the sea appears of

a leaden-gray colour. That this view is erroneous is shown by the fact that the blue of the sea is a much deeper and darker colour than even the light of the zenith sky ; the change of colour of the sea when the sky is overcast is obviously due to the fact that the clouds cut off the sun-light which ordinarily illuminates the water. Another view which is sometimes suggested as an explanation of the blue colour of the sea is that it is merely the natural colour of the water. That this view is not correct becomes clear when we recollect that the observer on the deck of the steamer is between the sun which is the source of light and the water, and hence the sun's rays which pass through the water cannot reach him directly. Unless therefore we postulate suspended matter in the water, there is nothing according to this theory to reflect the colour of the water into the observer's eyes. Further, the colour of water observed in transmission is a greenish-blue and not a dark-blue or indigo ; the waters which show the blue colour best are those which are clearest and most transparent and hence presumably freest from suspended matter.

On the basis of the observations made by him during his ocean voyages and of laboratory experiments, the present writer has put forward a new theory of the colour of the sea. Examination of samples of transparent deep-sea water shows that they are free from suspended impurity to a remarkable extent, and that when a beam of sunlight passes through such water, its track in the liquid exhibits a blue colour of a brightness and hue not greatly different from that found in similar experiments with laboratory samples of dust-free water. The observations lead us to the view that the blue colour of deep sea water arises from the scattering of light by the molecules of the water, in much the same way as the molecules of the air are responsible for the blue light of the sky. There are however certain fundamental differences between the scattering of light by a gas and the scattering of light by a liquid which will be more fully discussed in the second lecture.

Why is the Sea bluer than the Sky ?

If the colours of the sea and sky are both due to the molecular scattering of light, why then is the colour of the sea so much fuller and more saturated than the colour of the sky ? The explanation of this is, as has been shown by the writer in his paper on the subject, that the effects in the sea are modified by the absorption of light by the water. It is well-known that even perfectly pure distilled water in long columns cuts out a considerable fraction of the red and yellow regions of the solar spectrum. Both when the sun's rays enter the water and also when the scattered light transverses it before emerging from the sea this absorption comes into play and practically cuts out the whole of the red end of the spectrum. The fullness of the hue of the light emerging from the water is thus satisfactorily explained.

One of the questions often asked regarding the colour of the sea is, why does it show such marked variations in intensity and hue ? Three disturbing factors are present in the sea in greater or less degree which can exercise an influence on the observed optical phenomena. In the first place, it is not correct to assume that even the clearest and more transparent ocean water scatters light in exactly the same way as dust-free water in the laboratory. Some suspended matter must always be present which scatters light differing in colour from the pure sky-blue characteristic of molecular scattering. The influence of suspended matter would also make itself felt by a diminution of the transparency and consequently also of the effective depth of the water contributing to the observed luminosity. Then again, the question cannot altogether be ignored of the influence of dissolved matter present in the sea-water. Laboratory experiments indicate that the small percentage of salt present in sea-water contributes very little to its light-scattering power. The dissolved matter, may however, in certain cases make itself felt if it causes a diminution in the transparency

of the water. Another and extremely interesting complication is that first discovered by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan in the sea-water from certain areas in the Bay of Bengal which showed a striking green colour. He found that such water exhibits a feeble green fluorescence, presumably in consequence of some organic substance present in it, and that this fluorescence is accompanied by a sensible absorption in the blue-violet portion of the spectrum.

Colour of the Mediterranean

A fascinating problem which cannot yet be regarded as fully solved and to which the foregoing paragraphs only form an introduction is the reason for the remarkable brilliance of the colour shown by the Mediterranean. Allied to it are such questions as the cause of the difference in colour between the Gulf stream and the colder waters of the Atlantic adjacent to it. An examination of an oceanographic map of the Mediterranean shows a striking correlation between the colour of the water and its transparency. Such a correlation probably exists also in other similar cases and encourages the belief that the explanations of the differences in colour suggested in the preceding paragraphs are probably on the right lines. In particular, the marked differences in colour between the deep-sea and of water in the vicinity of land are evidently to be explained in terms of the suspended and other impurities present in the latter case. The variation of the colour of deep-sea water in different areas and at different times offers however problems of great interest which still await a complete solution.¹

C. V. RAMAN

FAITH IN BUDDHISM

Analysis and Ideal of Śraddhā

Saddhā, Saddhindriya and Saddhābala are the Pāli words signifying faith. These are not exactly synonyms. They slightly differ in their connotation. The kind of specification implies a logical division, which is not rigid but flexible enough to allow one species of faith to pass imperceptibly into another which is higher. These so-called species are no more than so many "aspects and phases" which, when viewed psychologically, admit only of a difference of degree, and not of kind. Faith in its specific sense, *i.e.*, as distinguished from the Faculty and the Power, denotes only a kind of blind or professed faith as distinguished from a realised one.

The all-important discrimination of the three species could not be achieved until the 4th or 3rd century B.C. when a Buddhist School, the Hetuvādin, pressed home a clear-cut distinction: 'The average man of the world possesses Faith, but not Faith as a Faculty.' In the same vein the Hetuvādin sought to maintain that knowledge was not within the reach of the average man. He conceded so far that the uninstructed might possess practical wisdom but not knowledge in its higher technical sense. By knowledge the Hetuvādin meant the philosophic insight which consists in "analytic discernment, analytic understanding, ability to investigate or examine, the faculty of research, etc." Similarly they conceded to the Orthodox claim that the average man is "capable of liberality... and so forth," but they definitely stated that he is incapable of faith as a Faculty, and far more so of faith as a Power, for these higher forms of faith are impossible without the understanding of the truth. In the case of the untutored, faith does not come from knowledge but originates from hearsay or

tradition. That is to say, the faith of the average man is not what the Buddha himself termed “the reasoned or rational faith” (paññānvayā saddhā).¹ Thus the Hetuvādin effected a significant distinction between the ordinary and philosophic faith.

We read in the *Netti* : “The absence of impurity is the mark of assurance and tranquillity or satisfaction is its consummation. Solicitation is the mark of faith, and unflinching devotion its basis. Steadiness is the mark of assurance, and faith its basis.”²

In *Milindapañha*, faith is characterised by these two marks : (1) *Sam̐pasādana* tranquillizing in the sense of making the hindrances subside, and rendering consciousness clear, serene and untroubled, and (2) *Sampakkhaudhana*, jumping in the sense of aspiring to attain that which has not been attained, to master that which has not been mastered.

The *Abhidhamma* definition of faith assumes a popular character when it is restated in terms of *Buddhaghosa*’s commentary : “Faith is a trusting and taking refuge in the Buddha and other Jewels—the Doctrine and the Order. It is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of the Buddha and the rest, and rejoicing over them.”³ Faith is the guiding principle in all acts of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral and spiritual instincts and dispositions.”⁴ *Buddhaghosa* refers elsewhere to faith (*saddhā*) as transforming itself or deepening into devotion (*bhaddhi*) by repeated religious practices. Love (*pema*) is invariably associated with faith. The other element which accompanies it is *pasāda*, a sense of assurance,

¹ The expression has been quoted in the *Atthasālini*, p. 69.

² *Netti*, p. 28 : “*Okappanalakkaṇā saddhā, adhimuttipaccupatthānā ca. Anāvilakkaṇo pasādo, sampasādanapaccupatthāno ca. Abhipatthiyanalakkaṇā saddhā, tassa aveccappasādo padatthāno.*”

³ *Ibid.*, p. 145 ; *Buddhādīni va ratanāni saddahati pattiyaṇāti ti saddhā...Buddhādīnam guṇe ogāhati bhindivā viya anupavesati...pasīdanti.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 120, *saddhā pubbaṅgamā purecārikā hoti.*

attended by serene joy arising out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need.¹

Buddhaghosa's division of faith into four classes is a novel feature in later Buddhism :

(1) *Āgamanīya-saddhā*—the epoch-making faith of a Bodhisatta who is destined to become a supreme Buddha.

(2) *Adhigamasaddhā*, the philosophic conviction, gained by the *Ariyapuggalas*.

(3) *Pasādasaddhā*, the unwavering faith (*aveccappasādā*) of a stream-attainer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order.

(4) *Okappanasaddhā*, outward or seeming faith which makes a man keep up appearance, but does not touch his heart.

Faith and Doubt are two opposite states of mind so that the presence of one implies the absence of the other : "If a person entertains doubt, is perplexed about the Teacher and the rest, he does not attain *mukti* by reassuring faith, and his mind does not bend towards earnestness, application, perseverance and energy—this is the first bolt of the heart in his case."² 'The sceptic is the common enemy of the divines and the graver philosophers.'

Like faith, doubt admits of various stages of growth. To resist an overpowering doubt we require an unwavering faith. The Arahant is equipped with faith and other faculties and powers in a greater degree than the Buddhist Aryans who occupy the lower ranks ; the *Sotāpanna* or Stream-attainer who fills the lowest rank among the Aryans can claim a higher order of faith and the rest than a *Kalyāṇa Puthujjana* or Good Average-man who is undergoing training, preliminary to the Aryan stage ; and such a good average-man is entitled to a higher position than the ordinary man of the world. Among ordinary men, too, there are some who cherish high ambition,

¹ *Puggala-Paññatti-commentary*, p. 248 : " punappunam bhajanavasena saddhā va bhatti. Pemam saddhāpemam gehasita-pemampi vattati. Pasādo saddhāpasādo va."

² *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 101.

and others who do not. Thus we have (1) the faith of the ordinary man of the world ; (2) the faith of an inquirer before he receives instructions ; (3) the faith of an inquirer who is undergoing preliminary courses of training ; (4) the faith of the Sotāpanna or stream-attainer ; (5) the faith of the Aryans who have not as yet reached the goal ; (6) the faith of an Arhant who has realised Nirvāṇa.

Doubt or Scepticism is broadly divided into three classes, *viz.* :—(1) Doubt as a first Obstacle (Vicikicchā-Nīvaraṇa), (2) Doubt as a Fetter (Vicikicchā-Saṃyojana), and (3) Doubt as a Fetter inherent in lower nature (Oraṃbhāgīya-Saṃyojana). This division of doubt runs parallel to that of *Saddhā* into Faith, the Faculty and the Power. It is, therefore, conceivable that doubt is capable of as elaborate a classification as faith.

The common name for religious doubt is *Cetokhila* (The bolt of the heart), and philosophic doubt is in some way allied to *Avijjā* (Ignorance or Agnosticism). There are five *Cetokhilas*, the bolts which steel the heart against all tender feelings and higher aspirations, *viz.*, entertaining doubt, getting perplexed about the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Training (Sikkhā), and the want of fellow-feeling.¹ The first four bolts represent together what is termed above religious doubt :

“(1) as to whether or not the Teacher has the 32 major bodily marks, or the 80 minor bodily marks of a Buddha, or the requisite omniscience with respect to things past, future and present ; (2) as to the adequacy of the paths and their fruits to lead indeed to the ground ambrosial Nirvāṇa ; (3) as to whether those of the Order are indeed at various stages of the path to salvation, or have rightly won their way so far ; (4) as to whether the Training is helpful.”²

Doubt as a Hindrance is a state of mind to be put away by religious belief and discursive thought, the Doubt as a Fetter by faith, unwavering and insight philosophic. The *Cetokhila* and

¹ *Saṅgīti-Suttanta* (Dīgha, III) *sub voce* Cetokhila ; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I., *Cetokhila-Sutta*, p. 101.

² *Atthasālinī*, pp. 354-55. *Manual of Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 260, f. n. 2.

Avijjā represent two sides of doubt ; religious and philosophic. On its religious side, it can be put away by faith professed or realised, and on its philosophic side, by judgment and insight. Thus the Buddhist division of doubt shows a resemblance to Hume's division into two species, *viz.*, "Scepticism antecedent to all study and philosophy," and "Scepticism consequent to science and enquiry." The former is broadly represented by the Buddhist Hindrance, and the latter by the Fetter. So far as the Hindrance is concerned, doubt before instruction and enquiry can be removed by faith, of which the characteristic mark is aspiration, and doubt at the inception of the career of a reflective student by discursive thought. Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, held that it is within the power of a stream-attainer¹ to shake off all kinds of doubt excepting those which are deep-rooted in our lower nature and removable by introspection.

It is stated that the four conditions of Sotāpatti on the side of feeling are unwavering faith in the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, and the Training, that is, the four opposite states of the four bolts of the heart. The four conditions on the intellectual side refer to association with the wise, hearing of the good doctrine (study in the wider sense), reflective reasoning, and systematic knowledge of things.² Thus it can be proved that the Buddhist Sotāpanna is a religious philosopher whose duty it is to confirm the faith and understand the truth.

The Fetter with which the Sotāpanna is confronted is a philosophic doubt or scepticism proper with regard to the beginning and the end of things, or to use the words of Naciketa in the Kathôpaniṣad (1. 1. 20), a doubt as to whether a person continues to exist or not after death.³ But the doubt which the Buddhist philosopher has to overcome is bound

¹ *Saṅgīti-Suttanta* (Dīgha-nikāya III), *sub voce* Sotāpattyaṅgāni.

² *Sotāpattyaṅgāni* enumerated in the *Saṅgīti-Suttanta*, *Dīgha-Nikāya*, III, include Satthari, Dhamme, Saṃghe, Sikkhāya aveccappasādo; sappurisasamsevo, saddhammasavaṇaṃ, yonisomanasikāro, dhammānudhammapaṭipatti.

³ Yeyam prāte vicikitsā manuṣye, astīti eke nāstīti caive.

up with the question "as to whether there is a twelve-graded cycle of causation taking effect here and now, or taking effect at all,"¹ or as to whether, in the language of the Buddha, causality (*dharmatā*, *idappaccayatā*) is objectively and universally valid.²

Thus the faith of a *Sotāpanna* is intended to put away doubt regarding the five points denoted by the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Discipline, and Natural Causation. So we read in *Aśvaghoṣa's* "Awakening of Faith," a work which belongs to the same period as "The Questions of King Milinda :—"

"There are four aspects of faith.....(1) To believe in the fundamental truth, *i.e.*, to think joyfully of Suchness (*Bhūtatathatā*)..... (2) To believe in the Buddha as sufficiently enveloping infinite merits, *e.g.*, to rejoice in worshipping him, in paying homage to him, in making offerings to him, in hearing the good doctrine (*saddharma*), in disciplining oneself according to the doctrine, and in aspiring after Omniscience (*sarvajñāna*). (3) To believe in the Dharma as having great benefits, *i.e.*, to rejoice always in practising all *Pāramitās*. (4) To believe in the Saṃgha as observing true morality *i.e.*, to be ready to make offerings to the congregation of Bodhisattvas, and to practise truthfully all those deeds which are beneficial at once to oneself and to others."

Faith is the guiding factor which precedes all charitable, moral, religious and spiritual functions,³ the basic principle of all virtuous deeds (*puñṇakiriyavatthūni*), sanctioned by religion. The magnanimity of heart makes itself felt when something is given in faith.⁴ These statements are made by the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa in a manner far more precise and definite than the crude fashion in which Yājñavalkya expressed the same thought, itself an improvement on the popular notion of faith in the *Ṛg-veda* : "Sacrifice is based on charity, charity

¹ *Atthasālinī*. p. 355, *dvādasapadakaṃ paccayavattam atthi nu kho natthīti kaṅkhā*.

² *Samyutta-Nikāya*, II, 25. *Tathatā, Avitathatā*.

³ *Atthasālinī*, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 162 : *Suddhavitā okappetvā dadāti cetanāmahattam nāma hoti*.

on faith, faith on heart. Faith is conceived by heart, faith is established indeed in heart.”¹ Moreover, the manner in which Buddhadatta and his younger contemporary Buddhaghosa applied the older psychological analysis of mind for the purpose of discriminating the virtuous deeds sanctioned by religion² conclusively proves that such a critical faculty was unknown to the ancients. For instance, charity which is one of the ten virtuous deeds is defined by the Buddhist thinkers as an “exco-
gitation or conscious yearning of the heart coming into play since the gifts are produced, before these are made over, and subsequently when the donor recollects these with a mind gladden-
ed with joy.”³

As to the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism let one instance suffice. The Jainas enumerate these nine obstacles to faith (*daṃsaṇāvaranīya*):—Sleep, dozing, half sleepy state, deep sleep, deep-rooted greed, obstacles concerning faith in the objects of the four kinds of knowledge.⁴ The five hindrances to faith as enumerated by the Buddhists include sensual desires, hatred, sloth and torpor, worry and flurry, and doubt to which may be added ignorance.⁵ Of these torpor (*middha*), as appears from its definition in the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, covers the first four obstacles, mentioned by the Jainas.⁶

“Faith is perfected,” says Aśvaghoṣa, “by practising the following five deeds: Charity (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), cessation (or tranquillisation,

¹ *Brhad Ār. Up.*, III. 9. 21.

² *Abhidhammāvatāra*, pp. 2-4; *Atthasālinī*, pp. 157-162. *Saddhā* is conceived as a *cetanā*.

³ *Atthasālinī*, p. 157; *dānavatthūsu taṃ taṃ dentassa tesam uppādanato paṭṭhāya pubbabbhāge pariccāgakkāle pacchā somanassacittena anussaraṇa-kāle cāti tīsu kālesu pavattā cetanā dānamayaṃ puññakiriya vatthu nāma*.

⁴ *Uttarādhyaṇa*, XXXIII. 2.

⁵ *Kāmacchanda*, *vyāpāda*, *thinamiddha*, *uddhaccakukkucca*, *vicikicchā*, (*avijjā*).

⁶ *Uttarādhyaṇa*, XXXIII. 2: *nidrā*, *pracala*, *nidrānidrā*, *pracalāpracala*. Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, p. 254, *Middham soppaṃ pacalāyika soppaṃ supanā supitattam*: *Atthasālinī*, p. 378:

“*Supanti tenāti soppaṃ. Akkhiḍalādīnaṃ pacalabhāvaṃ karotīti pacalāyika*.” The Jaina commentator explains *pracala* as “the slumber of a standing or sitting person.”

śamatha) and intellectual insight (vidarśana, vipassanā).¹ This pronouncement of Aśvaghōṣa reminds us of the word of the Buddha, quoted in the Milinda :—

“ By faith he crosses over the stream,
By earnestness the sea of life;
By steadfastness all grief he stills,
By wisdom is he purified.”²

It is clear from this oft-quoted verse that *mukti* in its negative and positive aspects is attainable by faith, although human perfection requires the proper cultivation of other faculties and powers. Buddha has declared elsewhere that faith is the first principle to which penance, wisdom and the rest are subordinate. “ Faith is the seed, penance the rein, wisdom yoke and plough, consciousness the pole, mind the tie, mindfulness the plough-share and goad—such is the tilth that I till, the tilth of which the fruit is immortal life, the tilth by which one gets rid of all kinds of suffering.”³

The Arhant is indeed a person who has fully developed or cultivated these five moral or spiritual faculties : faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and reason.⁴ Those who fill the lower and lower ranks are persons who cultivate these in a weaker and weaker form. Those who are completely devoid of these five essential moral or spiritual faculties are placed outside the category of Aryans, and they are said to belong to the ranks of average men.⁵

It is clear from this that, according to Buddha Gotama, the higher is the plane of cognition, the finer is the type of religion;

¹ Suzuki.—“ The Awakening of Faith,” p. 128.

² Sutta-Nipāta, Aṭṭhakasutta, v. 4.

“ Saddhaya tarati ogham appamādena appavam,
Viriyena dukkham acceti, paññāya paṇisujjhati.”

³ *Ibid*, Kāśibharadvāja-Sutta, vv. 2-5.

⁴ Saddhindriyaṃ, viriyindriyaṃ, satindriyaṃ, samādhindriyaṃ, paññindriyaṃ.

⁵ Saṃyutta-Nikāya, V, p. 202 : Imesaṃ kho bhikkhave pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ samattā paripurattā Arahā hoti. Yassa kho bhikkhave imaṇi pañcendriyāni sabbena sabbam abbattha sabbam n'atthi, tam aham “ bāhiro puthujjapakke tthito ” ti vadāmi.

the deeper are the convictions, the stronger are the expressions of faith. There are, in other words, the degrees of faith corresponding to the degrees of knowledge. Reason or Wisdom determines the quality of faith (*paññanvayā saddhā*).¹ The relative position of faith and knowledge in the wider sense can be inferred from the accepted Buddhist classification of Arhants into two orders: (1) *Sukkhavipassaka*, the subtle seer, (2) *Samathayānika*, the mystic "who makes quietude his mode." This shows that among the Buddhist saints all were not gifted with higher perception, *i.e.*, not philosophers. There is another classification by which the Arhants are divided into three orders, *viz.*, (1) *Kāyasakkhi*, the intuitionist; (2) *Diṭṭhippatta*, the Intellectualist; (3) *Saddhāvimutta*, the Rationalist. *Savīttha* considered the devout mystic as the best of all, *Sāriputta* preferred the Intellectualist, and *Mahākoṭṭhita* preferred the Intuitionist. When the matter was referred to the Buddha for a final decision, he regretted his inability to make any dogmatic assertion,² for any one of the three classes might appear to be superior to others according to circumstances. Although in this particular passage of the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* (III. 21) the Buddha refrained from delivering a definite judgment on the question at issue, there are other passages³ to indicate his real position. There he enumerates seven classes of Arhants according to the highest place to the *Ubhaya-bhāga-vimutta*, one who attains freedom by means of concentration and reason. The second place in his opinion is occupied by the *Paññāvimutta*, one who attains *mukti* by means of reason. Below him stands the *Kāyasakkhi*, the intuitionist who aspires to envisage the real as a single whole.⁴ To an intuitionist analytical functions of the understanding are ultimately futile.

¹ Quoted in the *Atthasālinī*, p. 69.

² *Na sukaṣaṇṇa ekappaṇa vyākāṭup.*

³ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I. 478 f. n., *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*. III. 21, *Puggala-Paññatti*, III. 3.

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I. 292, *Mahākoṭṭhita* who was an Intuitionist forces *Sāriputta* to admit that the real is an indivisible whole.

The Intellectualist (Ditthippatta) standing fourth in order of merit is a learned man who has ability to grasp and explain the philosophy of the Buddha.

The Rationalist (Saddhāvimutta) who occupies the fifth place is a strong believer *plus* one who fairly understands the import of Buddha's system. Next comes Dhammānusāri, the good man who develops the five faculties by faithfully carrying out the moral principles of the Teacher. In the lowest rank is placed the Saddhānusāri who develops the five faculties, essential to *mukti*, by way of blind faith, in and through the love of the Buddha.¹ Here the Buddha adds a word of explanation. In the case of the first two classes, there is no further need of earnestness, for it is impossible for them to be careless. The remaining classes are nevertheless recognised in his system, because all cannot attend to a complete course of training.

The complete course of training² is to be gone through only by an earnest seeker of truth, who, full of faith, approaches a teacher with whom he associates himself. Thus with rapt attention he hears the doctrine which he remembers, examines, and understands, whereby he begins to feel love for the subject, and finally he realises the highest truth by his own efforts and acquires deep insight by his wisdom.³

The character of the early Buddhist faith is set forth in the last utterance of the Buddha to his disciples, which is as follows :—
“Handa dāni bhikkhave, āmantayāmi vo; veyadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādettha.” “Now I charge you, Bhikkhus : All composites are subject to decay, be earnest in your duties.” And this *appamāda* or earnestness is the one word by which the Master summed up his whole life, nay, this is the expression whereby he summed up his whole teaching : “Regarded as a subjective element, O Bhikkhus, I do not find,” he said, “any other element which conduces to the greatest good than earnest-

¹ Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 479 : “Tathāgate c’assa saddhāruattaṃ hoti pemamattaṃ.”

² Anupubbāsikkhā, anupubbakiriya, anupubbapaṭipadā.

³ Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 480 : Aṅguttara, ii. 5, 6

ness (*appamāda*) ; nor do I find any other element than earnestness, which conduces to the stability of the faith and preserves it from getting preverted and from disappearing.”¹ It is well said in the *Milinda* which is a classical Pāli composition dated about the 1st century A. D., that energy (*vīriya*, which is the positive nomenclature for *appamāda*) is the mainstay of all good qualities, illustrated by the following similes :—

(1) Just as a man, if a house were falling down, would make a prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall down, just so is the rendering of support the mark of energy ;

(2) Just as when a large army has broken up a small one then the king of the latter would call to mind every possible ally and reinforce his small army, and by that means the small army might in its turn break up the large one ; just so is the rendering of support the mark of energy, and all the good qualities which it supports do not fall away.²

In support of this interpretation of energy, the *Milinda* cites the following words of the Teacher from an unknown source : “ The energetic hearer of the Noble Truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and develops in himself that which is right and thus does he keep himself pure.” The earnestness or energy here contemplated with which he held fast to meditation under the Bodhi-tree, is the determination so well expressed in many later poetical works, the determination not to deviate from the path of duty, even if the heavens be rent asunder or the earth’s stability be disturbed (*nabham phaleyya, pathavim caleyya*).

When a man steps into a Buddhist sanctuary, I shall not be surprised, if he will meet a votary or superstitious worshipper taking refuge in the Triad by repeating the set formula

¹ *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 16-17.

² *Milinda*, p. 57.

“I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dhamma, I take refuge in the Saṅgha, once, twice and thrice.” But whatever the interpretation of these commonly accepted formula, to me the servile expression “I take refuge” seems utterly incompatible with the heroic spirit which the Buddha sought to impart to all that he said and to all that he did. It calls up a train of cowardly associations which befit only a degenerated age. This is not the way in which a Buddhist who is to appear as a conqueror was called upon by the Master to profess his faith. The proper way to express one’s faith is to say and feel: “The Blessed One is the Teacher, I am his disciple. The Blessed One knows and I do not. Let my skin, nerves and bones dry up, let my body of flesh and blood perish away, until my end is attained—the end which is attainable by manly strength, manly energy, manly effort, I will not cease to strive.”¹

If it be admitted, then, that the Buddha made earnestness or energy the sustaining principle of his system, the question arises how it is possible for a person to pursue his aim with the heroic determination to do or die. The reply is—only when he is conscious that he himself is the builder of his moral self (*attā hi attano nātho*) and that there is no other (*ko hi nātho paro siyā*). As a matter of fact, this is the older conception of faith (*śraddhā*) which can be traced back to the Vedic hymns. At the closing period of the R̥g-Veda, faith came to be regarded as a yearning of the heart (*hr̥dayāya ākūti*²), or insatiable thirst for the highest achievement of life. This thirst, as expressed in an oft-quoted *stotra* of the subsequent age, is to be led from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light and from death to immortality. Indeed the belief that a man is what he desires to be (*kratumaya puruṣa*)³ is admitted in different ways as the cardinal principle of religion in the age of the older Upaniṣads. The principle is illustrated in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad by the life-practice of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, who is said to have

¹ Maṃjhima, I, pp. 480-1.² R̥g-Veda, X. 161.³ Chāndogya, III. 14.

become after death what he desired to be in this life.¹ With the growth of moral self-consciousness the principle came to be more emphatically expressed in these words: "Whatever ends a person desires to attain, and whatever desires a person entertains, whether the attainment of the world of fathers, or of mothers, or of brothers, or of sisters, or of friends, or of wives, or of music, and so forth, these come to be from the very act of his willing it; and thus endowed with it he is glorified."² In a somewhat later analysis a moral condition is consciously added, *viz.*, that a person aiming at something noble must be pure in heart (*viśuddhâtmanā*).³

Yājñavalkya came to formulate his theory of karma on the basis of this fundamental conception of Aryan faith: "A man is what he believes himself to be; as he desires so he acts; as he acts so he attains," and this is the doctrine of karma which was developed in the hands of the Buddha into a full-fledged system of religious ethics. This is in a sense the main point in regard to which he came to fulfil and not to destroy the supreme task which his Aryan predecessors left to him to carry out on an extensive scale. True to this religious instinct of India, the Buddha proclaimed in the lion's roar: "Herein a Bhikkhu is endowed with faith, equipped with morality, replete with learning, enriched with generosity, vested with wisdom, and the thought occurs to him 'Oh! that it were possible for me to be so reborn as to attain the status of powerful warriors or any higher condition of existence, on the dissolution of the body, after death.' It burns his heart, it occupies his thought, it makes his mind ponder over. Such a disposition of his and pondering over things, developed and accentuated in this manner, paves the way for the attainment of his end. This is the road, this the path, that leads to his goal."

B. M. BARUA

¹ Chāndogya, III, 17, 6.

² *Ibid.*, VII, 2-1-10.

³ Majjhima, III, pp. 99

PANINI'S "PARTS OF SPEECH"

All our grammars written under European influence, whether of English, or of the Vernaculars, or of Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic, inform us that there are in every language eight "parts of speech." We know them all, nouns, pronouns, etc. For the beginner in grammatical studies it is sufficient to have this classification and their definitions, embodied in the school-boy doggerel :

"Noun is the name of anything.

"As : *school or garden, hoop or swing*" etc., etc.

This classification leads to a certain amount of clearness in the mind of the young boy and girl beginning to grasp the inwardness of language and learning to analyse it. But what is sufficient for the intellect of a child can surely not be regarded as either scientific or as enough for grown-up students.

And above all it does seem strange to me that we in India have accepted and adopted without question this eight-fold classification imported from the west, although we have had a much more satisfactory and scientific classification given to us by Pāṇini, the greatest grammarian the world has ever known. No doubt the western classification has its advantages, for it has had the sanction of having been used in Europe ever since the days of the Romans and has had its origin in the categories of Aristotle. There is a certain amount of ease and apparent simplicity about it, as we all very well know, but in this very simplicity lie hidden snares to catch the unthinking. Let us try to remember the agonies we suffered at school when we were asked to parse the two *the*'s in the phrase, *the more the merrier*. Modern grammars are distinctly better arranged and are more scientific than were those I learnt a generation ago, but still there is a lot to be done.

As stated above the eightfold classification of the West owes its birth to the greatest philosopher of Greece, Aristotle. But he looked at language as merely a vehicle of, and consequently as subservient to, thought. His main topic was the process of human thought and he divided the sumtotal of "the objects of experience" into various categories. And just because thought and language are so intimately connected together the same term came naturally to designate a particular aspect in the process of reasoning and the *word* which expresses the idea. We need not blame Aristotle for this confusion; it was the early European compilers of grammar who misapplied the terms of Aristotelian Logic to the categories of Grammar. The reason for this confusion on the part of these early compilers is to be sought in the fact that neither Greece nor Rome ever produced a *grammarian*. The Greeks had always held, and rightly, that a man had no need to learn the grammar of his own mother-tongue. They did study rhetoric, *i.e.*, the art of clearly expressing their thoughts and of effectively moving their hearers and readers; but they never tried to teach the structure of any language—neither of their own because they held that a man learns his own language intuitively (which is indeed the best method), nor of any foreign language, because they were too proud to learn the unmeaning jargon of barbarians. In fact no grammar of Greek was ever compiled until after the Romans had conquered the country and there arose the demand among the Romans to learn the language and literature and philosophy of Greece. So the first grammars of Greek were strictly practical manuals to teach the Romans and as such they were mere compilations of the facts of the language without any attempt at scientific analysis. The facts, however, had to be marshalled in some sort of order, and for this, naturally, the compilers looked to Aristotle and to his "categories." This mixing up of Logic and Grammar has continued in all grammars written by Europeans or under European influence right up to the present

day. And though this mixing up was, as we have seen, quite natural and inevitable under the circumstances, it acquired a sanctity in later ages which made it impossible to be replaced by any other system. This classification—based upon Laws of Thought—is correct as far as it goes ; but it has two grave defects : (i) the categories are overlapping and hence very often lead to confusion and (ii) this sort of classification is not *grammatical*, inasmuch as it does not emphasise the structure and the type of the language *quā* language.

In India, too, we notice a similar tendency to mix up Logic and Grammar. The first three “categories” of the Vaiśeṣika system—*dravya*, *guṇa* and *karma*—can by a very easy and natural step be made into the three grammatical categories, *noun*, *adjective* and *verb*. In the Nyāya system, *śabda* is a recognised “category” and there have been long dissertations on its nature and use. But wherever such discussions occur they concern themselves with *śabda* as such, *i.e.*, with the *concept* it embodies and as a “category” of the Nyāya philosophy. Thus, in that well known work of Nyāya—the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*—the grammatical and linguistic aspect of speech is hard to disentangle from the Nyāya philosophy which enmeshes it.

Luckily for India—and for the world—very early in the history of Indian thought attention began to be paid to language *as language*. The analysis—the *vyākaraṇa*—of the Vedas gave the first start, and from the earliest times this *vyākaraṇa* was a recognised *vedāṅga*. And the Hindu mind sharply and clearly distinguished this analysis from the other *vedāṅgas* such as “poetics” and “etymology.” In short language *quā* language (not merely as an adjunct to thought) was analysed and all its facts were observed and classified long before the age of Pāṇini. What this great Grammarian did was to put together all that his predecessors had done and to rearrange it in his own way and to put upon it the stamp of his own genius and originality. We have now no means of knowing what

was contained in the works of the Grammarians¹ who preceded Pāṇini and had analysed the language before him. His overmastering genius has obliterated all traces of other earlier writers—at least from his own system. He has reshaped the whole into an organic unity in which it is almost impossible to separate the work of the earlier Grammarians from his own. His terminology is his own and is very carefully chosen. It does not encroach upon the province of any other science, and possesses the terseness of algebraical formulæ, where each letter has its own signification and value. This sort of terminology has completely averted the danger of mixing up Grammar and Logic; for though thought and language are always wedded together, still in a scientific analysis it is better to consider each independently and by itself. At the very least the terms of Logic and of Grammar ought to be distinct and separate.

Pāṇini's analysis is not a mere pulling to pieces of the roots and their endings. He has gone far deeper. He has had the vision of the whole forest even while he was looking at each individual tree and shrub. He has recognised the essential type of the language he is analysing as also the fundamentals of language itself. This is clearly seen in his treatment of the grammatical categories. Here he shows himself completely modern in his view. Of course we have only his terse algebraical formulæ to go upon; but we must remember that in these each word (and often each syllable and even letter) has a clear implication. We are not to rest content with a mere *translation* of his *sūtras*, but should go deep into all their varied implications.

The *sūtra* we have to consider in connection with our present inquiry is **सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्** (I. 4. 14). Boethlingk in his edition of Pāṇini² translates this thus: "Was auf eine Casus, oder

¹ Note that I use the word *Grammarian*. Yāska was an "etymologist." Some people are of opinion that the *Kātantra* and one or two other works represent pre-Pāṇinian ideas.

² Ed. of 1887, p. 32.

Personalendung ausgeht, heisst Pada (Wort),” i.e., “*Pada* (or word) is what ends with a *sup-* or a *tin-*ending.” In this *sūtra* Pāṇini has embodied several fundamental ideas of linguistics. In the first place this *sūtra* defines a grammatical word (*pada*). Note that he says *pada* not *śabda*, for he is dealing with *grammar* and not *philosophy*. With Pāṇini the *śabda* (the abstract concept) has no significance until it has become a *pada*, or the part of a *vākya* (sentence). For in language a word by itself has no value unless it forms part of a sentence. This follows directly from the very definition of language. We may* define language as a means by which thought may be conveyed from one mind to another. And as far as this present discussion goes we may confine ourselves to articulate and written human speech. *Śabda* is merely a concept, and one concept by itself can convey no thought from one mind to another, it has to be combined with another in order that the purpose of language may be achieved. In other words language (i.e., conveying of thought from one mind to another) can come only when at least two concepts are put together. When this is done we get a sentence (*vākya*). This is the fundamental idea of linguistics, that *the sentence is the unit of language*. These concepts (or rather the articulate or written symbols of these concepts or *śabdās*) when they come together in a sentence are called by Pāṇini *padas*. So the first implication of this *sūtra* (I. 4. 14) is that the sentence is the unit of language and that *śabda* by itself has no grammatical value unless it is first converted to a *pada*.

The Grammarian takes cognisance of a word only when it has become a *pada*. So, our next point will be to consider how this change can be brought about. This is achieved, as we have already hinted above, when two words (concepts) are combined together, that is to say by putting together¹ words

¹ It is not necessary that *both* should be expressed. Only one might be actually uttered but the other is understood or implied by the context or by the “logic of circumstances.”

in a sentence. Now this can be done in many different ways, and a scientific division, and tabulation of languages depends entirely upon the different methods of sentence-construction (*i.e.*, syntax). We need not stop to describe the various types of languages that exist in the world. Suffice it to say that the language which Pāṇini analyses—Sanskrit—is a language of the suffix-inflecting type. Pāṇini therefore classifies the *padas* first of all under two heads, the *sub-anta* and the *tiñ-anta*. The *anta* clearly defines the essential characteristic of the Sanskrit type, *viz.*, suffix-inflection. A third class is also mentioned—the *avyaya*—but this is clearly recognised as a special class of the *sub-anta*.¹ Thus we get the three “parts of speech” in Pāṇini *sub-anta*, *tiñ-anta* and *avyaya*. And these cover exactly the same ground between them as the eight parts of speech of the Western writers. .

In any language these words which connote action are always sharply distinguished from the rest. And though the classification of words into the eight parts of speech may be overlapping, still it is fairly sharp as far as verbs are concerned, and at any rate the boundaries of the verb in grammar are fairly clear and in the inflectional languages in their full synthetic stage (*e.g.*, Sanskrit or Greek) verbs can be easily picked out in a sentence. The whole set of inflections for verbs are quite distinct from those used for nouns and the other parts of speech. The classification of Pāṇini therefore is quite clear and, the divisions are mutually exclusive. Then there are also the words grouped together under the heading *avyaya*, which may be further subdivided into two (*i*) those without any endings whatever and (*ii*) those which show an ending. And in the latter class the only endings found are the *sup*-endings. And the one characteristic of these *avyayas* is that their form is unvarying. So there is full justification for maintaining that these words are unvarying forms of *sub-an*—

Pāṇini thus avoids the confusion naturally caused in the Western system of grammar. We, who have learnt according to the Western system, have an idea that there is some inherent power in the concept itself, in other words, that there is a sort of *śabda-śakti*, which determines the "part of speech." This confusion arises, as we have seen, because the compilers of grammars in the West have had no special terminology of their own, but have borrowed it from the science of thought. In fact, until quite recently, there had been practically no investigation of grammar *quā* grammar in the West. Pāṇini, on the other hand, keeps the science of thought strictly apart and confines himself solely to the analysis of the *language*. And in the course of his investigations he has fully understood the nature of the language he is analysing, he has grasped firmly the fact that the sentence is the unit of language and he has, therefore, laid down that the *grammatical* worth of a word (in Sanskrit) is not dependent upon the concept embodied in it but is to be determined by the ending which has been added to it.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

Reviews

The Indian Colony of Champa by Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Professor of History, Visvabharati, Santiniketan ; 162 pages ; published in the Asian Library series by the Theosophical Publishing House. Another book of Prof. Bose "*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*" has been previously published in the same series. The works of Prof. Bose, as usual, deal with interesting topics of ancient Indian History. The Indian colonisation of Champa is one of the most glorious chapters of the colonial expansion of India and any attempt, however imperfect it may be, to supply some information on it is welcome. The ancient Hindu colony of Champa, now fallen in oblivion, occupied the greater part of modern Annam and Cochin-China and was founded by Indian settlers most probably towards the beginning of the Christian era. Most of the works on its past history has been done by French scholars. Mr. Bose was sufficiently acquainted with these researches for having undertaken this work.

The book contains eight chapters and the last three of them, *Cultural History of Champa*, *Kingship in Champa*, and *Art and Sculpture of Champa* are the most interesting. Mr. Bose has mostly drawn his information from the work of Georges Maspero, "*Le Royaume de Champa*," published first in *Toung Pao* (1910-1913), and then as a separate volume in 1914. The work of M. Maspero is an excellent compilation of all that was done on the history of Champa till 1910, and Mr. Bose could not have found a better and surer guide. But unfortunately some inaccuracies have escaped the notice of Mr. Bose, mistakes which do not occur in the work of Maspero. I will point out only a few of them.

P. 6—M. Barth was never a student of M. Abel Bergaigne as the author supposes.

P. 15—The different names of Champa are not correctly stated. Çanf (or Tsanf and not Cauf or Tsauf) of the Arabs ; Çyamba of Marco-Polo ; Campe of Odoric de Pordenone. Identification with Zabai (Z'abai) of Ptolemy is too problematic to be accepted. The author states on the same page that the Chams "have changed their Hindu faith for Islam". But it is not exact. There are Hindu Chams even now. I have myself visited the villages of Hindu Chams in the vicinity of Phanrang and Nhatrang during my tour in Annam. Cf. also the book of Cabaton—*Les nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*.

P. 19—"Fu-nan (comprising Indo-China and Cambodia)" is unintelligible. Fu-nan in all probability occupied a greater part of modern Cambodia, that is to say the valley of the Mekong and a part of the valley of the Menam. *Hun-tien* is most probably the transcription of the Sanskrit name *Kaundinya*.

P. 30—"The kingdom of Champa was at that time divided into various provinces such as Pānduranga Vijaya, Kauthāra, etc...on the south there was Amaravati (under the Chinese domination)" This is a misleading adaptation from the work of M. Maspero (Reprint of 1914, p. 69) who says, 'The country of Chams were divided in principalities corresponding to provinces which were later on called Pānduranga, Vijaya, Kauthara, etc... one of these which came to be later on, called Amarāvati was, if the southern boundary of the Chinese empire is placed at Cape Bantan, under the nominal dependency of the Hans.' So Amarāvati was not in South Champa but really in the north. Mr. Bose describes it as such on p. 121 of his work.

P. 121—The port of Vijaya is given as Sri-Vijaya through mistake. It is in all probability *Sri-Vinaya*. The original name appears in the Chinese transcription as *she-li-pi-ni* which seems to be based on *Sri-Vinaya*. Cf. *p'i-ni-mu* for *Vinayamātrikā*.

P. 151—"Uttarakalpa of the Saivas"—M. Bergaigne does not identify it with *Sāktānandatarāṅginī* as Mr. Bose supposes. M. Bergaigne simply states that the work is quoted in the Tantric compilation, known as *Sāktānandatarāṅginī*.

As it is not the place to point out all the inaccuracies which occur in the work of Mr. Bose, we would only request him to revise the book when the need for a second edition presents itself. But inspite of these inaccuracies we recommend the book to the students of ancient Indian history and to all those who are interested in the subject. Nothing has been as yet written in English on the subject—a subject which is of great interest to all Indians. Mr. Bose deserves every credit for introducing these subjects to the Indian readers in an accessible manner, as many of them have no means of going to the original works written in French.

P. C. B.

The Law of Christ, Sermons by a Buddhist at the Church of St. Alban (Liberal Catholic), Sydney, by C. Jinarājādāsa, M.A. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). The author is the well-known Vice-President of the Theosophical Society and a man of deep culture

and learning. As a writer and speaker he is second only to Mrs. Besant herself. This is one of the latest of his books and consists of over thirty sermons preached to Christian audiences. They are all of them beautiful in their conception and language, but that is what one expects from the author. Their true value lies in the fact that here we have Christianity viewed by a cultured non-Christian, who possesses a deep understanding of the scriptures of that religion and has a reverence for the Founder of that Faith which few Christians can rival. These sermons would provide material for meditation to Christian and non-Christian alike, and they emphasise clearly the main thesis of Theosophy that all Religions come from the same Source. Sentences like, "the real Christian then must seek the Christ in all, and find the Christ each day, and so make the days of the year all Christmas days," or "the essence of spirituality, so far as I have lived the life of the spirits is to find what I have discovered of God in the heart of every man," taken at random from the book, give a taste of what it is like. The author has been preaching many many years about trying to realise "God, our fellow-man"—essentially the same gospel was preached by Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa—which is the essence of the teaching of all religions and this gospel has been preached in all languages. What the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society has done is to re-interpret it in the language of the twentieth century.

I. J. S. T.

Nirvana, by George S. Arundale (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). This book relates some of the deepest of human experiences, those which touch the Cosmic Consciousness, in wonderfully vivid language. Two chapters have specially attracted my notice—"Mother Light" and "Dangers of Nirvana." The last especially is very well worth being considered by even ordinary human beings who strive upwards. There always comes to each one of us, in the moments of our triumphal achievements, the sense of impatience with those who are below us. That feeling is in its essence one of separation and on the path of spirituality that feeling is the greatest danger of all. The Hindu Scriptures call it *ahankāra*, and Milton has told us of the *pride* of Satan. That is the subtlest foe to overcome; through that came the final temptations of Christ and of Buddha by the Prince of Evil. Years ago I knew the author and had the privilege of working in close association with him. His charming personality, his hard practical commonsense

and his deep spirituality taught me lessons then, which I have never forgotten. To-day again this book reveals to me my old friend just the same lovable and loving person, yet still different inasmuch as he is at a much higher spiritual level. The heights to which he has risen have not made him giddy, he is still in full possession of his commonsense and though he has had such wonderful experiences he has not forgotten his kinship with common humanity. That is the one factor which makes his book open out to us a *living* experience, such as one we may have undergone ourselves or heard of an intimate friend doing so. To me it comes with greater vividness, for in every page I feel the presence my dear old friend George S. Arundale.

I. J. S. T.

Landmarks of Indian History Books I and II, (T. Nelson and Sons, price 2 s. each). These two little books are intended for "young people in India." The style is sufficiently attractive for children and I think it will interest young people of English parentage in India, but for Indian children the book is somewhat (though not very) difficult. In the spelling of Indian names there are some glaring mistakes (*Bishma* for instance) and it would have been better in a book for children to omit all diacritical marks. The stories are well chosen and interesting, but there are sometimes uncalled-for remarks by the author which do not seem to be in good taste and they mar the whole beauty of the tale. Thus in introducing the story of how Prithvi Raj and his uncle Surajmal fought the whole day against each other and at night sat down to feed together, the author says: "I must tell you one story, because even if it is not true it shows so well the kind of people the Rajputs were." Would the writer have said so about the tale of Bruce and the Spider or about the Six Burghers of Calais? There are several other places where a sensitive Indian would find the remarks of the author rather galling and it would have been better if the author had told the stories in plain words without adding uncalled-for opinions and insinuations introduced by the words "I suppose." In places these remarks savour of patronage which no Indian can tolerate to-day. One such uncalled-for remark is found on the very last page of Book II with reference to Sivaji. May we hope that when another story book of Indian History has to be written the author would try to put himself (or herself) in the position of an Indian reader? After all these books are meant to rouse the spirit of hero-worship among the young and therefore any remarks of the author beyond the tale are absolutely uncalled-for.

POST-GRADUATE

Pushparath (in Bengali), by Kshitish Chandra Bagehi, M.A. published by the Ramkrishna Library, 30 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta—92 pages.

This small book deserves special notice here as it is the first of its kind, written in Bengali. The book deals with different kinds of aeroplanes, monoplanes, balloons, etc., their discovery and mechanisms. It is mainly based on Claston's *Mastery of the Air*, with several additional chapters, on Sir Samuel Hoare and his recent historic flight to India, and on the technical words concerning aviation and their Bengali synonyms. In European languages there are different series of publications containing information on the famous scientific discoveries of the contemporary world meant for School-boys and laymen, but in India not much has as yet been done in that direction. It is needless to emphasise on the necessity of such publications which will really inspire the boys with the examples of the illustrious martyrs, to the cause of science and will help them in forming a scientific attitude in life. We are lacking in it too much. We, therefore, recommend the book to the Text Book Committee. The book is written in a lucid style. Technical words have been explained and simplified as much as possible to make the book understandable to the school boys, and over and above the book has been profusely illustrated by the designs of different kinds of aeroplanes and their machines.

P. C. B.

Home and the School, by M. M. Gidvani (Sunshine Publishing House, Engineer Building, Princes Street, Bombay, price Re. 1-8). This is a small book of sketches depicting the life at home and in the educational institutions in India and brings out in glaring contrast the defects of our modern educational system. It began as an imposition from above by the higher powers and has ever since borne the essential stamp of its foreign origin and inspiration. And this system has failed, as it was bound to fail, to supply the needs of our nation. So much is made at present of vernacular instruction, but unless the *spirit* of the whole is changed the language matters not a scrap. Mr. Gidvani has touched all the essential points of this problem and his sketches are in places quite comic, but more often the tragedy of the waste of human effort and of human lives is depicted in words that call forth tears. This is a book well worth perusal, but the printing and get-up leave much to be desired.

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POST-GRADUATE

Voice of Aryavartta, Life and Message of Rishi Dayanand, by T. L. Vaswani, (Ganesh & Co., Madras). A fine little book worthy to be put into the hands of a young man or woman. It is addressed to the Youth of India and the Message of Dayananda is inspiring indeed. The message is contained in one word *shakti*. That forms the keystone of the Sage's teaching to India, down-trodden and impotent. That is what his Arya Samaj has been working for, that is what great leaders like Shrad-dhanand lived for and died for. The book is written in beautiful language of which the author is a wonderful master, the printing and get-up is fine and the book should find a place upon the shelves and in the hearts of the Youth of India.

POST-GRADUATE

Ourselfes

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

We have to announce with sincere regret that Professor Henry Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D. is obliged on account of age and failing health to sever his connection with the University as Professor of English in the Post-Graduate Department. His connection with the re-organised University of Calcutta began in 1914 when at the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee he joined the teaching staff after having cut off his connection with the Scottish Churches College with which had been incorporated the Free Church Institution, popularly known as the Duff College, of which Dr. Stephen was for about thirty years a professor of outstanding merit. Thus for nearly the last fifteen years of his long career as a distinguished Professor he was at the head of the English department of this University with conspicuous success. He honourably served the University in various important capacities : as a Fellow of the Senate, as an Examiner, as a Professor and as the Chairman of the English Board in the Post-Graduate Department, and an able and important member of other Boards of Studies and of numerous Committees where his sober judgment and ripe experience were of immense value. He was also the Editor-in-chief of the *Calcutta Review* (Third Series) to which he made valuable contributions. In recognition of his eminence as a scholar the University conferred on him in 1921 the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The signal services rendered by him as a profound scholar, renowned educationist and efficient teacher to the cause of higher education in Bengal can never be overrated. But a higher service for which his name is cherished in the affectionate

hearts of nearly three generations of educated men is the noble ideal of selfless devotion to the intellectual and moral elevation of the youth which he always followed in his own life and held up before others by his high character and his loving heart. In this country he has often been compared with an ancient *Rishi*. It is no exaggeration to say that in recent days no European Professor came so heartily into the most intimate personal contact with his students or extended to them so readily and generously his helping hand in all possible ways as their best friend and well-wisher. Dr. Stephen concentrated all his energies on his work as an educationist and has always lived the detached and tranquil life of a true scholar. His is indeed a dedicated life. Remarkably simple in his ways and habits, wonderfully open-hearted and generous, he commands the admiration and regard of all his fellow-workers as much as love and respect from all his pupils.

In his retirement the Calcutta University has sustained a heavy loss. The Senate in its last meeting (June 27, 1927) has fittingly recorded its high appreciation of his services in a resolution moved by the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of the Syndicate and carried unanimously. Eloquent tribute was sincerely paid on the occasion by the Senators who spoke on the motion and we associate ourselves with them in their genuine appreciation of him and in the fervent hope and wish that he may speedily recover from the illness for which he is now an inmate of the Presidency General Hospital.

BIRTHDAY HONOURS AND THE UNIVERSITY.

We beg to offer our cordial congratulations to Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, for the honour conferred on him by the Government on the 3rd June, last. Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra is a very hard-working and conscientious officer of the University and it is

but quite in the fitness of things that the Government has recognised his services by conferring on him the title of Rai Bahadur. In congratulating him at the Senate meeting on the 27th June last, the Vice-Chancellor said : " It is not only a privilege but also a pleasure to work with an officer like Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh."

We also offer our cordial congratulations to Pandit Ananta-krishna Sastri, one of the most learned members of the Post-Graduate Department in Sanskrit. The title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* could not have been conferred on a more deserving scholar.

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

Preliminary Scientific M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 183, of whom 134 passed, 43 failed, one was expelled and 5 were absent.

First M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 221 of whom 107 passed, 111 failed, 1 was expelled and 2 were absent.

B. Com.—

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination was 111 of whom 44 passed, 58 failed, 1 was expelled and 8 were absent. Of the successful candidates 2 were placed in Class I.

I. A.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 4,216 of whom 140 were absent and 7 were disallowed ; of the remaining 4,034 candidates, 2,004 passed, of whom 766 were

placed in the First Division, 951 in the Second and 263 in the Third Division,—the percentage of pass being 49·73.

I. Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 4,516, of whom 136 were absent and 7 were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 4,342, of whom 2,113 passed. Of the successful candidates 1,026 passed in the First Division, 934 in the Second and 153 in the Third Division. The number of candidates to pass in one subject only was 15 and only one candidate passed in two subjects,—the percentage of pass being 49·7.

B. Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,273, of whom 593 were successful, 44 were absent, 10 were expelled and 592 failed. Of the successful candidates 393 were placed on the Pass List and .99 on the Honours List,—the percentage of pass being 49·7. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 20 were placed in the First Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 101 passed with Distinction. In this connection the following tabular list indicating the percentage of pass from 1922 will be found interesting to our readers :

Year.			Percentage of Pass.
1922	70·3
1923	74·08
1924	72·5
1925	59·1
1926	58·9
1927	49·7

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A NEW D. Sc.

Mr. Praphullakumar Basu has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The subjects of the theses submitted to and approved by the Board of Examiners are—(1)

On Thiodiazines, Parts I-VI ; (2) Action of Halogenated Ketones on 1—substituted Thiosemicarbazides ; (3) Studies in the Thiosemicarbazone Series ; and (4) Mercaptans of the Purine Group.

FELICITATIONS TO DR. CHATTERJI AND TO DR. SEN.

We have been requested to print the following extract from a letter of Professor Sylvain Levi to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University :

“ Suniti Kumar Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* is positively a masterpiece ; I know of no work of this kind, where the matter has been so fully mastered, so thoroughly searched, so clearly exposed. Any scholar interested in any side of Bengali, even of Indian history or life, is sure to find there enrichment of knowledge and appeal to reflexion.

And what shall I say of Dineshchandra Sen's *Eastern Bengal Ballads* ? I must confess that I have a peculiar fondness for the man and for all his publications. He carries all his work, however technical it may be, in such a *rapt* of enthusiasm ; he has such a love for whatever is Bengali, and his mystical *love* is not afraid of the most minute technicalities. No living man has probably contributed more to make Bengal understood, realized, felt, enjoyed by the Western mind.”

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MR. B. C. MAZUMDAR.

Professor A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., of Cambridge writes to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar (under date, 17th March, 1927) on perusal of his paper on *The Destiny of Man*, published in the January number of the *Calcutta Review* for 1927 :—

“Your attempt to study the social evolution of man from a new angle appears to me to promise suggestive results and any new light thrown on the subject will be welcome.”

Relating to the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar (published by the Calcutta Uni-

versity), in which it has been shown for the first time how a large number of aboriginal tribes of the highlands of Central India are inter-related and bear genetic affinity to one another and how their social and religious institutions tend strongly to prove that the area aforesaid has been the land of their racial characterisation, Professor Haddon writes :

"This little book strikes me as being a careful attempt to clear up some of the problems of that complicated region, and as such, is useful. The University has done well to publish this book."

This distinguished anthropologist writes in his letter to the author :

"Many thanks for your valuable and interesting little book on the Sabara-Kol people. I hope to make use of it in the future, but for the present I am engaged with New Guinea."

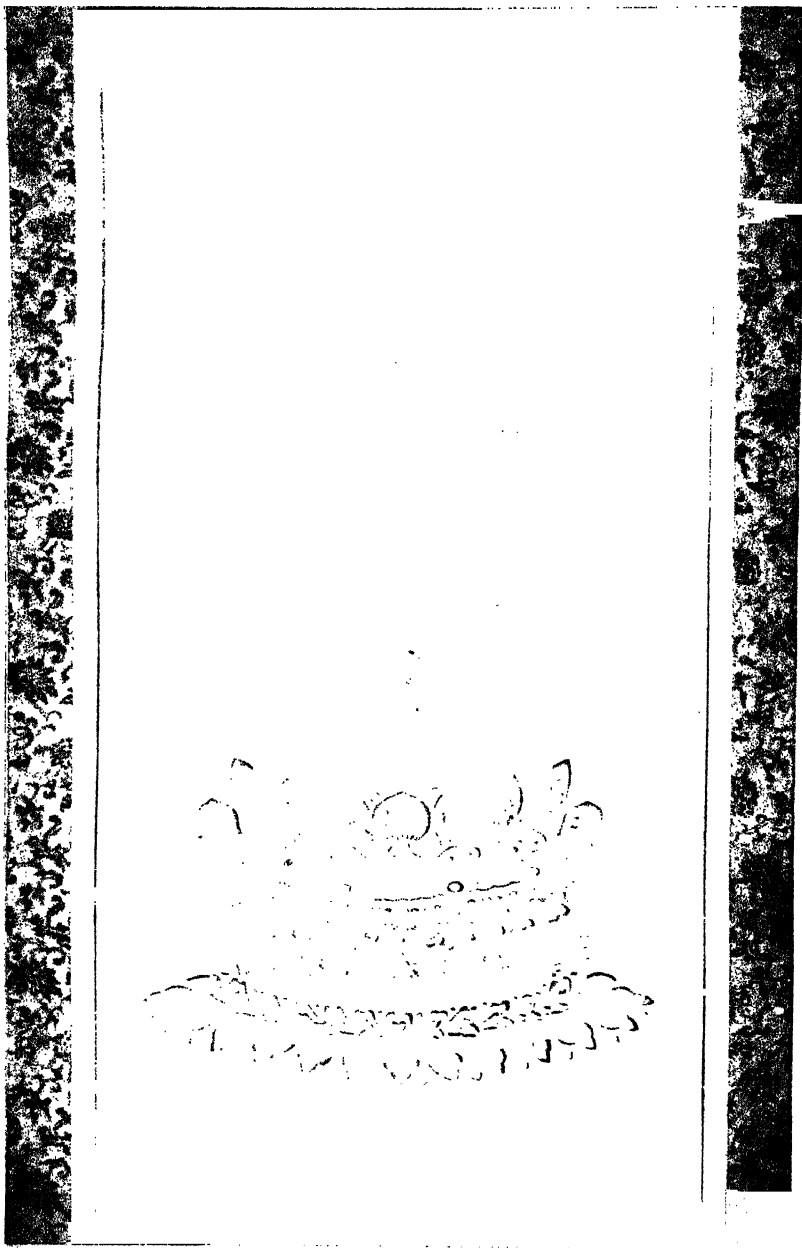
Sir Edward A. Gait, the late Governor of Bihar and Orissa, says in his letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University :

"I have not yet had time to study it carefully, but may say at once that I quite agree with his (author's) main point, viz., that the Kols, or Munda-speaking peoples, have been in occupation of the highlands of Central India for many centuries."

Sir Edward speaks of the author in his letter to him :

"It is wonderful how you manage to write on so many subjects without being able to use your eyes. Very few have been able to overcome a handicap like this so successfully as you have."

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the joint author of *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, supports the views of the author regarding all the main propositions enunciated and discussed in the book.



AMITĀVA

[From a painting on silk by the Abbot of Zōjōji (early part of the nineteenth century). From the Art Collection of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.]

By courtesy of the Bangabani.]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1927

THE PRESS AND JOURNALISM IN JAPAN

About the hardest task I have undertaken is to convince Americans, fairly well informed, well read men and women, that the two newspapers I represent are not tabloids with sex appeal, yet enjoy a combined circulation of more than two million copies a day. They laugh at me if I tell them that these papers do not even entertain housewives with full-page department store bargain advertisements, nor their husbands with the doings of the "Gumps" or the antics of "Cicero Sapp." And when I tell them that they are serious affairs filled with political, literary, financial, economic matters, both domestic and international, and still make twenty-four million Yen a year, or a net profit of two million, they become plainly suspicious and threaten investigation by Senator Read, of Missouri.

The suspicion is not unreasonable. Japan is a small country, considerably smaller than California—that is, Japan proper, without Korea or Formosa. Its population numbers something like sixty-five million. How is it possible for so small a country to have such big newspapers—bigger, in terms of circulation, than any American paper, not excluding tabloids? Yet Japan has 1,137 dailies, and parenthetically 2,850 periodicals. The aggregate circulation of all the daily newspapers

probably exceeds ten million, or a newspaper to every six of the population.

Of this total circulation about half is claimed by ten of the larger publications in Tokyo and Osaka. Let us glance over the list. First come the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, publications of the Osaka Mainichi Company. Then there are the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Tokyo Asahi*, both published by the Osaka Asahi Company. These are the "Super Big Four" of Japan's newspaper world. The two companies are the fiercest rivals one could imagine. The Mainichi Company, a stock corporation, under the able leadership of its veteran president, Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, has been forging ahead steadily until to-day it claims a daily circulation of one million and three hundred thousand copies for the *Osaka Mainichi* and eight hundred thousand for the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*. The Asahi Company, presided over by the venerable Mr. Ryuhei Murayama, runs a close second—almost a neck-and-neck race. It, too, claims a combined circulation of two million, more or less. Probably the only newspapers whose circulations exceed that of the *Osaka Mainichi* are the *London Daily Mail*, the *Paris Journal* and the *Petit Parisien*.

After the "Super Big Four" come what may be called the smaller "Big Six," all of Tokyo. First in this group is the *Jiji* (Current Events), established by the late great Fukuzawa, "Sage of Mita" and founder of the famous Keio University. The journal to-day seems rather a pale shadow of its former brilliant self, yet still has a large number of steady clients throughout the country. It lays stress upon financial and diplomatic matters. Then comes the *Hochi* (Reporter), launched as party organ by the Lieutenants of the late Marquis Okuma, long famous as Japan's "Grand Old Man" and as founder of Waseda University. This journal, in spite of its handicap as the avowed mouthpiece of Kensai-kai, the party now in power, is still regarded, in point of circulation, as the biggest of the Big Six. It is known as a "home" paper with a large patronage

among women. The *Chugai Shogya* (Domestic and Foreign Commerce), a journal more decidedly economic and commercial than the *Jiji*, is favored by bankers and business men. The *Kokumin* (Nation), largely due to editorials and historical essays from the facile pen of its veteran editor, Iichiro (Soho) Tokutomi, finds followers among students and conservatives. Its star has somewhat waned since Tokutomi espoused the cause of the Katsura Cabinet in 1912 and has become somewhat reactionary, for in Japan a newspaper to retain its hold upon the public must be like the fabled Irishman always "agin the government." The *Yomiuri* has long enjoyed a reputation as a literary journal, but it seems to be losing ground before the onslaughts of the *Tokyo Asahi* and the *Nichi-Nichi*. The *Yorodzu* (All News), once a powerful "muck-raking" journal under the ingenious, versatile and often unscrupulous leadership of the late Shuroku Kuroiwa, has lost its influence, like the *Kokumin*, since Kuroiwa extended too ardent a support to the Government under Marquis Okuma's premiership. The circulations of the Big Six vary from the *Hochi's* half a million to the *Yorodzu's* one hundred thousand. Even the staid *Jiji* claims two hundred thousand. The *Tokyo Moiyu* (Evening News) which champions the cause of the poor and of the working class, is not counted among the big papers, but has a large circulation, possibly over two hundred thousand. And to these half a dozen minor newspapers, and the list of Tokyo's "metropolitan" journals is complete.

Tokyo is not the home of Japan's greatest newspapers. Three hundred and fifty miles west is Osaka, a city almost as big as Chicago, which claims the head offices of the *Asahi* Company and of the *Mainichi* Company. The rise of modern industries in southwestern Japan, especially the rapid growth of Kobe as a port of international commerce, has shifted press supremacy from Tokyo to Osaka. The increase of the Japanese population in Korea and Manchuria has also helped Osaka's newspaper enterprise. Still the Tokyo journalists take a certain

pride in their newspapers located in Japan's political and cultural center and in constant touch with big men and big affairs such as are found only at the Empire's capital. Osaka, unlike Tokyo, has only a few newspapers. Take from it the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*, and there remain only three or four papers of small consequence.

One of the first discoveries a Japanese makes upon his arrival in America is the absence here of what may be called a national newspaper—a newspaper which circulates in all parts of the country. While at home he would read an American journal, say, the *Chicago Tribune*, which modestly calls itself the “Greatest Newspaper in the world,” and would imagine that it was read all over the States. It had not occurred to him that the vastness of the country required more than one or two news centers. He is surprised to find out that the *Tribune* circulates only in Chicago and within a radius of some two hundred miles of it, and that the same limitation applies to the metropolitan journals in New York. On the contrary, the big metropolitan newspapers in Japan are really national, circulating all over the country. This, perhaps, partly accounts for their large circulations.

The most interesting chapters in the contemporary history of Japanese journalism are those relating to the sharp competition between the *Mainichi* and the *Asahi* interests. It is an exciting story. It is a war, peaceful but ruthless,—a contest for the winning of which either side is ready to go to the limit of its resources. Six years ago the *Osaka Mainichi* erected a magnificent five-story building at a cost of two millions and a half *yen*—the best-appointed newspaper building in the world, as the *Mainichi* publishers then thought. This was soon followed by the erection of the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi* building, on a somewhat smaller scale but still the best newspaper building in Tokyo. Of course, the *Asahi* would not let such “affronts” pass unchallenged, and is about to move into a new eight-story building near the Tokyo railway station—a “super newspaper

building'' as it is called, costing three million *yen*. In 1924 the *Mainichi* sent its hydroplane around all the main islands of Japan. Then the *Asahi* went the *Mainichi* one better by sending an airplane across Siberia and Russia to Paris. The *Mainichi* has since purchased five airplanes which are used in carrying photographs and other matters between its Tokyo and its Osaka offices, or to make flights for advertising purposes. This the *Asahi* has countered by establishing a regular air mail service for the Government between Tokyo and Osaka, and between Tokyo and Sendai. For years the *Mainichi* has been issuing at a considerable sacrifice a Braille weekly for the benefit of the blind. To counter this the *Asahi* has, also at a loss, been publishing a condensed and indexed monthly edition in book form, which, small only in size, is exactly the same in substance as the regular daily edition—an enterprise highly appreciated by libraries and those who preserve the paper for future reference.

The keen rivalry between the great newspapers redounds to the benefit of the public. If one issues an evening edition and distributes it without additional charge among the regular subscribers of its main morning edition, the others are obliged to follow suit. If one issues a free local supplement for each of the provinces where the paper circulates, the others must do likewise. This supplement is peculiar to Japanese journalism. The *Mainichi*, for instance, prints thirteen different supplements, each giving minor news relating to the certain locality for which it is intended. Thus the reader gets the morning and evening editions with a local supplement, all for one subscription price. Nor is this all. The city subscribers to any of the larger newspapers have the benefit of free delivery of "extras" issued at frequent intervals in times of important events such as war, earthquake disaster, or the serious illness of the Emperor. The Japanese extra, unlike the American, is just a sheet giving only the news for which it is issued. The size varies according to the length of the item printed. It may

be just a slip of paper, or it may be as large as a full page of the regular edition. The way these extras are sold in the street is interesting. Our newsboys carrying extras do not go about it in the leisurely manner of their Yankee fellows. They tear through the streets ringing bells, often flying small flags, shouting "Extra! Extra!" as though the world were coming to an end. You simply have to buy an extra lest you should go to your doom unawares!

With competition so keen, the large newspapers expend enormous sums in gathering and distributing news. The *Osaka Mainichi* (including the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*) expended four hundred and forty thousand yen in reporting in words and photographs the great earthquake disaster of September, 1923. It mobilized a large force of reporters and photographers and couriers, and used airplanes to gather news and to take photographs and transmit them to Osaka, for the usual means of communication was for the moment demolished. And while the devastated regions were still aflame or heaving, the *Mainichi*, besides telling the horrors of the holocaust in the regular editions and in extras, sent out to all parts of the country, even to Korea and Formosa, moving pictures of the disaster taken by its own men. Nor does the *Mainichi* or the *Asahi* rely entirely upon mechanical devices for the transmission of photographs and mail matters. May not the airplane break down on the way? May not rail communication be interrupted? To be prepared against such emergencies, the *Mainichi* keeps a flock of well-trained carrier pigeons, two hundred strong. These birds often accompany reporters and air pilots to "cover" important happenings. In transmitting news matters over wire and by telephone the Japanese press is greatly handicapped by the inefficiency or inadequacy of the Government-owned telegraph and telephone service. Our Department of Communications does not accommodate the press as do American telegraph companies. The idea of leased wire with Government operators working certain hours at newspaper office is so foreign

to the bureaucrats that it has not been adopted in spite of the repeated appeals of the publishers. Moreover as our wires are not underground but overhead our telephone and telegraph service is often interrupted by storms and earthquakes. Hence, the pigeons and aeroplanes and motor cycles are considered as a part of the necessary newspaper equipment.

The manner in which the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* reported Emperor Taisho's illness, which ended in his demise on December, 25, was highly illustrative of the lively competition always existing between them. As early as the beginning of August, long before the Emperor's condition was known to be critical, the two newspapers rented houses near the detached palace at Hayama and began to station reporters there, each acting clandestinely so that its strategy would not be detected by the other. Each made the most elaborate preparations, installing many telephones, improvising a photo studio, mustering airplanes, motor cycles, and carrier pigeons. By December the *Asahi* force at Hayama had increased to sixty men, including office boys, couriers and chauffeurs. The *Mainichi* had no less. All this ado just to report the Emperor's death by extra ten or fifteen minutes before the other papers. What a mania for scoops! Incidentally this Hayama contest shows what great importance the public, and therefore the press, attaches to news of this nature—news relating to the Imperial House. One wishes that the Japanese press would devote as much attention and money to important foreign news.

The large force temporarily stationed at Hayama by the *Asahi* and by the *Mainichi* is an indication of the large numbers of their employees. The Osaka *Mainichi* Company, with two vernacular and one English newspapers and a few periodicals has 405 men on the editorial staff, 368 in the business section, 120 at local branch offices, 858 in the composition and printing department, 457 office boys, messengers and couriers, and 256 in the shipping department—a total of 2,465. Undoubtedly the *Asahi* force is no smaller. The buildings housing such large

forces are proportionately large. The magnificent *Osaka Mainichi* building is occupied entirely by the newspaper. Almost a city by itself, it has a restaurant, a barber shop, bath rooms, roof gardens, a meteorological observatory, lecture halls, elegantly furnished reception halls, a well appointed library, all for the exclusive use of the newspaper, besides, of course, all the essential equipment for editorial and printing purposes. The new *Tokyo Asahi* building, when opened, will probably have more innovations to boast of.

The news-gathering system in Japan is not much different from the corresponding systems in other countries. The Rengo (Associated News) is organized along the line of the Associated Press for the purpose of supplying its members, ten of the larger metropolitan newspapers, with foreign news. It has some sort of arrangement with the Associated Press for American news, and with Reuter for European news. In the field of domestic news the Teikoku Tsushin (Empire News Agency) and the Dempo Tsushin (Telegraph News Agency) are the largest. The latter, through an arrangement with the United Press, also obtains American and European news for its clients. To the smaller journals, these Agencies are the exclusive sources of news supply.

The larger ones, in addition to material supplied by these agencies, gather news through their own organizations, as witness the nerve-straining activities of the *Asahi* and of the *Mainichi* during the anxious four months preceding the Emperor's death. For foreign news, these big papers station their own correspondents at centers in Europe, America, and Asia, for they want dispatches based upon Japanese observation besides those sent by foreign agencies. There is however, as yet no Japanese newspaper which attaches to foreign news so much importance as does, for instance, the New York Times.

In Japan, as elsewhere, newspaper work is shrouded in a sort of glamour, and the newspaper writer goes about with a peculiar halo envied by some, dreaded or disliked by many. As a boy

I cherished an ambition to become a great newspaper man. What a sport, I fancied, to write editorials impeaching the Government or lecturing a prime minister as if he were a school-boy! It was the time when the great Fukuzawa, the ultra-liberal of his day, was captivating the public with his lucid editorials in the *Jiji*—when the learned Tokutomi was fascinating the younger generation with his brilliant interpretation of Western political ideas in the *Kokumin*. And, indeed, the newspapers in those days existed for editorials rather than for news. The editor was a crusader and a reformer, as the Government was still inclined to be autocratic, and the press had to grapple with many obstacles. It was this crusading spirit which fascinated the young men, for fight always appeals to youth. Every newspaper in those days had a “jail editor” whose sole function was to go to jail when the real editor violated the law, often deliberately,—a practice which still survives though the dummy editor now-a-days seldom has occasion to go to jail.

Japan owes much to her press for the liberalization of her Government. The anti-Government agitation of the press reached its climax between 1908 and 1918. During the titanic war with Russia in 1904-05 the Government, under the aegis of emergency measures, was inclined to interfere with the freedom of the press. The end of the war brought forth a sharp reaction, and the newspapers took up the cudgels with great vigor against the authorities. The fall of the Katsura Cabinet in 1913 was due to the combined agitation of the leading journals in Tokyo and Osaka. The Yamamoto Cabinet which followed also went down before the onslaughts of the press. Count Katsura represented the Choshu military clique. Admiral Yamamoto the Satsuma naval faction. Both were assailed by the press as inimical to constitutional government. The attack was led by the late Shuroku Kuroiwa, founder and editor of the vitriolic *Yorodzu*, on which I had my first newspaper training. He was a born fighter, intense in his likes and dislikes, dogged,

unscrupulous, unflinching, thoroughly convinced that the end justified the means. When the Yamamoto Cabinet fell, the elder statesmen planned to empower Viscount Kiyoura, generally regarded as the protagonist of bureaucracy. Again the opposition of the press nipped the scheme in the bud. The resumption of power by Okuma, the Grand Old Man, in 1914 after a long retirement was made possible by the endorsement of the newspapers, for he had taken pains to cultivate the good will of the editors. Unfortunately Okuma's statesmanship did not measure up to general expectation, and the newspapers, especially Kuroiwa's *Yorodzu* which had supported the Premier wholeheartedly, lost influence as Okuma himself alienated popular sympathy. The greater newspapers such as the *Mainichi* and the *Asahi* withdrew their support from Okuma in order to protect their own integrity as independent organs. The advent of the Terauchi Cabinet in 1917 as successor to the Okuma ministry was looked upon as the last rally of the Choshu faction. Naturally it was the target of press criticism from the beginning. When in 1918 the high price of rice caused mob riots in various sections of the country, the Cabinet tried to suppress or to make innocuous the press reports of the incident. This brought forth vigorous protests from the newspapers which were in sympathy with the plight of the poor. The *Osaka Asahi* published an item which was interpreted by the authorities as an instigation of violence. This, coupled with other inflammatory utterances, caused the Government to prosecute the *Asahi*, and to persecute it in various other ways. All this added fuel to press antagonism against Premier Terauchi, and the Cabinet went down even before the *Asahi* case reached a decision.

With the fall of the Terauchi Cabinet the press may be said to have passed the crusading period, but the old tradition has persisted in more or less modified form. It is a singular fact that newspapers in Japan, to be popular and prosperous, must not support the government but must always remain free and

untrammelled critics. Quite naturally, the metropolitan newspapers, except the Tokyo *Hochi*, organ of the Kensikai party, and the Tokyo *Chuo*, organ of the Seiyukai party, are independent. On the other hand, most provincial or small-town papers, whose business has been greatly curtailed by local supplements of metropolitan journals, manage to exist as party organs, more or less subsidized from party headquarters or by individual politicians.

With the passing of the crusading age, the age of great editorials has also passed. To-day the newspapers attach greater importance to news than to editorials. The decline of the Choshu military and the Satsuma naval factions as political power has also deprived the press of the foremost issue which had kept aflame the reformer's spirit among the editors. In the days to come the newspapers will devote increasing attention to economic problems, such as labor, overpopulation, food supply, and trade, as well as to international affairs, especially those calculated to promote peace among nations. This tendency has already become plain.

Foreign critics, studying Japan's press law in the statute book, usually arrive at the conclusion that the freedom of the press is something foreign to Japan. Such a conclusion is as right as the assumption that China, because she has a Constitution on paper, is a republic in reality. What I have said above tended to show that the Japanese press has been a great democratizing force—that it has been responsible for the rise and fall of many a cabinet. If the press law has objectionable provisions the editors know how to get around them. This does not mean that the editors are satisfied with the law as it stands. Its objectionable features are these :

First. The Minister of Home Affairs may prohibit the sale and distribution of an issue containing an item or items prejudicial to peace and order or to public morals. He may, if necessary, confiscate such an issue.

Second. The Minister of the Army, the Minister of the Navy, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs may issue an

administrative order prohibiting or restricting the publication in the newspapers of military or diplomatic items.

Third. The newspapers shall not publish the details of preliminary examination of a criminal case before the case comes up for public trial, nor matters relating to criminal cases under preliminary examination, when their publication has been specifically prohibited by the procurators, nor the proceedings of law cases which are being heard in camera.

Fourth. The publisher, the editor, and the printer of a newspaper, which publishes an item or items derogatory to the Imperial House, or subversive of the existing body politic, shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding two years and a fine not more than three hundred yen.

On paper these provisions appear formidable. In practice they are not serious obstacles unless the editor deliberately courts trouble. Apparently the authorities have learned a lesson from the vigorous anti-Government campaign waged by the press for many years, and the censors are becoming more and more liberal. When the Parliament is reorganized next year under the new manhood suffrage law, the movement will come to a head to remove or modify such provisions as have been found incompatible with the freedom of the press.

In fact censorship as practised in Japan is ineffectual, often absurd. The publisher submits to the censor's office a few copies of his paper as soon as it is off the press, but is free to distribute it without waiting for the censor's opinion—which usually fails to forthcome. The result is that the censor's injunction, when he is minded to issue one, reaches the publisher only after the distribution of the paper in question has for the most part become a *fait accompli*.

The phenomenal growth of the Japanese press seems all the more surprising when mechanical difficulties due to the peculiarities of the language is taken into consideration. Unlike the English newspaper, the Japanese newspaper uses about fourteen hundred different Chinese characters and

forty-eight Japanese *kana* letters. Chinese characters, as a rule, serve to figure the principal words of the sentence, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, while the syllabic *kana* letters, interspersed throughout the text as participles, prepositions and the like, form connecting links between the principal words. This precludes the use of typewriter and linotype or intertype. The manuscripts must be handwritten, and the type must be handpicked. To the western printer the Japanese composition room is a despair. There are rows and rows of cases containing hundreds of thousands of types. The compositor and there are at least a hundred in a newspaper composition room—stands before an assigned section of a row, with copy and a small case in his left hand, and with his right hand picks out the types he needs and puts them in the case. As types easily wear out, the Osaka *Mainichi*, for instance, has eight Thomas Type Casting Machines constantly working. In addition it uses thirty-six monotypes. Smaller newspapers have no type casting machines of their own, but buy types from foundries. The sizes of type are standardized on a point system which is slightly different from the English system. For one thing, we designate larger founts by smaller numbers. Thus eighteen-point in English corresponds to one point in our system. The stereotyping and printing processes are the same as used by English newspapers, but the labor expended before reaching this stage is staggering. The distressing part is that there is no way out unless we change the language, which is impossible. For printing, the *Mainichi* uses fifteen multi-units super high-speed presses of the R. Hoe type. The *Asahi* uses the same machine.

In America the income of the newspapers comes mostly, perhaps entirely, from advertisements. The Japanese newspaper derives income almost equally from advertising and from the sale of paper. The subscription price is seventy *sen* a month for the smaller papers, and one *yen* for the larger, or two to five *sen* a copy. For one *yen* the *Mainichi* and the

Asahi deliver a morning and an evening edition with a local supplement to boot, as well as such "extras" as may be issued. The morning or main edition consists of eight pages, and the evening edition and the local supplement usually four pages each. The advertising rates are one *yen* eighty *sen* per insertion for a line of 15 five-point characters, about as large as six-point in English. Our lines, two inches long, run perpendicularly, and our columns, horizontally. As there are 1,716 lines to the page, a full-page advertisement would cost 3,088 *yen*. As a matter of fact, the amount is considerably larger, because special spaces or locations call for special rates. The most liberal advertisers are book and magazine publishers, followed by druggists, dry goods stores, and makers of toilet articles. The latest financial statements of the *Osaka Mainichi*, including the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, shows an income of 10,000,000 *yen* from advertising and 14,000,000 *yen* from other sources, mostly from the sale of paper. The net earnings are reported to be 2,000,000 *yen*.

The English press of Japan is worthy of a few words. The *Osaka Mainichi* publishes in Osaka an eight-page English daily. This unquestionably is the most popular English journal, for it gives more Japanese news than the English journals published by foreigners in Japan. The *Japan Advertiser* in Tokyo, owned and edited by Americans, is a splendid newspaper, highly appreciated by the foreign community. The *Kobe Chronicle*, published by an Englishman, makes a speciality of attacking the Japanese Government and generally grumbling about Japan. The *Japan Times* of Tokyo, originally published by Mr. M. Zumoto as a Government mouthpiece, has frequently changed hands and for years has been a "sick" paper. Its present relationship with the Foreign Office is not clear.

The lot of the Japanese journalist, though it appeals to youthful imagination, has long been unenviable. Up to ten years ago his salary was comparatively small and his social status

far from happy. The "scribes," except a few distinguished ones, were looked down upon by the rich and uppish class. Parents of the staid type refused to give their daughters to newspapermen. This condition has been greatly improved by the rise of great newspapers. The chief editor of the *Mainichi* is said to receive 30,000 *yen* a year. Salaries for less important positions are proportionately generous. This is almost a revolution in a country where cabinet ministers receive only 12,000 *yen* a year, and provincial governors 7,000 *yen*. Much of the credit for this desired change belongs to Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, President of the Osaka *Mainichi* Publishing Company. Not only by initiating the better treatment of newspapermen, but by launching various social service enterprises in the name of his newspapers, he has contributed much towards the elevation of the status of the press and of the journalists in general. He has organized "travelling" hospitals for the benefit of the poor, donated a concert hall to the Osaka Municipality, contributed large funds to the advancement of science, held educational expositions, sent a scientific expedition to Northern Saghalien, encouraged athletics by various means. The *Asahi* is also doing splendid work along similar lines. Another ten years, and the newspaper man will be sought by every parent of every marriageable daughter under the Mikado's rule ! Who knows ?¹

K. K. KAWAKAMI

¹ The *Calcutta Review* publishes this article through the courtesy of its author and of the *Asia Magazine*, New York, for which it was originally written.

THE LIGHT OF FAITH

I took the world aside and whispered in its ear
My heart's supremest faith in work of human lore,
The stars that slumbered not would of its glory hear,
And old Time's wandering bark would reach the happy shore.

The journey of the spirit through heaven's endless space,
It would be staged by suns and strewn with star-like flower,
It'd pass through rainbowed arch and glide with golden grace,
O'er paths of maiden music to the Dawn Queen's bower.

When twilight lingered yet like day's sweet farewell speech,
And clouds lay listening low and stars hung out their light,
The world aside me called and put within my reach
The page of human fate unrolled in Book of Night.

The stars were quenched to clouds, the sun had shrunk to a stone,
The planets torn from place were hurled from world to world,
Across the daylight's faith there darkened blood and bone,
And hiding heaven's face black hatred upward curled.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

PLATO AND THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

Any one who goes to the study of Plato with an intimate knowledge of Hindu thought, cannot fail being struck by the remarkable similarities that exist between the two systems. If we take the *Bhagavad-gītā* as an epitome of Hindu thought as we well may, we may point out some very striking similarities between it and the greatest of Plato's books, *viz.*, his *Republic*.

1. In the first place, both the author of the *Gītā* and of the *Republic* believed in a hierarchy of gods sharing the world with man. Thus, in Chapter iii. 11-16, the *Gītā* says that man should perform sacrifices to the gods—it is his solemn duty, and the gods being so propitiated will give the good things of earth to their worshipper. Plato also devotes a considerable portion of the first part of his *Republic* to a discussion as to what should and what should not be said about the gods; and in 508, he speaks of the sun as one of the gods in heaven (των εν ουρανῳ θεων).

2. In the second place, Plato and the *Gītā* agree in the theory of *Guṇas* and the deductions drawn from it.

The *Gītā* has utilised the Sāṅkhya conception of *Guṇas* to such an extent as to classify not only types of character but religious worship, intellect, activity and similar other things also according to them. The *Guṇas* are three in number, *viz.*, *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*; and consequently there are three types into which all the above things can be grouped. Thus, in Chap. iv. 13, the *Gītā* says in a general way that the four castes are divided according to the *Guṇas* and activity (*karma*). Chap. xiv. gives a more detailed account of the *Guṇas*. Thus:

(i) *Sattva* is pure, illuminating, free from trouble, and gives peace of mind and knowledge (Sloka 6). *Sattva* leads man to happiness and its success implies that the other two are kept in check (sls. 9-10). Clear and unsullied knowledge is a

sign of *Sattva* (sl. 11). *Sattva* takes a man to the highest region (sl. 18).

Elsewhere also the *Gītā* pursues the same subject. A man in whom *Sattva* preponderates, will have his own type of religion, and other things also. For instance, he will be a worshipper of gods and not of other inferior beings (xvii. 4). His food, too, we are told, will be of a particular kind (xvii. 8). And his *Yajna* or sacrifice and his gifts also will bear the stamp of his character (xvii. 11, 20). Such a man's knowledge also is peculiarly characteristic of him (xviii. 20). It is knowledge of the highest order: he will see a unity running through all things and the eternal truth underlying them all. As an agent, such a man is free from all tinge of egotism and he will follow duty for its own sake and his actions will not be means to any ulterior ends (xviii. 23, 26). Such a man will possess the highest intelligence (xviii. 30).

(ii) *Rajas* as a *Guṇa* produces an eagerness to possess things, a love of wealth and similar active impulses (xiv. 7). As in the previous case, when this quality is triumphant, the other two are subdued. It produces a ceaseless tendency to activity (xiv. 12). It occupies a middle position between the other two *Guṇas*; i.e., it is higher than *Tamas* and lower than *Sattva* (xiv. 18).

A man in whom this *Guṇa* is strong, usually worships *Yakṣas*, and *Rākṣasas*, i.e., beings inferior to the gods (xvii. 4). His food will be marked by strong taste-qualities, i.e., will be excessively bitter, or sour, or salt, or pungent (xvii. 9). His actions will be marked by a desire for pomp and display (xvii. 12). In making a gift, he will expect a return or some other happy consequence (xvii. 21).

Such a man's knowledge is marked by a sense of plurality and diversity (xviii. 21). As an agent, he is moved by strong desires, is bent on achieving some purpose, is jealous and impure in mind, is a victim of joy and sorrow, and his actions are marked by an egotism and are pompous and showy (xviii.

24, 27). His intelligence is characterised by a mistaken knowledge of duty (xviii. 31). Even his conception of happiness is vitiated by this quality of his character.

(iii) *Tamas* is the product of ignorance, has a stupefying effect on the mind, and is the source of error, indolence and drowsiness (xiv. 8). It always tends to error (xiv. 9). It has a downward tendency, and is marked by squalor and stupidity (xiv. 17, 18).

A man in whom this *Guṇa* is dominant, will have a predilection for ghosts and hobgoblins as objects of worship (xvii. 4). And his food, too, as in the other two cases, will betray his character. He will be fond of stale, dried and stinking food—food which is impure—and he will even like the remnants of another's dishes (xvii. 10). His religious performances similarly will be characterised by an irregularity and lack of earnestness and true devotion (xvii. 13). He will always make a wrong gift at the wrong time (xvii. 22).

Such a man's knowledge is meagre ; it is marked by crudity and confusion between cause and effect (xviii. 22). As an agent, he is without application, is a commonplace man, stupid, crooked, presumptuous, indolent, miserable and procrastinating, and his actions are marked by stupidity and cruelty (xviii. 25, 28). Such a man's intelligence is only a mass of chaos and confusion. He knows everything upside down (xviii. 32).

We should bear in mind that this characterisation of the *Guṇas*, is not a special doctrine of the *Gītā* alone ; it is a general Sāṅkhya doctrine and has been accepted by writers of the School generally (*cf.* Sāṅkhya-Kārikā, 12, 13) of whom the author of the *Gītā* is obviously one.

It will appear from the above that the three *Guṇas* symbolise three well-marked types of character, and they exhibit themselves throughout in a man's thought, feeling and activity. His conception of the world, his religious attitude, the food that he takes and the objects that he worships—all betray the sort of

man that he is. The *Guṇas* are the essential elements out of which the entire composite structure of man's life is built. They can be arranged in an order of merit : *Sattva* is above the other two ; *Rajas* is in the middle : and *Tamas* is at the bottom. *Sattva* stands for the purest intellect, the highest type of character and the noblest and wisest man. *Rajas* typifies a grasping, greedy temperament, full of the possessive instinct and bent on self-exhibition and display. And lastly, *Tamas* stands for the lowest grade of mental and spiritual development and is characterised by stupidity and intellectual darkness and a preponderance of the lower animal instincts.

It is interesting to note that Plato uses almost the identical conceptions in his *Republic* when he speaks of the three elements of the soul (439-441 and 580-581). The rational, (λογιστικον) part of the soul according to him very well corresponds to the *Sattva*, the irrational (or αλογιστικον) element of the soul corresponds to the *Tamas*, and his spirit (or θυμος) has been characterised in the same way as the *Rajas* of the *Gītā*. The three classes of men or types of character according to him, viz., wisdom-loving, strife-loving and gain-loving (φιλοσοφον, φιλονικον, and φιλοκερδες) correspond exactly to the types described in the *Gītā* according to *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. And like the *Gītā*, he not only derives three types of character according to the preponderance of one or other of the three elements of the soul, but he proceeds further and even thinks of three kinds of pleasure according to the selfsame elements (581c). And it is remarkable that he even uses (584d) the expressions 'Above,' 'Below' and 'Intermediate' (το ανω, το κατω, το μεσον) with regard to these elements of soul, which the *Gītā* also characteristically calls '*ūrdhva*,' '*Adhah*' and '*Madhya*'—words which mean exactly the same thing as Plato's terms given above. Besides, the description given by Plato of the three kinds of character agrees remarkably with that of the *Gītā* (586-587).

We should not forget here that the *Guṇas*, strictly speaking,

are not inherent in the soul according to the Sāṅkhya school. *Puruṣa* or soul, according to this school, is not qualified by any of the *Guṇas* which belong only to the *Prakṛti* or the material principle in nature. *Puruṣa* happens to be affected by them only when, through *ajñāna* or ignorance, it is enslaved by matter. The soul has the characteristics of the *Guṇas* only so long as the material principle encircles it, *i.e.*, so long as it is in the body. And the highest moral endeavour for the soul is of course to try to be free from and to go beyond the reach of the *Guṇas* and thus be entirely pure. The classification of character as given above is valid only so long as the soul is not in its purest essence, that is, not entirely free from contamination by the material principle.

It is to be noted that in this view of the nature of the soul also, Plato agrees with the author of the *Gītā*. For Plato, too, the lower elements of the soul are not strictly speaking essential to it and happen to be there only because of its connection with the body. In any case, apart from metaphysical consideration, so far as man is in flesh and blood, he must have a preponderance of one or other of the above *Guṇas* or elements of soul and will develop a character accordingly. It is needless to point out that the classification of men and types of character applies to living men only and not to pure spirits.

The types of character discussed above ultimately give rise to the conception of corresponding classes of men in the state according to Plato and to corresponding castes according to the *Gītā*. The number of classes or castes is not just the same as that of the *Guṇas* or elements of soul. These latter are three in number, whereas there are four principal classes or castes, and more are possible by an intermixture of these. But according to both the author of the *Gītā* as well as Plato, the highest class would represent the highest *Guṇa* and the lowest, the lowest. And the intermediate classes would have an admixture of *Guṇas* of which one or other would preponderate and thus determine its place in the scale of the classes.

After giving an account of the *Guṇas* and their manifestations, the *Gītā* lays down the important principle that there is no living creature in nature which is not subject to one or other of these *Guṇas*; and that the four castes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra—are but division of mankind according to the preponderance of one or other of these qualities (xviii. 41). Thus, a Brāhmaṇa is characterised by self-restraint, sedateness, an austere life, purity, charity, simplicity, knowledge, wisdom and faith. A Kṣatriya has courage, pushfulness, endurance, dexterity and steadfastness in battle, power to make gifts and a lordliness of temperament. A Vaiśya engages in agriculture, cattle-keeping and commerce; whereas a Śūdra's natural occupation is to be servant to the others. *Sattva* or the highest element prevails in a Brāhmaṇa, *Rajas* or the second element is preponderant in a Kṣatriya, *Tamas* or the lowest element characterises the Śūdra, and the third class or Vaiśya obviously partakes of a mixture of the *Guṇas*.

We should not take too literally this catalogue of the specific qualities of the various castes. They are intended only as a general indication of their distinctive marks and should be understood as such. The way in which a true Brāhmaṇa is described not only in the *Gītā* but throughout practically the whole of Sanskrit literature, leaves little doubt in our mind that he was supposed to possess the virtue of wisdom in abundance. In fact, that was his distinctive characteristic. Knowledge is the highest thing (iv. 34) and all other elements of individuality are to be subordinated to it in his character. When a man has attained this knowledge, he will eat little, prefer solitude, control his desires, pass his time in meditation, etc., etc. (xviii. 52, *et seq.*).

Now it will be seen that the classes of men in the Ideal State according to Plato, correspond very strikingly with the classes in society according to the *Gītā*. The highest class—the class that should be the guardians of the State (φυλαξ πολεως) is to possess the virtue of being philosophical; and it is charac-

terised in such a way that it bears a very close resemblance to the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gītā*. In 485-486, Plato attempts an enumeration of the qualities of the philosophic class. And what are these qualities? Almost the same as those of the Brāhmaṇa in the *Gītā*, *viz.*, love of learning, devotion to truth, avoidance of falsehood, temperance, etc.

It is true that the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gītā* was not supposed to be the ruler of the country : that task, according to the general conception of the Hindus, belonged to the Kṣatriya, though the Brāhmaṇa was always supposed to be his adviser. But neither was the philosopher according to Plato *actually* found to be the ruler of any country. Plato *only wished*—it was his *ideal*—that the philosopher should be entrusted with kingly power in States (473). They would have to be persuaded to accept that responsibility : they would never seek it. Plato was fully aware that men who are ordinarily called philosophers, are useless for their country. A true philosopher is not so easily found; and owing to various causes, philosophers are not held in high esteem (487, *et seq.*). A true philosopher, in the existing conditions of society, “ keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain; and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content, if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds, and, when the time for his release arrives, take his departure amid bright hopes with cheerfulness and serenity ” (496).

Obviously, Plato's philosopher also, like the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gītā*, was not an actual ruler. But Plato felt it as a misfortune that States did not avail themselves of the wisdom of the philosophers. And he further felt that States should be persuaded to place themselves under the guidance of these men (501-2). Therein lay their salvation : this was Plato's political ideal. But whether actually endowed with kingly power

or not, Plato's philosopher was not different in character and acquirements from the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gītā*. And his warrior class is little else than the Kṣatriya of the *Gītā*. Similarly, the agricultural and artisan classes closely resemble the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. The Śūdra was the lowest class according to the *Gītā* and typified *Tāmas* or ignorance and stupidity. When one remembers Plato's contempt for the 'many' or the multitude, one cannot but feel that Plato had in his mind a type of mind which was an exact counterpart of the Indian Śūdra.

The resemblance between Plato's social classes and the castes according to the *Gītā* is more than superficial. In Book iii (415), Plato says :

"We shall tell our people, in mythical language: you are doubtless all brethren, as many as inhabit the city, but the God who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule, which gives them the highest value; while in the auxiliaries (ἐπικούροι) he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil and other workmen. Therefore, in as much as you are all related to one another, although your children will generally resemble their parents, yet sometimes a golden parent will produce a silver child, and a silver parent a golden child, and so on, each producing any. The rulers, therefore, have received this in charge first and above all from the gods, to observe nothing more closely, in their character as vigilant guardians, than the children that are born, to see which of these metals enters into the composition of their souls; and if a child be born in their class with an alloy of copper or iron, they are to have no manner of pity upon it, but giving it the value that belongs to its nature, they are to thrust it away into the class of artisans or agriculturists; and if again among these a child be born with any admixture of gold or silver, when they have assayed it, they are to raise it either to the class of guardians or to that of auxiliaries: because, there is an oracle which declares that the city shall then perish when it is guarded by iron or copper."

Compare with this the well-known dictum of the *Gītā* where it is said that the four castes were made by God

according to their aptitudes and capacities (iv. 13). The only difference between the Hindu conception and that of Plato is that the castes in Hinduism are rigid and unalterable and that it is not possible for a child born in one caste to go up to a higher caste, even though he may have the necessary qualifications ; while according to Plato such transfer from one caste to another is not only possible but must be made the rule. Yet it should be borne in mind that even in Hinduism castes were not always hereditary and that the above dictum of the *Gītā* has often been understood as implying a flexibility of caste and basing it always on *Guṇa* and *Karma*. On the other hand, Plato also bases his division on god-made distinctions which must not be overlooked and which no enthusiasm for democratic equality should be allowed to obliterate. Besides, Plato even lays down that a faith in this natural division must be generated in the minds of men by the system of education to be introduced in the ideal state. And when he says that the children will resemble their parents, he favours hereditary caste as a general rule, though he is not blind to the possibility of exceptions.

The *Gītā* says more than once, that each caste must follow its own appointed duty (ii. 31 ; iii. 35 ; xviii. 47). And it also says that for a man to pursue a line of conduct that does not naturally belong to him, is extremely dangerous. Does not Plato also mean the same thing when he says that there should be an oracle to tell the people of a city that they would perish if they were ruled by men with iron or copper constitution ?

In his simile of the pilot and the ship (488), also, does not Plato suggest that most of the troubles of states are due to confusion of functions ? If a man attempts to do what is not properly his function, he will mismanage it ; and the misgovernment of States is due to the fact that the task of government is usurped by men who are not qualified for it by nature. In other words, in the language of the *Gītā*, to pursue a course

of conduct which is not one's '*Svadharmma*,' is fraught with dangerous possibilities. And this term '*Svadharmma*' in the *Gītā*—though often wrongly understood as one's own *religion*,—means nothing but one's duties as member of a particular caste. The *Gītā* believed in different duties for the different castes (xviii. 42-44) and also thought that it was proper for each caste only to follow its own duties (xviii. 45). This was in brief the moral Ideal according to the *Gītā*.

Both Plato and the *Gītā* are thus found to agree in holding that there are certain natural distinctions between man and man, which must be carefully adhered to. Political ambition alone does not qualify a man to rule. And there should be a system of social organisation by which each man should be directed to that kind of work for which he is specifically fitted by nature. Any disregard of this rule would mean confusion and mischief.

3. The *Gītā* (in viii. 24-26), speaks of the two paths of the soul for its journey after death. This is the Upaniṣadic doctrine of *Devā-yāna* and *Pitr-yāna* (cf. Ch. Up. v. 10. 3-5). The *Gītā* calls these the path of light and the path of darkness respectively. The one leads to eternal beatitude and the other to only a sojourn in the higher world and then a return to this. This idea of the soul's journey is not fully developed in the *Gītā*; it was part of the fabric of thought which the *Gītā* had inherited. Now, in Plato's myth of *Er*, do we not find a similar picture of the soul's travels after death and its return to this world after a sojourn in the other (614, *et seq.*)?

4. In 611, Plato suggests that the number of souls is constant—it can neither be less nor more than what it is. Since no soul can die, the number of souls cannot be decreased; and since what is mortal cannot become immortal, no new soul can come into existence out of what is not a soul now; and so the number of souls remains fixed. Now, this theory about the number of souls in the universe is a peculiar doctrine of the Sāṅkhya school also (cf. Sāṅkhya-kārika 18); and in the

Gītā (ch. ii. 20, *et seq.*) this theory of soul has been relied on.

It may be pointed out here that, in general, Plato's theory of soul and the assumption of corporeal existence by it, including the theory of transmigration (82-83), is so strikingly similar to the corresponding Hindu and Buddhist theories that one often feels tempted to think that, in this case, either Greece borrowed from India or India from Greece, or perhaps both from a third common source.

There is another point which may be noted here in passing, though, strictly speaking, it is not relevant to a consideration of the *Republic*. In the *Gītā* (iv. 5), it is not only said that each of us has had many more births previous to this, but the possibility is also suggested that, with a certain amount of spiritual discipline, one may even recollect them. This also is a doctrine of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga school where it is more fully treated. Do we not find a similar doctrine in Plato's theory of knowledge, namely, that knowledge is but *anamnesis* or reminiscence?

In 508, with reference to the visual perception of things, Plato says: "To whom, then, of the gods in heaven can you refer as the author and dispenser of this blessing? And whose light is it that enables our sight to see so excellently well and makes visible objects appear?" And the answer is of course that it is the sun. The sun as a god in nature and the eyes as organs of vision in the body must co-operate in order that vision may be possible. If we could generalise a theory of perception from this, we would arrive at the proposition that the function of each of the senses is conditioned by the function of a corresponding god in nature. Now, this will give us the Upaniṣadic doctrine, developed in various ways and several places, *viz.*, that the senses in the body are all presided over by some deity or other of the outside world and that their functions are but the functions of those deities (Br. Up. i. 3; Ait. ii; etc.).

The *Gītā* has little occasion to dwell upon this theory. But

it may be presumed to have known it ; and as it has admittedly drawn upon the Upaniṣadic systems as much as upon the Sāṅkhya-Yoga systems of thought, and as it has steadily maintained the Upaniṣadic view of gods, this theory of perception cannot at all be regarded as foreign to it.

The most essential thing in this theory is that, according to it, the co-operation of a *god* is necessary in order that a sense-organ may function. That the eye cannot see without light and that the sun is a source of light, is a fact for modern men also. But for us, the sun is not a *god* and the light that he sheds is not a divine agency. For Plato and the *Gītā*, however, the sun *was* a god and so were many other things in nature which we regard merely as lifeless objects.

This Platonic conception of nature as a divine presence subsequently influenced the English poet Wordsworth and several others. But it is remarkable that Plato was not alone in this. The author of the *Gītā* also, and for the matter of that, the whole of Vedic and post-Vedic thought in India, regarded nature not as modern science regards it, but throughout as an animated reality. These thinkers thought and spoke of the objects of nature—the sun, moon, and stars,—as so many divinities. It was not a relic of crude, barbaric mythology that they cherished ; it was part of their philosophy of nature. The vast expanse of space with the glowing orbs in heaven and the apparently lifeless objects on earth, constituted for them but one limitless spiritual presence which encircled the speck of human existence. The unity of this spirit was a conception which was attained only gradually. Originally the world was conceived as peopled by a plurality of gods ; and it was later that this plurality was subsumed under a higher unity. But even when this unity was reached, it was a unity in plurality, and not a mere negation of plurality. And the many gods were but manifestations of one Supreme Divinity. It was not a mere poetic personification of impersonal objects, but a profound philosophical conviction about the nature of reality.

And in this view of the nature of reality, Plato and the thinkers of India remarkably agreed.

In 499, while discussing the possibility of the realisation of the Ideal State, Plato says :

“ If, then, persons of first-rate philosophical attainments, either in the countless ages that are past have been, or in some *foreign clime*, far beyond the limits of our horizon, at the present moment are, or hereafter shall be, constrained by some fate to undertake the charge of a state, I am prepared to argue to the death in defence of this assertion that the constitution described has existed, does exist, yea and will exist, wherever the Muse aforesaid has become mistress of a state.”

Now, what is this *foreign clime*—the *βαρβαρικὸς τόπος*—where Plato imagines the ideal state may have been realised?

We have no reason to think that Plato is here referring to India—he does not mention India by name. But was he aware that some of the conceptions that he embodies in the *Republic*, i.e., his Ideal State, had travelled to him from foreign sources? If not, is it not rather striking that with all his consciousness of Hellenic superiority, he should consider it possible that some *barbaric* country might have realised the ideal state which was not attained by the Greeks?

We have discussed some of the leading similarities between the Platonic ideal of state and the teachings of the Gita. We should note here some of the important differences also.

(i) The most striking difference is the highly developed political consciousness of the Greek thinker, which is wanting in the author of the *Gītā*. The author of the *Gītā* also believed in an ideal harmony of the classes in society and the consequent happiness of man ; but it is open to question if this ideal happiness is the same thing as Plato's ethico-political justice. The author of the *Gītā* would say that if each man followed his appointed caste-duties, he would be virtuous and therefore happy ; and if all in society were happy, there would be a general happiness. But attention is concentrated here more or less on the individual, and the whole is supposed to fare well

wn the individuals are faring well In other words, the Hindu thinker was more individualistic than the philosopher of Greece.

In Chapter I. 36-45, the *Gītā* says that a war against one's own relations is always suicidal and leads to a dislocation of social life ; but the whole discussion there proceeds on ethico-religious lines and does not exhibit much of political consciousness. It is said, for instance, that the destruction of one's kith and kin leads to the breaking up of natural ties and this may eventually destroy the specific virtues of a tribe (*kula-dharma*) and so lead on to other vices, and thus to eternal perdition. Nothing is said about the destruction of the *state* ; or, what is said here can hardly be understood as implying any reference to the political existence of man and to a political organisation.

Plato, on the other hand, conceived an organic unity of the state which was rarely, if ever, reached by the Indian mind. According to Plato

“ That city, then, is best conducted in which the largest proportion of citizens apply the words ‘mine’ and ‘not mine’ similarly to the same objects.” “ Or in other words, that city which comes nearest to the condition of an individual man. Thus, when one of our fingers is hurt, the whole fellowship that spreads through the body up to the soul, and there forms an organised unity under the governing principle, is sensible of the hurt, and there is a universal and simultaneous feeling of pain in sympathy with the wounded part ; and therefore we say that the *man* has a pain in his finger ; and in speaking of any part of our frame whatsoever, the same account may be given of the pain felt when it suffers, and the pleasure felt when it is easy ” (462).

This is a conception of the organic unity of the state, which it is difficult to discover anywhere in the *Gītā*—or, for the matter of that, anywhere in Hindu thought. Underlying the theory of castes and the division of their duties, perhaps, there was a subdued belief in the ultimate unity of the social fabric ; but this belief as a political ideal has hardly ever been

fully developed in Hindu thought. And that it was not attained in speculative thought, was possibly due to the fact that it was not attempted in actual life.

(ii) In order that this universal feeling of own-ness may be generated in each mind, with reference to everything in the state, Plato advocated the abolition of private property and the establishment of a community of wives. But these ideas do not appear to have entered the Hindu mind at all. The latter conception, *viz.*, that of the community of wives, is perhaps a corollary of the former; for, as has been often said, in our idea of a wife, the sense of property also is present; and so, the abolition of property would logically involve the abolition of marriage also.

The Hindu conception of property, though quite potent in law, does not appear to have received much philosophic attention. Perhaps because our philosophers were men without much property. But though they were often men also without a wife, still, the purity and chastity of woman received considerable attention in Hindu thought; and the idea of the community of women would be thoroughly repugnant to Hindu taste.

The *Mahābhārata*, of which the *Gītā* is part, describes a war between two rival branches of the same family; and among other things, the *Gītā* enters upon a discussion about the merits of such a war. The most powerful argument used against such a war by Arjuna in the *Gītā* (ch. i.), is that it was a war against one's own family and might lead to the annihilation of the tribe. When the male members of a society were so extirpated, vice and corruption were bound to prevail. The women would be vicious; and the result then would be the birth of illegitimate children and the production of mixed castes and the whole social fabric would be threatened. The feminine virtues are very much stressed here; and the Hindu mind, obviously, could not reconcile itself to the disruption of the stable relations of the sexes which Plato's community of wives would involve. The *Gītā* had an opportunity here of suggesting

some such theory of marriage as Plato did ; but it did not. And though other justification of the war, is eventually found, the danger to sexual morals is tacitly recognised. This shows a difference in the mental constitution between the thinker of Greece and of India.

(iii) With a view to the production of the right class of rulers and the ruled, Plato had his own scheme of education. But as the author of the *Gītā* had no political ideal to realise, he had no scheme of secular education either. He certainly believed in a spiritual discipline which he characteristically calls 'yoga' ; but beyond this preparation for a higher spiritual life, no other scheme of education mattered for him. And for this very reason, Plato's educational scheme—gymnastic for the body and music for the soul—found no echo in his mind.

In his diatribe against poetry and the poets, also, Plato stands by himself. The author of the *Gītā* had his poetry and poets in the Vedas and their authors, just as Plato had his in Homer and Hesiod ; and the *Gītā* had some unpleasant things to say about the Vedas also (ii. 42-45). But it had not had the need for that comprehensive criticism of poetry and poets which Plato undertook in the *Republic*.

(iv) To his theory of Ideas, also, Plato had no parallel in the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* also believed in two orders of things—one destructible and the other indestructible (ii. 16-18) ; the body, for instance, and other material things of the world, were subject to decay and dissolution, while the spirit was indestructible. But the *Gītā* has never said that every object in nature—a table, a man, or a star—is but a copy or ectype of a corresponding reality, a prototype, which is immutable and eternal.

(v) As a consequence of his superior political consciousness, Plato developed a theory of social and political justice which also as such is not found in the *Gītā*.

But in spite of these important differences, the similarities that are there appear to us sufficiently striking to deserve

attention. Though with a somewhat different purpose, Plato intended to bring about the same social organisation that was real and valid for the author of the *Gītā*. The same classes of men and the classification of men on identical grounds, were accepted by both of them. For the author of the *Gītā*, it was not an unrealised ideal only, but part of the actual ordering of the world : Plato, however, wanted it as the condition precedent for the realisation of highest justice. This no doubt was a difference. But yet what was the ultimate order of things on which both fixed their gaze ? It was the same ordering of men in society—the same division into castes, if you please, and a division based on the same reasons—that both Plato and the author of the *Gītā* accepted as ultimately real. It was valid for Plato, for it was the ideal, and, therefore, more real than the actual ; and it was valid for the author of the *Gītā*, because it was divinely ordered and was actually a part of the scheme of the world ; and the moral ideal that the *Gītā* inculcated, was based upon a recognition of the fact that there was this order of things. Now, when two philosophers look upon the same social organisation as ultimately desirable and valid, the similarity is much too real to be allowed to be obscured by dissimilarities in other respects.

It is not the purpose of this comparison to suggest that there was borrowing either way. That is a question of history which history alone can solve. Mere similarity in thought is not a proof that one philosopher borrowed from another. This comparison is instituted only to shew that there is an aspect of Plato's philosophy which European expositors of his system have never recognised, owing no doubt to their ignorance of Hindu thought. When a Hindu student knows how much of his country's thought found expression in Plato's philosophy, he must feel a much keener interest in this the greatest philosopher of Greece and certainly one of the greatest for all times to come.

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART., TO AURANGZIB.

(Conclusion.)

Readers of the previous articles in this magazine on the mission of Sir William Norris may possibly find it difficult to feel assured that he was entirely fitted for the responsibilities entrusted to him jointly by King William III and the New English East India Company. He was a man of recognised standing by family right, possessed of considerable Parliamentary experience, and endowed with personal qualifications suitable to the position to which he was summoned. But for certain adverse circumstances which could not be laid to his charge his mission would have proved in all probability a brilliant success, and the comparative failure, of which he was rather the victim than the contributory, excites a movement of sympathy with his disappointment and not of censure for his proceedings.

No doubt the decision to send an Ambassador to the Great Mogul was dictated to the Directors of the New Company by their desire to advance its trading interests in India. The history of the mission already related shows that Sir William's dual responsibility produced serious difficulties. He was not merely the King's representative charged with the general interests of his countrymen in India, but the paid agent of a new trading company engaged in efforts to supplant an old company in its possession of privileges enjoyed for nearly a century. The Old Company intended to die hard, if die it must. Thus its representatives acted as traders first and Englishmen afterwards. Matters were further complicated by the political situation in England and in Europe generally. The Old Company was Jacobite in sentiment and sympathy, while the New Company owed its origin and existence to

William, Prince of Orange, who now sat on the throne of the exiled Stuarts. Thus there was political acerbity as well as trade jealousy between them. Members of the Old Company were not misled by Sir William's role of Ambassador and they planned to send a representative of their own. This was Dr. Davenant, whose task was to be to act against the New Company and, if possible, prevent the Ambassador's success. The project was, however, as we have seen, ultimately dropped.

In spite of hindrances from the Old Company, Sir William was able to leave England on his mission to India. His ship was one of a small squadron of four whose ultimate object was to stamp out piracy in the Indian Seas and thus remove a principal grievance entertained by the Mogul against the English. Pirates had been active since the conclusion of peace. Moslem pilgrims to and from Mecca had suffered much at their hands and many Indian merchantmen laden with rich cargoes had been taken. The Emperor was naturally irate and blamed the English because the offenders in general used the English flag. To ensure even a reasonable chance of success for the Embassy it was obvious that something must be done to mollify the Emperor and clear the English name. In his letter to the Mogul King William promised to deal with the pirates, the accompanying squadron being intended as an earnest of his sincerity.

Among the qualities required in an Ambassador is a power of accurate observation. He must, as it were, see everything and be able to draw just conclusions therefrom. Sir William gave early evidence of this power in those descriptions he sent home of the Portuguese settlements in Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands. These compare very favourably with those or other observant travellers.

When the expedition reached Madagascar and it was learnt that Captain Kidd, the notorious pirate, had gone to the West Indies to dispose of his plunder, the need of a keen further outlook on the part of the squadron disappeared. Sir William,

therefore, in accordance with the Company's instruction requested the Commodore to sail for Porto Novo on the Coast of Coromandel. Thence he sailed for Masulipatam and on the way thither passed Fort St. George where he had his first taste of the Old Company's hostility in the chilly reception offered by its representative there. He appears to have selected Masulipatam as his place of landing because of its comparative nearness to Bijapur, where the Mogul was said to be encamped. The latter, however, had then no fixed place of residence owing to the exigency of his various military operations against the Mahrathas. Probably the Directors at home, unable to foresee where the Mogul might be on Sir William's arrival, thought the East Coast would be as convenient as the West for the object in view. Events proved that the choice was a mistake. Masulipatam was far from the Emperor's camp, thus communications were tedious and slow. It was also inconvenient for the procuring of both men and animals for the intended journey.

The Ambassador having landed, the squadron within a few days took its departure with the purpose of now dealing effectively with the prevalent piracy. In this there was little success, although the squadron continued to patrol the Indian seas till 1701, when they returned to England without having made any impression either on the pirates or the Mogul's mind. It is a pity some prophetic instinct did not reveal to Sir William that his best and most prudent course would be to sail with it.

Surat would have been from most points of view a more convenient landing place than Masulipatam. But the latter presented one advantage which may here be mentioned for what it was worth. At Surat the New Company had as yet no resident head, as Sir Nicholas Waite did not arrive till January 19, 1699-1700. On the other hand their agent at Masulipatam, to whom the King had given consular rank, had arrived a few weeks before Sir William himself, and was able to arrange a fitting reception for him. This was perhaps the only advantage derived from the choice of Masulipatam rather than Surat.

The Consul, Pitt, almost from the moment of his landing at Masulipatam, had found himself beset with difficulties. He had given immediate notification of his Consular position to the Mogul Governor and requested a *perwanah* to be free from the payment of customs till a *phirmaund* should be obtained. He had also summoned the factors of the Old Company to pay their respects to him as Consul. He had, in addition, notified his Consular character to Thomas Pitt, his cousin, then serving as President for the Old Company. But in practically every quarter he met with coolness and even repudiation of his authority. It was plain that the agents and other representatives of the Old Company were inspired to their opposition by the Directors at home who left no stone unturned to injure their new rivals.

These circumstances were, of course, made known to Sir William, who nevertheless maintained a hopeful mood. A certain warmth displayed by the Mogul Governor in his reception appears to have made a favourable impression. This apparently was before the formal landing and he wrote at once to inform the authorities in England of it. He was plainly oversanguine and appears by his undue optimism to have given a false impression in London. There his message must have been read as signifying that all was to be plain sailing for the Embassy and that satisfactory results might speedily be expected. Subsequent events were destined to falsify these high hopes.

Norris immediately notified the Mogul of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the King of England, charged to promote trade and good relations, and requested the *dusticks* or passports necessary that he might travel in safety to the Imperial camp. He was not many weeks in Masulipatam before he discovered the absolute need of a golden key to the attainment of his objects. He writes: "I find the whole contrivance in the Kingdom from the Highest to the lowest is to squeeze out of everybody as much as they can and so that they get any-

thing care not how scandalously they come by it." His final conclusion was that a large present will be necessary as the only way of gaining "either favour or justice in this Government." It was plain that the presents with which he had come provided were insufficient and the funds at his disposal inadequate. Having persuaded himself that the only means of obtaining a successful issue for his mission was by bribery he entered into the spirit of the game and decided to use it right royally. He neglected, however, to take careful stock of the limited means at his disposal, believing, no doubt, that he had but to ask to have them replenished.

The opposition of the agents of the Old Company had been, of course, foreseen, but Sir William confidently expected his ambassadorial rank to awe them from the adoption of extreme measures. Many of them, however, were determined men and among these Thomas Pitt of Fort St. George was not the least. Pitt spread the story that Sir William was the agent of a mere company rather than the King's Ambassador and his tale found credit with many of the Mogul officials. He and the others backed their representations with presents and employed regular agents to bribe any at Court who would undertake to oppose Sir William's requests when they should come before the Emperor. Pitt had declined to accord a salute to Sir William at Fort St. George and thereafter studiously disregarded the Embassy. Minor agents of the Old Company spied upon the Ambassador's movements, gave him inaccurate and misleading information, and endeavoured finally to shake his confidence in those around him. In the latter efforts they had some success, for Sir William began to suspect treachery, dismissed many of his Indian suit, and even went so far as to quarrel with Consul John Pitt, his own colleagues, whom he reported to the Court of Directors. His suspicions were to the effect that John Pitt had been bribed to delay his departure from Masulipatam. They appear to have had no foundation and it does not seem even probable that Pitt had been in any way influenced by his

cousin Thomas. These cousins have been justly summarised by John Bruce as follows :

“ The characters of the London Company’s President, Thomas Pitt, and the English Company’s Consul, John Pitt, were equally marked by zeal in the services of their employers, but distinguished by the former possessing prudence, as well as firmness, and the latter, spirit, unguided by discretion; both, however, were unfit for temporizing or conciliatory measures...”

Sir William’s dealings with Consul Pitt and others show that he was deficient in the patience and tact necessary in an Ambassador.

Discouraged by these untoward circumstances and having no experienced person at hand on whose counsel he might rely, Sir William resolved in the spring of 1700 to transport himself and the Embassy to Surat. The monsoon, however, prevented ships from being available and thus, much against his own wishes, he had to wait for more favourable circumstances. Although the date of departure could not be fixed the decision was definitely made. But procrastination on the part of the Mogul officials in sending *dusticks* and arranging for necessary supplies and transport, as well as the physical difficulties of the journey and removal of the Imperial Camp to a still greater distance, combined to make an early start impossible.

No one outside of Masulipatam ever regarded it as a suitable starting point for the Mogul Camp. Indeed, its unsuitability was so obvious that it is difficult to understand how anyone could have suggested it. Now, the Surat Council, desiring apparently to exonerate themselves from blame, wrote encouraging him to come and declaring that his preparations for the journey to the Mogul’s Camp might there be made with advantage. At that moment Sir William had been nine months at Masulipatam and almost six more were to pass before his arrival at Surat. In this way more than a year was wasted attended with great expense for which there could be no return.

We need not dwell on the vexations endured by the

Ambassador before he left Masulipatam. He doubted the loyalty of Pitt, his colleague, quarrelled with the Council, and complained of their rudeness when instead they ought to have been his principal supporters. Passing Fort St. George there was again no salute which Sir William, who greatly magnified his office, took sorely to heart.

The Embassy arrived at Surat after a four months' voyage. In one respect the change brought no improvement as the Mogul officials had to be bribed and that on a scale still higher than at Masulipatam. Sir William had been much gratified by his reception at which the Governor and his son were present, but his feelings may be imagined when he learnt that their presence had only been secured by a considerable bribe. Indeed, his state entry would have been otherwise impossible as the Old Company's agents had done everything they could to prevent it.

Surat was nearer the Mogul Camp, yet it was also the centre of Mogul grievances. These related to the unpaid debts of the Old Company and the prevalence of piracy. The former was more or less a local grievance while the latter held a foremost place in the mind of the Emperor. He had no naval power to deal with the pirates and secure the safety of ships *en route* to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Europeans alone would help in such matters and as they were suppliants for *phirmaunds* the Mogul was not blind to the opportunity thus presented of securing a *quid pro quo*. The Governor stated that the Emperor had sent orders to expedite Sir William's journey as he was "very old and desirous of seeing him before he dyd." This was apparently true as there was no further delay in providing the necessary *dusticks* and arranging for the journey. At first Sir Nicholas Waite seems to have done his best to further matters. He and his Council supplied valuable information regarding the Mogul's ministers, their attitude towards the rival Companies and the line that might be most advantageously followed at Court by Sir William.

These throw a good deal of light on Waite's tact as well as his insight into Court intricacies. Much difficulty was felt in deciding, on the concessions to be asked from the Emperor and the minimum that ought to be accepted. The depleted state of the New Company's treasury and the heavy outlay already incurred made the provision of adequate funds a special anxiety. Ultimately considerable supplies were forthcoming, to be used for bribes and presents and these might have proved sufficient had not the Old Company sent agents authorised to bribe still more heavily.

The Ambassador's principal annoyance at Surat arose from the hostile attitude persistently maintained by the Old Company's President and factors. These steadily refused to recognise him and gave out to the Mogul authorities that he was not King's Ambassador but merely the representative of a Company of merchants. He learnt further that Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, but at that time in Surat, had been expressing Jacobite sentiments and speaking of "the true King in France." It would appear that Gayer had allowed his zeal for the Old Company to influence him so greatly that he did everything possible to thwart the Embassy. He even sent an Armenian Vakil to intrigue against it at court, although he was perfectly aware that it had the authority of the Crown. It seems plain therefore that his Surat sympathies were at work. Against all this, of course, Sir Nicholas Waite protested, but he appears to have used high-handed measures which roused the resentment not only of the Old Company's representatives, but also of the Mogul Governor himself. Altogether it was most unfortunate for trade expansion in India that the rivalry between the Companies should have become so prominent. The Emperor maintained an elaborate secret service and thus knew everything that was happening in his realms, and was not slow to exploit for his own advantage the mutual hostility the companies displayed.

At home the New Company, now falling in public

estimation, were realising that neither threats nor violence could intimidate officials of the Old Company. Consequently, they moderated the instructions sent to their agents and servants in India. On learning of events at Surat and on the Coromandel Coast the Directors expressed regret at the animosity that had been allowed to develop and gave instructions that efforts should be confined to the task of securing trade success. The Government also now made an effort to have the Companies united and accordingly, as a result of pressure, both held Courts to consider the matter of union. Feelings of rivalry were, however, still too keen and the attempt was for the time being abandoned. Owing to the slowness of communication events in India moved forward with an independence of their own. The Court of Directors might instruct but before instructions could reach India the situation to which they were meant to apply had changed. There could only be the most attenuated co-ordinations between the Directors at home and the men in India. Still less could Directors' Courts control or influence the policy and doings of the Mogul himself and his ministers.

Sir Nicholas Waite was no doubt a dismissed servant of the Old Company and certain writers including Hedges have described him as "intemperate and unscrupulous," nevertheless he was perfectly justified in resisting the Old Company's designs against the Embassy. As already mentioned, European pirates, including the notorious Captain Kidd, had been busy in the Indian seas. And naturally the Mogul had become greatly incensed by injuries done to the commerce of his subjects and more particularly by the despoiling of pilgrim ships bound for Mecca inasmuch as thereby sacrilege was added to robbery. The European merchants at Surat, including the Old Company's agents, had in consequence been compelled to give a bond indemnifying those who had suffered. This bond had been given about the time Sir William had sailed for England. The payment of compensation had been, however, resisted with the result that

Sir John Gayer and the Old Company's servants were confined for some years to their factory with occasional intervals of liberty. Sir Nicholas Waite after his arrival at Surat made common cause with their persecutors and endeavoured to bring home charges of piracy to the Old Company's ships. In these activities, however, the Ambassador, anxious to be strictly impartial, took no part.

The English Company, being newcomers, were not at first directly concerned in this matter of the security of the seas and compensation for failure to afford it. But the Home Government by sending men-of-war to suppress the piracy practically acknowledged responsibility. The Mogul therefore, quite naturally, expected the new Company to take part with the older trading bodies in the same undertaking. Thus when the New Company opened negotiations with him, he insisted chiefly on this matter of maritime security together with the debt owing to his subjects by the Company. No doubt, as a sovereign concerned for the interests of his subjects, the Mogul had some justification for his demands. But the New Company had no connection with, or responsibility for, the piracies, and therefore Sir William emphatically resisted them. Unfortunately he found his hands already partially tied by a premature act on the part of Sir Nicholas Waite. The latter had, on arriving at Surat and without consulting Sir William who was then at Masulipatam, written to the Mogul asking various privileges for the New Company. At the same time he had rashly promised to give security for the seas on condition of receiving a separate *phirmaund* for his own factory at Surat. In reporting to Sir William he did not mention this promise, so the Ambassador was for some time ignorant of it.

Another and serious difficulty now came from England and arrived when Sir William was on his way to the Imperial Court. As already noted, the New Company had the support of both King and Government and it had been proclaimed in India that the Old Company would cease to exist in September, 1701.

Now, however, came news that the latter had been granted perpetuity by Act of Parliament. The immediate effects were that the Mogul's ministers were puzzled to distinguish between the Companies and the credit of the Embassy was greatly lowered, inasmuch as Sir William had confidently foretold the speedy demise of the Old Company. He and the New Company's agents being therefore apparently proved false what further reliance could be placed on them? Mr. P. E. Roberts truly remarks: "the distinction between the two Companies was a Western subtlety not likely to be appreciated by Eastern minds.

The Embassy arrived at the Imperial camp when it was situated a short distance from Parnella, and Sir William was allowed to pitch his tents within the limits of the *Leskar*. He had scarcely been established there before he discovered that his task was to be a difficult, expensive and ungrateful one. On being received by the Emperor he requested that *phirmaunds* be granted for each of the Presidencies of Surat, Masulipatam, and Hooghly, with exemption from the bond for security of the seas. There was at first a favourable reception given to these requests and Sir William apparently had every reason for satisfaction. Aurangzib was particularly gracious. He listened attentively to the reading and translation of King William's letters and examined the presents with the utmost care, displaying special interest in such articles as were new to him. As a proof of his favour he chose personally a specially rich *serpaw* with which Sir William was invested.

It may be noted here that this was not by any means the first foreign embassy received by Aurangzib. Bernier gives interesting details of others and the manner of their reception. Early in his reign there had come Tartar envoys from Usbec, a Dutch Ambassador, one Mynheer Dirk Van Adrechem, and diplomatic representatives from Ethiopia. All had been well received and dismissed with honour. The Tartar envoys made their obeisances to the Emperor according to the Indian fashion ;

the Dutch Ambassador was allowed to salute both after the Indian and European custom, while the letters they brought were in each case received by an Amir. To an Ambassador from the Shah of Persia had been accorded the special distinction of being allowed to pay his respects to the Emperor in the fashion of his own country and to deliver his letter to the Emperor in person. He had also been given a seat among the chief Umaras. Sir William Norris was also permitted to pay his respects after the manner of his own country. But although he was given a seat among the chief noblemen he was not received with quite the same distinction as the Persian Ambassador had been. The reason was that the Mogul did not consider the representative of any European monarch quite the equal of one from the Shah or the Sultan of Turkey, doubtless because he was not a true believer. Nevertheless, in Sir William's belief, no embassy had ever before received at the Mogul Court so flattering a reception as his. Nor had any ever made a deeper impression by its pomp and magnificence. It is curious and a little disappointing that Sir William never apparently recorded his impressions of the Emperor's appearance nor of the spectacle offered by his court. He appears, however, after this *Durbar* to have nourished high hopes that if only funds should be forthcoming to satisfy the greed of the officials success for his mission was assured.

After the *Durbar* came serious business. The capture of Parnella, hastened, it would appear, by the use of cannon included in the Royal presents, put his Imperial Majesty in a good temper. But there followed delays which seriously alarmed the Ambassador. The Mogul was quite resolved to secure some tangible advantage in return for concessions to the Company and the one which most appealed to him was a guarantee for the safety of the Indian seas. In aiming at this he was acting as behaved an Indian Sovereign, anxious for the interests of his own subjects. If a comparison must be allowed, Aurangzib's motives were more praiseworthy than

those of the English Company. The Imperial ministers assumed that Waite's undertaking would be fulfilled and when Sir William had to repudiate it the *phirmaunds* were held back. The Ambassador's patience came near exhaustion and he complained to Sir Nicholas Waite pointing out that his promise was now directly impeding progress and that the supplies of money from Surat were too scanty to meet the heavy charges of the Embassy. During this interval of delay he accompanied the Mogul on his marches and had three audiences accorded him.

Things had now come to such a pass that decision one way or another could hardly be longer postponed. It was agreed to present the Emperor with a lakh of rupees, a like sum to the minister in charge of the negotiations and proportional benefactions to several of his assistants. Most of those concerned were now again in a confident mood although it was said that the Emperor still held out for a pledge regarding the safety of the seas. Sir William had given a modified undertaking, which extended to Mocha, and felt fairly certain that success was at hand and that he would soon be able to sail for home. These hopes were, however, soon damped, because although drafted the *phirmaunds* remained unsigned. The negotiation became more critical when the Emperor was suddenly informed by a Derbesh that the Old Company had not paid compensation for the piracies and the opinion began to spread that the New Company should accept this liability. There was further delay ; and the Mogul ordered the property and servants of the Old Company to be seized and its trade prohibited throughout his dominions. The competitive bribery of the two Companies now stirred in the minds of the Imperial ministers doubts as to which of them really represented the English nation. To clear away these doubts enquiry was made at Surat on behalf of the Emperor and again the competitive bribery of the Companies produced confusion of mind and delay. At this juncture several acts of piracy were reported

and there followed further hesitation on the part of ministers about completing the *phirmaunds*, till it should be seen whether the Old Company would meet their alleged responsibilities. Meanwhile Sir William was chafing at the delay and growing anxious about his own position. The long-drawn-out negotiations were contrary to the expectations of the Company and their representatives in India. Sir William had already expended large sums in "gifts" and had promised still more on the completion of the *phirmaunds*; but if every important concession was to be eliminated from them what value could they be? By this time he had come to realise that to remain longer at the Court would be useless. The Mogul continued to insist firmly on a guarantee for maritime security and Sir William was equally emphatic in his refusal. He maintained that already three European nations had undertaken responsibility and that his promise to pay the Emperor a lakh of rupees was contingent on the New Company being relieved of it. The Mogul who at first had shown himself friendly now appears to have grown as tired of the huckstering as Sir William himself. Nor was he less positive in expressing his own decision. He declared that if the Ambassador refused to undertake an obligation for security at sea he might return to England the way he came.

Thus the long-drawn-out mission ended in failure. The main sources of failure have already been emphasised and others, like the intrigues of his own countrymen, indicated. One can easily imagine how ironical was the laughter of the Old Company's agents when Sir William vainly tried to assert his authority. In some ways he is one of the most unhappy figures in the history of diplomacy. Circumstances forced him into an attitude antagonistic to many Englishmen in India although he had no personal feeling against them. It must be admitted that he was not an ideal Ambassador—he was somewhat tactless in dealing even with his own colleagues. His unfamiliarity with Indian customs and languages often betrayed him into

what, having regard to his diplomatic character, can only be described as blunders. Sir Nicholas Waite, a man of much wider Indian experience, noticing his tendency to pomposity, warned him against insisting too much on punctilious observances from the Mogul's officers. In spite of that warning he allowed a mere point of etiquette to prevent him from making friends with the Vizier, Asad Khan. It is true, of course, that Thomas Pitt had tried, with probably some success, to secure Asad's interest for the Old Company; but in the later stages of the Embassy Asad appears to have taken more interest in Sir William's efforts, and even tried to get the business satisfactorily concluded. Nevertheless it is not easy to say how far he had forgiven Sir William's original attitude towards him. Yar Ali Beg stands out somewhat conspicuously from other officials for the loyal assistance he gave the Ambassador and the entire confidence the latter reposed in him. Ruhullah Khan, on the other hand, is a sinister figure, ever intriguing and causing intentional delay in the hope of receiving fresh bribes. Inayet Ulla Khan offers a contrast to both the preceding inasmuch as his interests were ever those of the Emperor, his master; and for his unimpeachable superiority to corruption.

The long duration of the mission contributed considerably to its ultimate failure, because it became thereby extremely expensive and a serious burden on the New Company's resources. It must be remembered that the Home Government contributed nothing for the support of its king's Ambassador. Sir William had to be continually demanding from his paymasters the means of giving "subsidies," because he had to meet the Old Company's agents with their own weapons. Apart from that he was compelled to "gratify" many ministers and their secretaries. The more corrupt officials had every inducement to delay the business: for the longer negotiations could be spun out the more numerous would be the occasions for bribes. The factories did not and could not support Sir William in a manner commensurate with his expenses, which were enormously and

unexpectedly increased by the long protracted negotiations. Indeed it is quite plain that he lacked both firmness and judgment in dealing with rapacious court officials. Manuchi observes that he

“made a great show, and his expenses were extraordinary. No prince has ever been attended with greater pomp and ostentation, and in addition thereto his liberality was unbounded. He imagined that in this way he could push through his business more quickly. But he was quite ignorant of what the King’s intentions were in regard to him. For, after all, the only thing he acquired was the nickname ‘King of England,’ given him by the common people in the army.”

The Embassy did not arrive opportunely. The Emperor was growing old and his authority over ministers was waning. In addition he was engaged in conducting his campaign against the Mahrathas. His downfall was expected almost daily and his sons were hotly intriguing against each other for the succession. The Hindu chiefs, hitherto in subjection to him, had begun to watch for an opportunity of recovering their independence. It was believed that his death would be the signal for war and general chaos. The internal condition of the Empire is thus described by Mr. Sarkar :

“The moral weakness of the empire was even greater than the material: the Government no longer commanded the awe of its subjects; the public servants had lost honesty and efficiency; ministers and princes alike lacked statesmanship and ability; the army broke down as an instrument of force. In letter after letter the aged Aurangzib mourns over the utter incapacity of his officers and sons and chastises them with his sharp pen, but in despair of a remedy.”

Success would have been difficult even with a more experienced and tactful Ambassador. Sir William had to deal with much more difficult and complicated circumstances than his predecessor, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James I, with whom a comparison seems natural and indeed inevitable. Both were typical products of their respective Universities. Roe was not quite so closely identified with Oxford as Norris was with

Cambridge. Roe was better equipped for his mission by intimate knowledge of Elizabeth's Court and by experience gained in foreign travel: Norris had neither of these. Sir Thomas went to India exclusively a Royal Ambassador; Sir William was the King's representative but he was also the agent of the New Company and the latter bore the charges of his mission. Sir Thomas Roe went out to ask privileges and an assured position for his nation, but the mission of Sir William Norris was to request privileges and rights for a new Corporation seeking to establish itself on the supersession of an old one. Roe had plenty of opposition from the Vizier, Asaf Khan; the Prince Kharrum; the Jesuits and the Dutch, who all obstructed him; but they were by no means such keen and indefatigable opponents as Sir William Norris had to contend with amongst his own countrymen and the Mogul's ministers. Roe succeeded largely because he conciliated Asaf Khan, and obtained the support of the Queen, Nurmahal; but Norris by want of foresight failed to attach genuinely to his cause Asad Khan, the Vizier of Aurangzib. The earlier Ambassador showed better judgment in bestowing presents than the latter one did. Of the two, Roe's character was the more sophisticated and he possessed the greater intuition. Roe had a personality that commended him to the Emperor Jehangir who was a man of liberal views. But apparently Norris never got past the surface with Aurangzib whom he found to be a stern bigot, every inch an Emperor, forbidding in manner and difficult to approach, save through ministers whom Sir William could never implicitly trust. Both men were impatient of slights and had alike a keen eye to material advantage. In Sir Thomas Roe were a high spirit, tenacity of purpose and a pride of race which did more to establish English prestige at the Mogul Court than any other envoy had done. Courageous and intrepid, the Orientals saw in him that *Justum et tenacem propositi Virum* conceived by the Roman poet. Any Ambassador who commanded respect as Roe did could never be considered a failure. Sir

William Norris was more self-important, pompous and undiplomatic than Roe. Of the tasks that fell to them Sir William's was much the heavier. Roe appears to have observed more shrewdly than Sir William as his description of the Court and of Mogul administration is more elaborate than that of the latter. His suggestions to the Court of Directors concerning their future policy were more statesmanlike than Sir William's to the Directors of the New Company. One final distinction between the two may be noted and its mention brings before us the sadness of the lot that befell the brave man whose task we have been tracing. Sir Thomas Roe lived to be rewarded for his labours but Sir William Norris was not destined to see his beloved country again and so could not in person lay his case before the King, his master.

• When it became known that the Ambassador was resolved to take his departure and had asked for the necessary *dusticks* there was considerable dismay in the Camp. It was a new experience to find a great ruler taken at his word and many feared for its effect on the Emperor. The same vexatious delays that had attended the major negotiations were experienced in the granting of the *dusticks* so Sir William broke up his camp and departed without them. This behaviour was resented and the departing Embassy brought to a halt by the assembling of Mogul troops. After considerable discussion Sir William agreed to return and await the Emperor's pleasure. He described his own position with complete accuracy when he stated that he could not consider himself other than a "prisoner." Nevertheless, but for his apprehensions, it would have been quite clear to him that Aurangzib had no wish to do him personal injury. In this part of the negotiations Sir William had to deal with the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan one of the Mogul's ablest generals, whom Aurangzib had some time before caused to be blinded not out of affection.

The delay in obtaining the Emperor's final orders extended over weeks. It was said that at the eleventh hour he had

granted the *phirmaunds*, and more than once Sir William's durance was brightened by the news that they were at last on their way to him. To bring about realisation of his hopes he promised in the Company's name large rewards to the Nawab to be paid when the *phirmaunds* should arrive at Surat. His prudence was justified for in the end no *phirmaunds* were received. What did at last reach him were Aurangzib's reply to King William's letter and presents in return for those sent three years earlier. They were accompanied with the Imperial commands that they should be delivered to the Ambassador in person : and after some demur Sir William who had strictly refrained from visiting the Nawab consented to call upon him for this purpose. At the interview which followed Sir William was assured that the Emperor had promised to grant the *phirmaunds* but that they were not yet ready. After receiving the letter and presents for King William the Ambassador was decorated with a *serpaw* and received an elephant as his personal gift. That they actually came from the Emperor himself was made plain to the assembly in the course of the ceremony of investiture. In spite of disappointment over the failure of his mission Sir William did not conceal his pleasure at these polite attentions. The *dusticks* now duly arrived and the Embassy resumed its march to Surat. On this occasion no obstacles were encountered. Three months exactly had passed since they set out from the Imperial Camp when the Ambassador and his retinue made a state entry into Surat.

Sir William Norris' troubles with the Mogul were now over ; those with his own countrymen were to complete the tale of his tribulations. Sir Nicholas Waite, the colleague who had come to India almost simultaneously with himself and was charged with the same interests, was absent—apparently of deliberate intent—from the reception. He impudently asserted that with departure from the Imperial Court the Embassy had come to an end and that none need take further notice of the Ambassador. It is difficult to find terms strong enough to

characterise such conduct. It was like kicking a man when he is down. Mr. P. E. Roberts in his chapter in Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of India* plainly puts restraint on himself when he remarks :

“The meanness of his reception, contrasting strongly with his pompous state entry fourteen months before, was eloquently emblematic of his failure.”

There appears even to have been a painful altercation between Ambassador and Consul, the latter accusing and the former defending himself. By Article 12 (see p. 48 of Letter Book 11, I.O.) of the Company's instructions Waite had evidently a certain amount of jurisdiction over Sir William with regard to the mission of the Embassy, but it will hardly be denied that he exercised it with a singular lack of humane feeling. Even when Sir William asked Waite and the Council to meet him to confer on important affairs of the Company they declined and asked him to communicate with them in writing when he would be favoured with their opinion. An Ambassador who has failed in his task is not unlike a beaten general. He is subjected to harsh and even ill-informed criticism. That is what happened in this case. Every agent in all three Presidencies severely condemned him asserting that with more tact and prudence and a more conciliatory attitude towards the Vizier, Asad Khan, the *phirmaunds* might have been secured.

In his instructions from the Court on his departure from England Sir William Norris had been requested to leave India immediately his mission had been brought to a conclusion. For some inscrutable reason the Company's authorities in Surat threw obstacles in the way of his doing so. After several requests a ship was chosen that was altogether unsuitable for one who in spite of all that had happened was still the King's Ambassador. It is not at all clear why the local Council should have acted thus, especially in delaying his departure. He appears to have thought that they were apprehensive of the complaints he might justly make on reaching England

of their lack of support while he was negotiating at the Mogul's camp. Apparently too they feared that his journal might contain severe strictures on them, for they tried to induce him to leave a copy of it in India. His refusal of this request might possibly have borne that interpretation, but as a matter of fact the journal contains nothing to justify such fears. It appears also that the representatives of the Old Company were apprehensive and that with more reason. They had opposed and thwarted him at almost every turn, expending large sums of money in so doing. It cannot indeed now be doubted that a large measure of the failure of the Embassy was due to their extensive bribing. Whatever reflections the journal might contain on the actions of the New Company's representatives it is certain that those of the Old Company merited severe and emphatic condemnation. The change that had now taken place in England made matters still more serious for the latter. For the rivalry between the Companies was at an end. They had become united with the result that those who had so fiercely opposed the Embassy now found, as it were, the ground removed from beneath their feet. The opposing interests of the two Companies having become merged in one common enterprise, the rival champions in India were confounded by the new situation and, of course, found themselves no longer in favour. Their fears, however, as to what Sir William Norris might report on his return to England were soon to be set at rest. When the weary Ambassador at last sailed from India aboard the *Scipio*, the unseen Angel of Death went with him and his worldly anxieties were almost at their end.

It were useless to speculate on what might have been Sir William Norris' reception had he been spared to arrive in England. The King who commissioned him to India was dead, but that circumstance would have been more favourable than otherwise, for William was not lenient towards failure. The new Sovereign Queen Anne was in the hands of a Whig ministry to which party Sir William belonged. With the

experience gained in the East he would most likely have soon found his way again into the House of Commons. The circumstances would have been wholly favourable to the condonation of any defects with which his detractors might have charged him. He had failed in his mission, it is true, but he had manfully upheld the dignity of his Sovereignty and reputation of his country. He had not secured the much desired *phirmaunds* from Aurangzib, but at least he had impressed that potentate favourably. And even had the mission succeeded in its main object what benefits would the *phirmaunds* have brought seeing that the rival Companies were now one? Sir William Norris need have had no fears about his reception in England. But that Power which disposes all earthly things had decreed an earlier end to his anxieties, with a consolation more perfect than Royal favour or Parliamentary honour.

The history of the two Companies for the next seven years in one largely of distrust, rivalry and disunion even after formal union. Their servants both in England and in India had been rivals long enough to find it hard to co-operate with one another. Prospects, therefore, were for some time not very hopeful. The General Courts of both Companies had agreed to a provisional union but it was not till 1709 that they found themselves on solid ground. In that year a Tripartite agreement was concluded between the Sovereign and the two Companies, largely through the efforts of Lord Godolphin and Lord Halifax. Their full title then became "The United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies." Through the death two years before of Aurangzib, the Mogul Empire became dismembered and that led later to the establishment on a firm basis of the "United East India Company." Thus was opened a new chapter in the history of the Trade and Government of India. This was the era of "John Company" which came to an end at the close of the Great Mutiny in the middle of the nineteenth century.

TO A DEAD CANARY BIRD

Whence has it flown,—the little germ of life
That animated thy fair form, sweet bird ?
That motion gave to thy soft, yellow wings,
That voiced the song within thy swelling throat,
And made thine eyes aglow with throbbing joy !
Now are they lifeless ; all their light is gone,
And useless are thy folded wings for aye !
Thy song is hushed ; thy vital spark has flown—
Poor, hapless bird, born in captivity.
Thy gilded cage a prison was to thee,
And yet, thou didst not know ! Ah, sad the lack
Of understanding of thy bitter loss !
Nought didst thou know of love or mating sweet ;
Of nest, or of the mystery of birth.
Thy wings were plumed, but shut from tree or sky ;
No touch of flower, or bath of morning dew,
Hast thou e'er known in thy brief, stunted life.
The vague unrest, the longings dim for love,
The ecstasy of sunlight and of life,
Tuned thy sweet throat to melodies divine,
And thou didst sing thy little life away !
How oft I've watched thee and didst pity feel
That thou, all ignorant of freedom's joy,
Unknowing love's sweet pains and bliss,
Couldst sing in gilded cage and happy seem !
Ah, better be a homely sparrow brown,
Without an angel-harp to charm the air—
To live beneath the shelter of the leaves
'Twixt earth and heaven, and fashion thine own nest,
With thine own mate to weave and feather it !
Ah, better be the humblest bird that flies
On joyous wings beneath the arching blue,

And risk the beak of hawk, or arrow's flight,
Than dwell in honeyed safety, dull and drear!
Better to know the pangs of love and loss,
Than in sodden ignorance to exits!
Thank God thou'rt dead! Poor lifeless, yellow bird—
For now thy spirit will be born anew
In some diviner form, to feel and know
The sweets of liberty, of love and life:
For He who notes the humble sparrow's fall,
Will re-collect the tones thou'st sent abroad,
To thrill and vibrate in the realms of song
And mould them into joyous, throbbing life—
Mayhap in some fair child as yet unborn!
For not an atom 'neath the endless blue
Will e'er be lost; but ever upward move.
Oh, Life, imponderable and vast!
Oh, Love, omnipotent and infinite!
I have no words to voice the truth I feel—
That all is One with God, and all Divine!

TERESA STRICKLAND

VIGNETTES FROM RABINDRANATH'S 'LIPICA'

I. *A Glance.*

At the moment of parting, she turned her face slightly and gave me her last glance.

In the immensity of the world, where shall I keep that single glance ? Where is the place that is inaccessible to the silent foot-steps of seconds, minutes and hours ?

Will this glance be merged in the gloom of night that devours all the gold of autumnal clouds ?

Will it be washed away by the rains that carry off the dust of *Nagkeshar* blossom ?

How can it live amid the thousand diversities of the world—its vanity and its sufferings ?

...Her sudden glance wandered over to me ignoring all else. I shall weave it in my songs, I shall bind it in my rhymes, I shall keep it in the Paradise of Beauty.

The might of the crown and the wealth of the rich die away. But does not a drop of tear contain that nectar which will ever revive this momentary glance ?

...A tune of my songs murmurs in my bosom, "Let me have it. I touch not the kingly crown nor the gold of the rich ; but trifles like that glance are my sole treasure. With them I make a garland for Eternity."

II. *Eve and Dawn.*

Eve descends here. It's dawn in some far-off country across the ocean.

Here, in the shroud of darkness, the *Rajanigandha* trembles in ecstasy like a veiled, newly-married bride standing at the doors of the room in which her lover sleeps.

There, the golden *Champak* of morn opens its petals...An awakening ; lamps are put out ; wreaths of flower fondly woven in the night fall down discarded.

Here, the doors are locked, and the ferryman is fast asleep in his boat.

There, the windows fly open and the boat glides away on the sweeping current.

There, they come out of the *serai* and proceed eastward. The crimson rays touch their forehead ; dark eyes tender with longings await their arrival at the windows overlooking the road which opens before them its tinted letter of invitation with the words " We are ready to receive thee." Their blood dances wild in their veins with the rhythmic beats of a trumpet.

Here, they all cross the river in the dying light, and then cross no more.

Here, they spread their beds in the *serai*. Some are lonely ; others have their mates wearied. What is in front lies invisible in the dark. What was behind—they whisper to one another. When words are lost they lie in silence. Then, looking up to the sky, they see the Seven Stars smiling radiant on their faces.

O Sun, let the Eve on your left and the Dawn on your right clasp each other in deep embrace. Let the dark shades of the one kiss the flooding light of the other. Let them be enveloped in one sweet, harmonious music.

III. *My First Grief.*

The pathway that runs through the shades of the wood is now covered with soft grass.

In that rigid loneliness a sudden voice whispers, " Do you remember me ? "

I turn round and look wondering at her face ;—" I remember you as through a veil of mist, but cannot recollect your name."

" I am your First Grief—the forgotten one that came to you when you were twenty-five."

A misty tear stands in her eye. It is like the crescent moon dancing in dark waters.

I gaze amazed. "On that day I saw you gloomy as the clouds of rain ; but to-day you bear the gold of autumn on your face. Are all the tears dried up in your sad sweet eyes ?"

She stands in silence while her lips part in a faint smile. That smile bears her answer ; it is the disguise of a world of tears. She suggests a rain-cloud that has stolen the smiles of an autumnal blossom.

"Have you still preserved the youth of my twenty-fifth spring ?" I ask.

She lifts up her eyes : "Ay, it is here ; it swings as a wreath on my bosom."

I look at it in an ecstacy of surprise. Not a petal of the wreath of my forgotten youth has fallen under the brush of age.

—"All that I possess is fast withering ; this—this alone is still alive on your bosom with all the colours of life."

Slowly she takes the garland out, puts it around my neck and whispers in a mysterious voice. "Do you remember, you said that day that you loved grief—not consolation ?"

I feel a sense of shame ; "I did ; but many a year went by since and it passed away from my mind."

"But since that day all these long and weary years I have awaited you in the shade of the tree yonder. Will you not take me back, my beloved—"

I clasp her warm hands and murmur, "What new charms blossom forth on your lips !"

She answers with a sigh of content, "What was Grief to you, is now Peace."

RAIYATI HOLDINGS IN BENGAL—ARE THEY ECONOMIC ?

“ * * * * He (the raiyat) scantily heeds,
So food suffice, the toilsome life he leads ;
A patient man, too simple to complain.
And sometimes 'mid his fellows, as they troll
Their rustic songs at eve, in mellow mood,
He half forgets the ills that tame his soul :
The nightly tiger thirsting for his blood,
The ambushed cobra gliding from its hole,
Nature's blind force, the famine and the flood.”—*Webb*.

The raiyat is the most important person in the economic life of Bengal, howmuchsoever he may be neglected by the political busy body. Numerically his fraternity form more than three-fourths the total population. According to the latest Census figures those that work on the soil number 40,543,580 persons out of a total population of 47,592,462. He takes little notice however of the political world and is hardly affected by those mysterious changes in fashion that are apt to absorb the attention of more civilised individuals. He can drink any water he comes across without regard to the cautious considerations that keep the civilised townfolk from all but the boiled and filtered product. He can eat anything that does not affect his caste without the carking knowledge that it may contain the germs of cholera or the bacilli of some other fell disease. As far as his experience carries him, the raiyat finds that poverty is pandemic, suffering sporadic, and independence practically invisible, and he is not therefore disturbed by that “ apprehension of the good ” that “ gives but the greater feeling to the worse.” He is the victim of economic forces over which very little control is exercised. Between the landlord and the money-lender he finds himself as between two jaws of a vice which, under the peculiar legal system of the country, are screwed

closer by the Courts of Justice. He does not care to dabble in questions of economics and hardly scrutinises whether his holding is economic or not. Government or patriots have to think for him. It is fortunate that the destiny of the dumb millions of India has now been placed in the hands of a Viceroy who by his previous experience as the Minister of Agriculture in Great Britain is sure to prove the raiyat's friend and as a matter of fact has, from the very start of his career in India, been taking keen interest in the welfare of the agricultural community. The appointment of a special Commission to examine the agricultural problems of the country with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the raiyats with Lord Linlithgow as President which synchronised with the auspicious advent of His Excellency Lord Irwin was also most opportune. The Commission have already finished their tours and the fruits of their labours will soon get crystallised in the form of a report, and be placed in the hands of the public. Their questionnaire included such subjects as the aggregation of fragmented holdings, joint farming, etc. Their considered opinion on these subjects and the solution which it may suggest will be vital to the interest of the *raiya*l.

With the increase of population the sub-division of holdings is gradually increasing, and the subject has long engaged the attention of Government. So long ago as in December, 1917, the question of uneconomic holdings was discussed at the Conference of the Board of Agriculture held at Poona. Experts from all parts of India assembled there were of opinion that the science of Agriculture was powerless so long as the cultivator's holding continued to be short of an economic unit. The following was the Resolution passed by them :

“ That this meeting of the Board of Agriculture recognises that in many parts of India the extreme and increasing sub-division of the land and scattered character of the holdings together form a very serious impediment to agricultural progress and the adoption of agricultural improvements, and wishes to suggest that the attention of Local

Governments be called to the matter. It recommends that the question be closely investigated and experiments made in each provincial area in consultation with the Registrar of Co-Operative Societies with a view to the adoption of such measures as seem best adapted to meet the special local circumstances and to the introduction of such legislation as may be necessary."

Mr. J. F. Keatings of the Agriculture Department recently giving evidence before the Royal Agricultural Commission pointed out that the distribution of land among cultivators in India was most prejudicial to production, the small holdings being uneconomic in size and shape. He stated that he could recall tracts where rare holdings of suitable size and shape stood out from the surrounding ineffective cultivation like bright stars. It is not possible to lay down by a rule of thumb what is an economic unit, for it is a relative quantity varying with the standard of civilization. The record of rights, which forms the Magna Charta of the raiyat and has been prepared during the last two decades for several districts in Bengal, contains a mine of information, and the settlement reports prepared under the auspices of distinguished members of the Imperial and Provincial Services supply information regarding the average size of holdings, the average annual income and necessary expenditure per head. The following statistics about some districts are illuminating :

District.			Average size of a raiyat's holding in acres.	Average agri-cultural income per head per annum.	Average necessary expenditure per head per annum.	Average necessary annual expenditure for a family of 5 or 6 persons.
				Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs.
Midnapur	...	...	1.29	48	48 0	240
Bakarganj	...	...	2.51	29	50 0	250
Faridpur	...	...	1.39	60	50 0	250
Dacca	...	...	1.58	57	54 0	250
Mymensing	...	...	2.67	72	56 0	280
Rajshahi	...	...	3.50	40	50 0	200
Noakhali	...	...	2.30	30	50 0	200
Jessore	...	...	1.50	54	63 3	240

It will appear from the above figures that in no district the average necessary expenditure of the raiyat's family is covered by the average income from the the holding. In those districts where there is appreciable disparity between income and expenditure, the problem must be very acute, and something requires to be done to prevent perpetual indebtedness. The average income per head in the eight districts ranges from Rs. 29 to Rs. 60. This does not compare favourably with the figures ascertained for some of the other provinces of India. For example in the Madras Presidency the average agricultural income has been estimated at Rs. 100 and in the Bombay Presidency at Rs. 75. Compared with the figures for India as a whole the outlook in Bengal is not, however, so cheerless. Prof. Rushbrook Williams observes in respect of the whole of India—"Where rainfall is precarious and uncertain, and the soil shallow and poor, the income from all sources per head in a typical village has been calculated at Rs. 33-12-0 per annum as against a minimum of expenditure necessary for real needs in respect of food and clothing at Rs. 44 per annum." Major Jack in his *Economic Life of a Bengal District* has estimated the average family debt to be Rs. 58 per cent. of the annual income amongst cultivators.

The average size of the holding is different in different districts, and a bigger size is not necessarily indicative of a larger yield. It is the outturn from the holding that is the most important factor in determining the raiyat's prosperity. In some districts the soil is more fertile and a smaller area yields sufficient quantities of crops. For example, in Midnapur although the size of the holding is only 1·29 acres, the outturn is just sufficient to keep a single person above want, while in Bakarganj although a raiyat holds more land he is not in a position, if he is to depend on his agricultural income alone, to keep soul and body together. Whatever may be the size of a holding, it should not be so small, however, as to be below

the point of marginal utility. Administrators are required to see that the poor raiyat who is so ignorant as not to be able to think for himself is kept back from such a crisis. The raiyat should be in possession of such quantity of land as may be sufficient for proper maintenance of himself and his family. In view of the statistics for the eight districts referred to previously, the size of an economic holding in Bengal should be 5 to 8 acres, assuming that each cultivator has 5 or 6 persons dependent on him.

Although the average size of a holding does not indicate the total land held by a family, for it is not unoften that more than one holding is held by a person under different landlords or separate holdings are possessed by the different members of the same family, there is no gainsaying the fact that the subdivision of holdings which is continuously going on is a great hindrance to the economic prosperity of the raiyat. It is a serious impediment on the way of land development and land improvement, to effective organization and even to adequate tillage and intensive cultivation. The small size of the holding means a greater exhaustion of the soil, an insufficient security for the raiyat and consequently a higher rate of interest which he borrows; and is a fruitful source of friction and litigation.

Under existing conditions it seems almost impossible to forcibly restrict the size of a holding while so many factors are constantly in operation, *viz.*, increasing population, frequent transfer of land, and the rigid laws of succession. The gradually decreasing size of a holding with the lapse of ages is inevitable and not peculiar to India. Even in a country like America, where there are no rigid laws of succession at work and where the people are not so ignorant, the size of farms has gradually decreased with the increase of population. In the United States the average size of a farm was 202·6 acres in 1900 when population increased a little over 20 per cent. Dr.

Mann's examination of the sizes of holdings in the Deccan shows the following results :—

Year.				Average size of the holdings.
1771	...	...	...	40 acres
1818	...	...	...	17½ „
1820-40	...	...	...	14 „
1915	...	...	...	7 „

Such holdings have been sub-divided into 729 separate plots of which 463 are less than one acre and 112 less than one-fourth of an acre, although according to the estimate of competent authorities anything less than 10 to 15 acres would not be an economic holding in that area. If statistics for other parts of India be taken the figures would be equally alarming. In America and Europe the laws of succession may easily be changed with the exigencies of circumstances and to suit the economic conditions of the country, but in India any interference whatsoever with the fixed dogmatic principles enjoined in religious books or scriptures will be considered revolutionary and sacrilegious. The rigorous law of inheritance cannot possibly be modified by legislation. The transferability of holding is also difficult to stop, so long as the root causes leading to such transfer cannot be checked. This involves a difficult economic question which cannot be solved in a day or by a sudden legislative *coup*.

A comparison of the sizes of agricultural holdings in the different countries as specified below will show the relative position of India in that respect :—

Name of country.				Average size of holding.
England and Wales	...	...	...	62 acres
Germany	...	...	...	21·5 „
France	...	...	...	20·25 „
Denmark	...	...	...	40 „
Belgium	...	...	...	14·5 „
Holland	...	...	...	26·0 „
United States	...	...	...	148 „
Japan	...	...	...	3 „
China	...	...	...	3·25 „
India	...	...	...	2 to 3 „

In India itself the sizes of holdings vary considerably in different provinces as will be evidenced from the following figures :—

<i>Name of Province.</i>		<i>Average size of raiyat's holding.</i>	
United Provinces ...	...	7·83	acres
Madras Presidency ...	...	3 to 4	„
The Punjab ...	...	8 to 10	„
Behar ...	...	1	acre
Orissa ...	...	8	acres
Bombay Presidency ...	...	12½	„
Bengal ...	...	1½ to 2·08	acres

So far as area is concerned, barring Behar, the size in Bengal is practically the smallest.

The economic difficulties which a Bengal raiyat has to contend against are accentuated by the exceedingly small size of his holding. The fertility of the soil in Bengal and the various fruit crops (*e.g.*, betelnut, cocoanut, jack, mango, plantain, etc.) which he derives from his holding do not serve as an adequate set-off. The only panacea lies in education and co-operation. Cultivators require to be educated in methods of intensive cultivation. They should learn how to grow a variety of crops on the same plot of land without impairing the quality of the soil by the use of different kinds of manures. They may be taught to go beyond the results of experiences of their fathers in order to keep abreast of the changes of the day and to follow closely the movements of agricultural science and practice. Real agricultural education which will teach a cultivator how to improve his profession instead of shunning his ancestral calling will make up a good deal for the so-called “disability of agriculture.” The socialistic ideal of a centralised agricultural system must replace the growing economic individualism. The old rural communalism which has died out in many provinces without being accompanied by the birth of any new conception of social solidarity should be restored. The old communal habits should be adapted to new social and agricultural needs. Co-operative associations for carrying out

experiments in new methods of agriculture and organisation should be formed throughout the country. The aim of these co-operative associations should be to adopt, in a manner suitable to modern conditions, the organisation of the joint family, caste and village community. The economic problem can only be solved by agricultural re-organisation on co-operative lines based on the traditions of the past and supplemented by arrangements for the co-operative supply of agricultural requisites and the marketing of agricultural produce. The results attained by the co-operative society at Khepupara in the Sunderbans area of the Bakarganj district should serve as an object lesson. In the matter of size of the holding the Japanese and the Bengali are almost similarly circumstanced. But the Japanese cultivator is far more prosperous than his Bengali compeer, and this is due to his superior methods of agriculture and better organisation. In Japan there are diverse forms of co-operative organisations and brotherhoods. There are societies for the improvement of seeds and manures, for killing insects and destroying weeds, for breeding cattle and the like. The evil of fragmentation is dealt with in that country by the adoption of methods of communalism which prevailed in the days of yore in India. The Japanese law permits a certain majority of farmers in a village to apply for forcible allotment and "restripping" of the land, each man receiving a consolidated block in one or two places. In the Punjab co-operative consolidation by consent has been effected in a number of villages. There should be some sort of legislation to enforce the consolidation of holdings where a majority of cultivators in any area for adequate reasons apply for it. In any case co-operation is the main thing needful and truly did His Royal Majesty on the occasion of his coronation in India observe :

"If the system of co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country."

S. A. LATIF

FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The most important source, next to land revenue, of State income in India during the greater part of the Company's rule, was salt. In pre-British days, salt was taxed at a low rate in common with a large number of other commodities.¹ The early history of the salt tax was a somewhat curious one. On the accession of Mir Kasim in 1760 to the Nawabship of Bengal, the claim of the Company's servants to trade in salt, duty free, was first avowed. An agreement was made with the Nawab by Vansittart, by which the duties were to be fixed at 9 per cent. The Council, however, reduced the duty to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On this, Mir Kasim ordered that no customs or duties whatsoever should be collected for the future. In 1764, the Directors ordered a final and effectual stop to be put to the trade in salt. A few months later, however, the Directors ordered the Governor and Council to form a new plan for regulating the inland trade in the article.²

Clive established in 1765 an 'exclusive society' for the benefit of the covenanted servants of the Company for trading in salt, betel-nut and tobacco. But the Court of Directors disapproved of the arrangement. The Society, however, did not cease its activities till 1768. In 1767, the Directors repeated their orders for excluding all persons whatever, excepting Indians, from being concerned in the inland trade in salt. At the same time, they instructed that a duty on salt should be collected so as to produce a sum not less than £100,000 and not more than £120,000. The Governor and Council made new regulations for the salt trade, and fixed a duty of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds. This system, however, proved very

¹ The Committee of Secrecy of 1772 said that the duty on salt under the government of the Nawabs was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid by Mussulmans and 5 per cent. by Hindus.

² Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

unfavourable to government revenue, which declined from £118,296 in 1766-67 to £45,027 in 1772-73. Warren Hastings then resolved to assume the management of the manufacture of salt as a monopoly. It was decided that all salt should be made for the Company, and that the salt manufactories should be let in farm for five years. This farming system was found a complicated one in practice, and resulted in a loss of revenue. In 1777, on the proposal of Hastings, it was resolved to let the salt *mahals* to the zemindars and farmers for a ready money rent including duties, the salt being left to their disposal. After a short trial of this method, Hastings abandoned it.¹

In 1780, Hastings changed his plan a third time, and instituted a salt office. The trade in the article was again engrossed for the benefit of the Company, and the management conducted by a number of salt agents. Under this scheme, the salt-producing tracts were divided into separate agencies. The *malangis* or salt-makers received advances from the agents on condition that the whole of their produce should be sold to the government at prices agreed upon. The agents then disposed of their salt to wholesale dealers at prices fixed from year to year by the government.

This assumption of strict monopoly was strenuously opposed in the Governor-General's Council. But it proved completely successful from the financial standpoint. During the first three years of the introduction of the system, the salt revenue averaged £464,060. Commenting on the inconsistent policy of the Company, the Select Committee of 1783 observed :

“Salt, considering it as a necessary of life, was by no means a safe and proper subject for so many experiments and innovations.”

They added :

“The many changes of plan, which have taken place in the management of salt trade, are far from honourable to the Company's government

¹ Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

and that even if the monopoly of this article were a profitable concern, it should not be permitted. Exclusive of the general effect of this and of all monopolies, the oppressions which the manufacturers of salt, called Malangis, still suffer under it, though perhaps alleviated in some particulars, deserve particular attention. There is evidence enough on the Company's records to satisfy your Committee that those people have been treated with great rigour, and not only defrauded of the due payment of their labour, but delivered over like cattle in succession to different masters, who under pretence of buying up the balances due to their preceding employers, find means of keeping them in perpetual slavery. For evils of this nature there can be no perfect remedy, as long as the monopoly continues."

The revenue from salt grew steadily during the next quarter of a century, and during the three years preceding the Fifth Report of 1812 it averaged £1,360,180 a year. The importation of foreign salt began in 1817 in Bengal, when an import duty of Rs. 3-4 *as.* was imposed. Imported salt, however, did not assume substantial proportions till 1835. In 1836, auction sales were discontinued, and the system of fixed prices and open warehouses established. During the seven years commencing with 1837-38, the duty on salt was Rs. 3-4 *as.* per maund. The average annual quantity of salt sold and imported during that period was 4,627,030 maunds. In November, 1844, the duty was reduced to Rs. 3 per maund, and there was a slight increase in sales. In April 1847, the duty was further reduced to Rs. 2-12 *as.* per maund, which was accompanied by a slight increase in sales. In 1849, the duty was subjected to a further reduction to Rs. 2-8 *as.* per maund, at which figure it stood till the close of the Company's administration. The high cost of producing Bengal salt enabled English salt to obtain a footing in the Calcutta market. And the maintenance of this footing was made easy by the nominal freights which English salt paid, it being carried as ballast.

In the Madras Presidency, until the year 1805, the manufacture of salt was either farmed out or managed by the officers of the government, but upon what system the records do not

clearly show. During the five years preceding 1805, the net revenue amounted to Rs. 2,80,000 (to £28,000). In 1804, the gross receipts amounted to Rs. 2,21,607, and the charges of establishment were Rs. 11,467. The system established in 1805 was one of strict monopoly, both in regard to the manufacture of, and the wholesale trade in, salt. The sale price of salt was, in the first instance, fixed at Rs. 70 per garce (of 120 maunds), including the duty and all cost of manufacture. In 1809, the price was raised to Rs. 105 per garce; but the revenue not having increased in the expected proportion, the price was reduced to the original rate. In 1828, the price was again raised to Rs. 105, at which rate it remained until 1844, when it was raised to Re. 1-8 *as.* per maund (or Rs. 180 per garce) as some compensation for the loss incurred by the abolition of the transit duties. The Court of Directors, however, considered the increase as "too large and too sudden," and directed the reduction of the rate to Re. 1 per maund or Rs. 120 per garce. This rate remained unaltered during the remainder of the Company's administration. In 1853, the duty on the importation of foreign salt into the Madras territories was reduced from Rs. 3 to 12 annas a maund. But in 1855 it was raised to 14 annas in order to place the imported salt on the same footing as the home-made salt. The net amount of the salt revenue in the Madras Presidency was about 42 lakhs of rupees in 1856-57.

In the Bombay Presidency, the salt revenue, originally, was only one of many miscellaneous items of State income. There was no monopoly in the article, and the duties were of a trifling nature. In 1837, an excise duty of 8 annas per maund was imposed in commutation of the transit duties, while early in the following year, a customs duty of the same amount was levied on all salt imported from any foreign territory. The receipts from salt, however, fell short of the revenue formerly derived from inland duties by about two and a half lakhs of rupees. Therefore, in 1844, it was considered necessary to raise the excise and import duty to Re. 1 per maund. The Court of

Directors, however, thought that the increase was more than what was necessary and, in accordance with their instructions, the rate was reduced to 12 annas a maund. The net increase of revenue realised from the increased excise, on an average of eight years from 1845-46 to 1853-54, was Rs. 7,31,720.

The North-Western Province obtained its supply of salt partly from Bengal and partly from the Sambhar Lake in Rajputana and other localities on the west. The rates of duty payable towards the close of the Company's administration were as follows. Bengal salt, having paid the excise or import duty, passed free into the North-Western Provinces. The Sambhar and other salt, on crossing the north-western frontier line, was subjected to a duty of Rs. 2 per maund, and to a further duty of 8 annas per maund on transmission eastward of Allahabad. The excise duty on salt at the Punjab Salt Mines was fixed at Rs. 2 per maund after the annexation of the province.

The method of salt manufacture differed in the different parts of the country. In Bengal, salt was obtained by boiling sea-water. In Bombay and Madras, the process was that of solar evaporation. In the Punjab, it was extracted in a pure state from the salt mines. Another source of supply was the Sambhar salt lake in Rajputana. The lake overflowed during the rains, and when the water subsided, a deep incrustation of salt was deposited on its shores for several miles around.¹

On the propriety or desirability of continuing the salt monopoly, considerable divergence of opinion prevailed. As early as 1776, Philip Francis expressed the view that salt should be "as free and unburthened as possible." In later times, the controversy became a keen one. On the one hand, it was asserted that the government ought not to undertake any business transaction, that every monopoly was bad in principle, and that the salt tax of India had all the defects of a monopoly. On the other hand, it was maintained that the monopoly in salt was an easy and cheap method of obtaining

¹ Report of the Select Committee, 1832-33, Appendix No. 14.

revenue, that it was very productive, and that it gave employment to a large number of workers. The question gave rise, on several occasions, to acute and even bitter controversies in the press, and some of the defenders of the monopoly even charged the detractors of the system with a desire to supplant the domestic manufactures of Bombay and Madras by importations of salt from Liverpool.¹ It was, however, really a matter of revenue and not a trading monopoly, and it was considered difficult to abolish it until more suitable means were found by which the same amount of revenue could be raised. The Select Committee which was appointed in 1836 observed in their Report :

“The evils usually incident to a Government monopoly in a great article of consumption are not wanting in the salt monopoly in India ; and they are not convinced that the same amount of revenue which has been hitherto derived from the monopoly might not be collected with equal security to the revenue, and great advantage to the consumer and commerce under a combined system of customs and excise.”

They were, however, unwilling in the then existing state of India's finances to recommend positively any measure which might endanger the revenue, and made a number of tentative proposals with the object of mitigating some of the evils of the system.

Opinion was no less divergent on the question of the incidence of the tax. Since the days of Philip Francis, who was the first to wield his pen against the impost, there were many thoughtful persons who condemned it. In the course of his evidence before the Select Committee of 1832-33, Rammohun Ray said :

“As salt has by long habit become an absolute necessity of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender everything else in order to procure a small proportion of this article...If salt were rendered cheaper and better, it must greatly promote the common comforts of the people.”

¹ Appendix C to the Minutes of Evidence, Lords Committee, 1852-53.

“It would be adding insult to injury,” wrote an Indian gentleman, “to expect them (the people of India) quietly, or at least uncomplainingly, to submit to the annihilation of the last remaining branch of their domestic manufactures.”

In many of the petitions presented before the Select Committee of 1852-53, the salt duty was described as a tax which pressed very heavily on the poor. One of the witnesses before this Committee was very emphatic in his condemnation of it. W. Keane described it as "an oppressive tax" and as "the greatest temporal curse on the country." He added : "I think to tax water or rice or salt in India must be a sure way to injure the country."¹

In 1853, the House of Commons adopted a resolution urging the abolition of the duty. But the government did not see their way to accept it, as it was, in their opinion, the only tax paid by the mass of the people, who had long been accustomed to it and on whom it did not press heavily.² Bright characterised the system as "economically wrong and hideously cruel."

The revenue derived from salt, exclusive of customs duties levied on imported salt, amounted to £2,501,881 in 1856-57 and £2,131,346 in 1857-58. Including the yield of the customs duty, the revenue derived from this source was £3,812,217 in 1856-57 and £3,249,978 in 1857-58. The salt revenue thus represented nearly 10 per cent. of the total income of India towards the close of the Company's rule.³

We come now to a source of revenue which was next to salt in the order of yield during the first three quarters of the Company's administration, but which far outstripped the latter in the remaining period. This was the opium monopoly. It was a commercial transaction, and may be regarded as one of the sources of non-tax revenue. If it be considered a tax, it fell not so much upon the people of India as upon the

¹ Report of the Lords' Committee, Vol. II.

² Speech of Sir Charles Wood in the House of Commons, 1854.

³ The rates of duty per maund at this time were Rs. 2-8 *as.* in Bengal and 12 annas in Bombay. The selling price per maund was Re. 1 in Madras and Rs. 2 at the Punjab ruina. The inland customs duty was in most places Rs. 2, but in some places Rs. 1-8 *as.* or Re. 1. The selling price included the cost of manufacture estimated at 3 annas per maund. The total quantity of salt consumed in British India (excluding British Burma) was 2,02,87,641 maunds in 1857-58.

inhabitants of China. During the Mahomedan rule, considerable income was derived by the State from this source. The monopoly of the Company in this article is to be traced to the very origin of British influence in Bengal. It began at Patna as early as the year 1761. But it was the acquisition of the *dewani* which opened a wide field for the project. It was then adopted and owned as a resource for persons in office.¹ The monopoly was justified on various grounds, such as "the security against adulteration ; the prevention of an excessive consumption of a pernicious drug ; the stopping of an excessive competition, which by an overproportioned supply, would at length destroy the market abroad ; the inability of the cultivator to proceed in an expensive and precarious culture, without a large advance of capital ; and lastly, the incapacity of private merchants to supply that capital on the feeble security of wretched farmers."²

The real motive, however, as was pointed out by the Select Committee, was "the profit of those who were in hopes to be concerned in it." In 1773, the exclusive privilege of supplying opium was farmed out by Warren Hastings to Mir Munir, who was to deliver Behar opium at Rs. 320 and Oudh opium at Rs. 350 to the Company. This system led to the oppression of the cultivators. Various illegal cesses were levied on them, and forcible means were often used in order to induce them to cultivate poppy. In spite of these defects of the system, the contract was renewed in 1775,³ and similar contracts were

¹ Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783. According to the Committee, the opium monopoly "was managed by the civil servants of the Patna factory, and for their own benefit."

² Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

³ On this occasion, the contract was given to the highest bidder, one Mr. Griffiths. The third contract was given to one Mr. Mackenzie for three years. In the meantime, various evils had manifested themselves. One such instance was mentioned by the Select Committee. In 1776, notwithstanding an engagement in the contract strictly prohibiting all compulsory culture of the poppy, information was given to a member of the Council General that fields green with rice and been forcibly ploughed up to make way for that plant. *Vide* Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

made during the ten years which followed. In 1785, the government decided to throw the contract open to public competition and to accept the highest offer. This contract was made for four years. The government reserved to itself the right of appointing inspectors to superintend the provision and manufacture of opium. It was also declared to be the duty of collectors of districts to hear all complaints of the raiyats against the contractors and to provide redress. When Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, he investigated the whole matter. The mode of supply by contract was renewed for another term of four years. Some of the *abwabs* or illegal cesses were abolished, and the rate at which the contractor was required to purchase the crude opium from the cultivator was fixed. But the Government knew, or ought to have known, that this rate could never be effective. The Select Committee observed as follows in this connection : "Your Committee cannot but notice the singular principle on which the contracts must have proceeded, wherein the Government on contracting for the price at which they were to receive the opium, at the same time prescribed the price at which it should be purchased by the contractor, more specially when it appears that, as the latter was to exceed the former, it might be supposed that the contractor agreed to supply opium to the East India Company at a lower rate than he could purchase himself."

In 1792, the regulations relating to opium were revised. But the revenue derived from the monopoly considerably diminished, owing to the debasement of the article by adulteration. It was, therefore, decided to discontinue the contract system and, in 1799, the agency of a covenanted servant of the Company was substituted. Regulation VI of this year prescribed rules for securing to the poppy cultivators the benefit of the ancient rates of rent on their lands.

The change in the management of the monopoly led to an improvement in revenue. In the last four years of the contract system, the average net income from opium was 8,19,400 sicca

rupees a year, while the annual average of the four years 1807 to 1810 was no less than 59,80,100 sicca rupees. The agents appointed for the provision of salt and opium were, previously to their entering on the duties of office, required to take an oath to the effect that they would not derive any advantage themselves or allow any other persons to do so. Rules for enforcing the monopoly, and at the same time for protecting the cultivator, were embodied in a Regulation passed in 1816.

The monopoly system was regarded as objectionable in many quarters. As early as 1776, Philip Francis wrote : "The monopoly of this article is highly prejudicial to the foreign trade of Bengal. Nor have we a right to reckon the whole revenue arising from it as clearly gained to the Company, since it is beyond all doubt that the landed revenue suffers considerably by government's engrossing the produce of the lands ; in proportion as the monopoly operates, the rents of the lands must diminish."¹

The question was fully considered by the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1832-33. Several alternative methods were suggested by witnesses before this Committee. The first suggestion was that lands under poppy cultivation might be subjected to an additional assessment. The Committee thought that although this plan was not free from difficulty, it was worthy of consideration. The second suggestion, namely, that a duty might be levied according to the value of the standing crop when ripe, was considered impracticable on account of the extreme uncertainty of the crop and also of the difficulty of estimating the probable produce. The levy of an excise duty on the juice when collected was the third plan suggested. The Committee thought that there were insuperable objections to the adoption of the third plan in view of the expense of collecting

¹. Francis added : "To recover the province of Behar from its present state of universal poverty and depopulation, I see no method so easy and certain as throwing open the opium trade, and making some alterations in the present oppressive method of providing the Company's saltpetre."—Appendix 14 to the Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

the duty and the impossibility of preventing the most extensive smuggling. The last alternative was a customs duty on the exportation of opium. In the opinion of the Committee, this was a desirable mode of taxation, in as much as it tended to leave the producer unfettered and the burden would fall exclusively on the foreign consumer. But the adoption of this method was likely to lead to a reduction of revenue.

The Committee expressed the opinion that the monopoly of opium, like all other monopolies, had certain defects,—it was uneconomical in production, and imposed restrictions on the employment of capital and industry. But it was not, in their view, productive of very extensive or aggravated injury. Unless, therefore, it was found practicable to substitute an increased assessment on poppy-growing lands, the Committee did not see how the amount of revenue then collected could be obtained in a less objectionable manner. Besides, as the burden of the tax fell principally upon the foreign consumer, it was, on the whole, less liable to objection than any other tax which might be substituted for it. The Committee were not, however, oblivious of the fact that the revenue was of a precarious kind, depending as it did on a species of monopoly under which the Government possessed exclusive control over neither the production nor the consumption of the article. Besides, it had already been materially affected by the competition of Malwa opium. In their opinion, therefore, it would be highly imprudent to rely upon the opium monopoly as a permanent source of revenue. They further expressed the belief that the time was not perhaps very distant when it might be desirable to substitute an export duty, and thus by increased production under a free system, it might be possible to obtain some compensation for the loss of monopoly profit.

The monopoly of opium in Bengal supplied the government with an annual revenue amounting to about Rs. 90,23,387 (£902,338) during the few years preceding 1832. The duty amounted to a rate of $30\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the cost of the

article. The revenue rapidly increased during the remaining years of the Company's rule. In 1837, the net revenue amounted to Rs. 1,76,16,665 (£1,761,666). In 1839, there was serious trouble with China over the trade in this article. The Chinese authorities seized the opium, and this led to hostilities with the Emperor of China. In 1845, the revenue derived from this source by the Government of India exceeded two crores of rupees or nearly two millions of pounds sterling. Thus, in less than twenty years, the opium revenue had more than doubled itself.

In 1847, the Board of Control observed that the system of sales tended to completely identify the government with the opium trade to the East, which was hardly desirable in view of the complaints of the Chinese people. They, therefore, urged that it should be considered whether a fixed duty added to the cost and charges of manufacture might not be conveniently substituted for the constantly fluctuating profits then derived from the speculative competition of bidders at the opium sales, or whether it would be advisable, in the first instance, to introduce the principle of fixed prices instead of sale by auction.¹ The advantages of the proposed changes were thus summed up by the Board :

“By an arrangement of the above description the Government of Bengal would be relieved from all share in the opium speculations based on upset prices, and the speculators would have no occasion to invest a single rupee in purchasing opium before the time they required it for export. The value of the opium would be paid by each purchaser into the government treasury, without any notoriety being given to the extent of the traffic in that article between British India and China.”

In 1852, Lord Dalhousie introduced important changes into the system of opium administration in British India. The main characteristics of the system as it existed in the closing years of the Company's rule were as follows. The management of what was known as Bengal opium was vested

¹ Parliamentary Paper No. 146 of 1852.

in the Bengal Board of Révenue.¹ There were two opium agencies, namely, those at Patna and Ghazipur, under European agents. Subordinate to the agents was a large staff of deputy and sub-deputy agents, who were all European.² The entire system was a strict government monopoly. Nowhere throughout British India (except to a slight extent in the Punjab), was either the cultivation of poppy or the manufacture of opium permitted, except on account of the government. The opium agents and the officers subordinate to them entered into annual contracts with the cultivators for the cultivation of certain areas and the delivery, at fixed prices, of the whole of the juice of the poppy grown by them. No pressure was put upon the cultivators to grow poppy in preference to any other crop, but those who entered into contracts with the opium officers were bound, under heavy penalties, to cultivate the full number of areas. The total area under poppy varied from year to year. The quality of produce varied owing to this circumstance, and also according to the character of the season. The local officers forwarded the juice under seal to the two factories at Patna and Ghazipur where it was manufactured into opium. The opium was then made into balls and packed in chests. These chests were sold at Calcutta by auction on fixed days in each year. The merchants who bought them exported the chests to China.

Considerable amount of revenue was also derived from the article in Bombay. This opium was produced in the Indian States of Central India. Till the year 1831, the government reserved to itself the monopoly of the opium grown in Malwa, which was enforced by means of treaties with the States concerned. The produce was purchased by the Resident at Indore, and sold by auction at Bombay and Calcutta. This system involved much smuggling and constant disputes with

¹ A large portion, amounting to nearly one-half of the opium, was actually grown and manufactured within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces.

² Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1882-83.

the Indian States. It was, therefore, abandoned in 1831, and a "pass fee" or transit duty was substituted on the opium permitted to proceed to Bombay. The original rate of the duty was Rs. 175 per chest; but the exporters found it cheaper to ship the drug from the Portuguese port of Damaun. The government then thought it expedient to reduce the duty to Rs. 125 per chest. But after the conquest of Sind, it was found possible to increase it to Rs. 200 in 1843 and to Rs. 300 in 1845. In 1846, the fee on passes was raised to Rs. 400 per chest. In 1845-46, the revenue from Malwa opium exported to China exceeded 62 lakhs a year. Besides the opium exported to China, a small amount was realised from the export of the drug to Singapore and the Straits Settlements.¹

Towards the close of the Company's administration, the character of the opium revenue became the subject of criticism in Parliament. In 1855, John Bright, for instance, said: "He would not go into the question of the opium trade further than to say that a more dreadful traffic or one more hideous in its results never existed, except perhaps the transportation of Africans from their own country to the continent of America."²

The increase in the opium revenue was very remarkable. In 1785-86, the yield was only £169,321. In the beginning of the century, the revenue derived from this source was £372,521. In the year 1810, it amounted to £935,996. In 1820, it was £1,436,432; in 1830, £1,553,895; in 1840, £1,341,093. In 1850, it rose to £3,558,094, an enormous increase, attributable to the new trade opened with China. In 1856-57, the opium revenue was £5,011,525. In the following year, it rose to £6,864,206.³ This source

¹ Parliamentary Paper No. 146 of 1852.

² Debate in the House of Commons on the financial statement relating to India, 1855.

³ Financial Statement relating to India in the House of Commons, 1859. Lord Stanley gave £4,696,709 and £6,443,706 as the figures for 1856-57 and 1857-58 respectively, which were inaccurate.

thus yielded about 20 per cent. of the total income of India in 1857-58.

The opium revenue, however, was always regarded as a resource of an uncertain character, for its amount fluctuated with the abundance or scarcity of the crops, which varied with the season, and with the demand for the article,—which itself depended on the taste of a foreign nation.

Customs formed a source, though not a very important source, of State revenue in India in pre-British days. When the East India Company acquired possessions in India, customs duties were levied under its authority in different parts of the country. The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay administered their own customs departments, and had their separate tariffs. The customs regulations of the Presidencies were different, although a certain amount of similarity was observable in them.

In Bengal, the net revenue derived from customs levied at the port of Calcutta, on an average of the three years 1768-69 to 1771-72, was Rs. 1,90,285 (£19,028). There was, however, an increase during the next three years, the annual average rising to Rs. 3,40,908 (£34,090). In the year 1793, the revenue from this source in the province stood at about 6 lakhs.¹

In 1773, by a resolution of the Government of Bengal, it was directed that every article of foreign or inland trade, excepting salt, betel-nut and tobacco (the duties on which were continued as before), should pay a duty to the government of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., when imported into or exported from any part of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whether by land or by water. This collection was in addition to the town duties paid in Calcutta, and known as the 'Calcutta customs.' A Board of customs, consisting of a member of council and four senior civil servants, was instituted in this year at the Presidency, to inspect, regulate and control the system. Five

¹ These duties were, in reality, town duties.

customs-houses were established at Calcutta, Hughli, Murshidabad, Dacca, and Patna, besides *chaukis* stationed on the western and northern frontiers. This system caused a great deal of inconvenience. Therefore, with a view to promote internal trade, it was judged expedient in 1788 to abolish the government customs throughout the country, except on exports and imports passing the Company's north-western frontier at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Gogra. A new customs-house was established at Manjee, this confluence, for collecting the duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹

These rules were re-enacted in 1793 with some modifications. But the arrangements being found objectionable, both in diminishing the public resources and imposing a double burden on the trade of Calcutta, it was decided by the Governor-General in Council to abolish the Calcutta customs and to re-establish the government customs on imports by sea into, or exports from, the port of Calcutta. By Regulation I of 1797, an additional duty of 1 per cent. was imposed upon imports into, or exports from, Calcutta (money and bullion excepted), to assist in defraying the expenses of an armed vessel for the protection of the commerce of this part of the country against privateers. This was discontinued in 1800, and the former duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was raised to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in pursuance of an order of the Court of Directors. In 1801, in order to improve the public revenue, the customs-houses were, in addition to those at Calcutta, re-established at Hughli, Murshidabad, Dacca, Chittagong, and Patna (instead of Manjee). Rules for the collection of customs in the upper provinces were enacted in 1803 and 1804, and customs-houses were established in the principal towns.²

The administration of customs was under the revenue department till the year 1793, when it was transferred to the commercial department. A regulation enacted in that year

¹ Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

² *Ibid.*

established the principles of collection and the rates of duties to be collected at the two then existing customs-houses of Calcutta and Manjee. Certain alterations were made in 1797 and 1809. Until 1809, the rate of duty prevalent in Bengal on imports and exports was, with a few exceptions, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There were, besides, various other payments to be made, such as stamps on rawanas, commission and fees to customs masters, etc., which not only were burdensome and vexatious to the merchants, but increased the cost of collection.¹

In 1809, a Committee on Customs recommended important changes, which were embodied in Regulation IX of 1810. All previous enactments regarding customs were rescinded, and export and import duties were fixed, ordinarily at $7\frac{1}{2}$, on some goods at 10, and on the rest at 5 per cent.² A few articles, such as bullion and coin, horses, and timber used for shipbuilding, were exempted from payment of import duty. Among the exports, grains of all sorts, stones and pearls, carriages, and opium purchased at the Company's sales were left free. The general tendency of this Regulation was to raise the rate of taxation. No distinction was made between British and foreign bottoms. Nor were the rates of duty affected by the origin of the goods. The administrative provisions of this Regulation related to the time and manner of the collection of export and import duties, and the grant of certificates and drawbacks. In some cases, a drawback was specifically allowed, and all goods imported expressly for re-exportation were declared to be entitled to a drawback amounting to two-thirds of the duty paid on their importation.³ The financial results of these changes were eminently satisfactory.

¹ Report of the Committee on Customs and Port Office Regulations, 1836.

² *Ibid.*

³ Customs-houses were established in the cities of Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Murshidabad, Dacca, Calcutta, and in the towns of Meerut, Cawnpur, Mirzapur, Chittagong, Hughli, and Balasore. Collectors were stationed at the larger places and deputy collectors at the smaller ones; and they were empowered to establish *chaukis* at convenient places. An oath was to be taken by the collectors and their deputies.

An important alteration in the sea customs law of Bengal was introduced by Regulation III of 1811, the object of which was to give a preference to British vessels over foreign shipping by imposing heavier duties on the latter so as to secure the carrying trade of India to the former. The duties levied on exports and imports on foreign bottoms were raised to double the rates chargeable on goods conveyed on British bottoms. The same principle was also followed in regard to drawbacks. Another provision of the Regulation, which aimed at the exclusion of foreigners from the coasting trade of India, was to the effect that foreign vessels should proceed from British Indian ports direct to their own countries.

Several modifications of minor importance were introduced in 1812, 1813, and 1814. In the year 1815-16, the gross collections in the lower and upper Provinces of Bengal amounted to Rs. 62,06,488 (£620,648). The net customs revenue was about 48 lakhs of rupees. In the course of the year, important changes were effected by Regulation IV of 1815. With a view to encouraging the manufactures, trade, and shipping of Great Britain, it was provided that woollens of all sorts, all metals in a manufactured state, and canvas, cordage, and marine stores being the produce or the manufacture of the United Kingdom, which were hitherto assessed with duties, should be exempted from any payment on importation, provided they were brought from Great Britain in British registered or Indian built ships. It was also provided that all other articles similarly imported and being the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom, should, instead of being subject to the existing duties, be assessed at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; wines and spirits only were exempted from this provision, and were subject to the duties already established. Further, it was provided that articles, the produce or manufacture of foreign Europe, if imported in British registered or Indian built ships, were to pay duty at the rate of 5 per cent. With regard to exports, the provision was that indigo, cotton, wool, hemp and

sumn, the produce or manufacture of British India, should on exportation by sea to Great Britain, in British-registered or Indian-built ships trading with the United Kingdom, be entitled to a drawback equal in amount to the duty paid on the articles. All other articles liable to duty under the regulations then in force and exported by sea according to the foregoing conditions, were to be allowed to secure such drawback as would leave the amount of duty actually retained at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹

The effect of these changes was to communicate a great impulse to British commerce and industry. But the produce and manufactures of India, heavily taxed by the system of inland duties, were placed in an unquestionably disadvantageous position in competition with free or lightly taxed goods from the United Kingdom. These changes were also harmful to the financial interests of India. The revenue from customs in Bengal, which had increased by 10 lakhs during the years 1808-09 to 1813-14, remained practically stationary during the next twenty years.

In 1817, the exemption from duty, accorded by Regulation IV of 1815 to unmanufactured metals, was extended to all metals, wrought or unwrought, of British origin. By Regulation V of 1823, the transit and sea import duty leviable on Indian piece-goods (cotton, silk, and mixed), was reduced from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was also provided that these descriptions of piece-goods, having once paid either the transit or the import duty specified, should have free export from any part of the Bengal Presidency, provided they were exported to Europe on British bottoms ; if exported to Europe, on foreign bottoms, an export duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was chargeable; if exported to places not in Europe, they became liable to export duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $7\frac{1}{2}$, according as they were conveyed on British or foreign bottoms. The object of these provisions was to place the

¹ Report of the Committee on Customs and Port Office Regulations, 1836,

Indian and British piece-goods on the same footing. But the relief was only partial, because various other articles still remained subject to inland duties. Besides, and the relief as was observed by the Committee on Customs, "came too late," the Indian cotton manufactures having already been destroyed.

By Regulation XV of 1825, the entire customs law of Bengal was recast. The main principles, however, of the previous enactments were kept intact. In 1836, on the occasion of the abolition of the inland duties, the customs duties underwent a thorough revision. The number of enumerated classes of goods was thirty-two. Some articles of British manufacture, which used formerly to be imported free, were now subjected to duty. For instance, marine stores and metals were required to pay a duty of 3 per cent., and woollens 2 per cent. All articles not included in the enumerated list were liable to a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The import duty on cotton and silk piece-goods, cotton twist and yarn of British manufacture, was raised from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Products of foreign countries paid double the rates of duty. The differentiation regarding country of origin and flag was continued, and with the exception of the duties on opium and salt, all articles imported on a foreign vessel paid double the rates which were leviable on the same goods when imported in a British ship.¹

The duties on exports were greatly simplified. The number of enumerated articles was reduced from 234 to 15, of which six were exempted from payment of duty. Sugar and rum exported to the United Kingdom or any British possession became free; but if exported to any other place, were made liable to payment of duty at the rate of 3 per cent. Cotton exported to Europe, the United States, or any other place,

¹ *Vide Schedules A and B to Act XIV of 1836, also Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.*

had to pay a duty of 8 annas per maund." All unenumerated articles paid duty at the rate of three per cent. As in the case of imports, goods exported on foreign bottoms paid double the duties chargeable on those exported on British bottoms.

When the duty was declared to be *ad valorem*, it was levied on the market value. Upon re-exportation by sea of goods imported, excepting opium and salt, a drawback amounting to seven-eighths of the amount of duty levied was to be repaid ; and if goods were re-exported on the same vessels without being landed, no import duty was to be levied thereon.

In 1843, duties which till then had continued to be levied on imports as well as exports in the territories situated in the northern and western frontiers in upper India, at the old rates of transit duty, were rescinded. This Act (XIV of 1843) confined collections on import and export across the frontier customs lines to three articles only, namely, salt and cotton imported from foreign States and sugar exported from British territory. Important alterations were made in 1845 and in 1848, which we shall discuss later.

The customs duties originally levied at Bombay were on a low scale. In 1793, the customs revenue of the Bombay Presidency was only £53,000. In 1799, the rate of duty was fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. All export duties were withdrawn, and grain of all sorts was exempted from duty. The customs master and his assistant were authorised to levy certain fees. The rate of duty was *ad valorem*, modified in the case of foreign vessels by an advance of 60 per cent. on the prime cost. In 1805, an addition of 1 per cent. was made to the rate of duty, thus raising it to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1813, the rate of duty at Bombay was raised on imports on foreign bottoms from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with an advance of 60 per cent. in the case of foreign goods. On exports the duty was fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which together with the inland import duty amounted to 7 per cent. In 1815, with a view to encourage the importation of British goods into India,

the duties payable on various articles were abolished, and the duties on other articles, modified. In the case of exports of certain articles, such as indigo, cotton, wool, hemp and sunn, a drawback of the whole amount of the duty was granted on exportation to the United Kingdom; in other cases, such a drawback was allowed as might reduce the duty actually receivable by the government to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1817, certain alterations were made, the most important of which was that the duty on goods coming from foreign Europe in British ships was reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

At Surat and the other ports in the Bombay Presidency, the rates of customs differed to some extent, but many of them enjoyed mutual certificate privileges. British goods and goods imported on British bottoms were, at all the subordinate ports, admitted free on arrival from Bombay.

In 1827, the system of sea customs under the Bombay Presidency was revised by a Committee, when the duties and exemptions on goods from the United Kingdom were retained in their former state, while the duties on foreign goods imported in foreign vessels were raised.

It was the policy of the Government of Bombay to administer the customs system departmentally. But in 1827-28, the sea customs were farmed throughout the Presidency except at Bombay and a few other ports. The rates of customs duties were revised in 1845, and assimilated with those of the other provinces in 1848.

In the early years of the Company's rule, the customs duties in the Madras Presidency were at the rate of 5 per cent. These were usually received by collectors appointed by the Company. The collections were not, however, to the full extent. In 1765-66, these amounted to 89,884 pagodas. The revenue fluctuated from year to year. In 1770-71, it fell to 82,947 pagodas, while in 1779-80, it was as low as 60,842 pagodas. In this year, advertisements were published for letting them at rent for five years. But objections were made by the

merchants to this procedure, and the proposal was dropped under the instructions of the Court of Directors.¹

Revisions of the customs regulations of Madras took place in 1781 and 1786. The chief feature of the latter revision was the imposition of a duty on imports into Madras at 5 per cent., with a drawback at 4 per cent. on goods re-shipped. The 5 per cent. rate was, however, considered too high, and was reduced in 1789. In 1795, a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* with advances of 60 per cent. on foreign goods, or goods imported in foreign ships, was fixed. On exports also, a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rate on all goods, with certain exemptions, was levied. In 1789, the Court of Directors instructed the Madras Government to levy an additional duty of 1 per cent. on the imports and exports by sea in order to meet the increased marine charges.

In 1803, a general duty of 6 per cent. was established on articles imported by sea into Madras on British or Asiatic or American vessels, and of 8 per cent. on goods imported on other vessels. In 1812, the customs system of the Madras Presidency underwent another revision. A general import duty at 8 per cent. was established on goods imported on British or Asiatic vessels into Madras and the subordinate ports.² An export duty at the same rate was levied on goods exported from the subordinate ports; but no export duty was levied at the port of Madras, except on goods exported on foreign vessels. Goods imported or exported on foreign vessels were subjected to double the rates.

Regulation II of 1816 was enacted with the object of encouraging the importation of certain classes of British goods into the Madras Presidency. Its provisions were similar to those already enforced in Bengal and Bombay. Regulation VII of 1819 fixed a general import duty of 5 per cent. on the produce or manufacture of foreign Europe; but in the case of goods from the United Kingdom, the general rate was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per

¹ Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

² Regulations II and IV of 1812. No import duty was levied on cotton.

cent.; while certain kinds of goods, such as metals and metallic manufactures, jewellery, clocks, watches, shawls and woollens, were imported free. Some alterations were made in the customs regulations of the province in subsequent years; but these did not involve any changes of principle.

The Committee on Customs recommended in 1836 the assimilation of the Bombay and Madras tariffs to the revised tariff which had been recently adopted for Bengal. They pointed out that the want of uniformity in the rates of duty prevalent at the different ports of India involved the injustice of a system of unequal taxation and caused great inconvenience to the public.

In 1844, the Court of Directors instructed the Government of India to revise the rates of customs duties at the three Presidencies, in order to make good the large deficiency in revenue occasioned by the abolition of the inland customs and town duties in Madras and by the abandonment of town and local duties in the Bombay Presidency. The revision was effected in 1845, and the rates of import duties levied in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were raised on British manufactured articles to five per cent. if carried on British vessels, and ten per cent. on foreign vessels. These rates were doubled in respect of foreign manufactures imported on British vessels, and quadrupled when imported on foreign bottoms, with the exception of wines and liquors, which were only doubled. No alteration was made in the rates of export duty on this occasion.

In 1846, the Court of Directors sent a very important despatch to the Government of India in which they urged the adoption of three principles: first, the abolition of export duties on all articles except indigo; second, the abandonment of the double duties imposed on both exports and imports in the trade on foreign vessels;¹ and third, the publication of a general tariff of duties for the whole of British India, the trade

¹ In case it was deemed necessary to give protection to the shipping of British India, the Court was inclined to prefer the exercise of powers conferred on them by Parliament

from port to port being left free and unrestricted in all articles, with the exception of salt and opium.¹

Two of these proposals were adopted in 1848. Inter-provincial trade was made completely free, and the whole of India was now for the first time treated as one empire. The discriminating duties on goods carried on foreign vessels were abolished. In 1850, the coasting trade was thrown open to the ships of all nations. Two defects, however, namely, the imposition of export duties and the levy of a distinctive double duty on goods imported from foreign countries, were not removed till after the end of the Company's administration.

The amount of revenue derived from customs including the duty on imported salt was £2,289,072 in 1856-57 and £2,148,834 in 1857-58. Excluding the duty in imported salt, the customs revenue was £978,736 in 1856-57 and £1,030,202 in 1857-58. The income derived from customs was a little over 3 per cent. of the total revenue of the country.

Under the pre-British system of administration, inland transit duties were levied in almost all parts of India. Not only did the ruling authority exercise this right, but many of the great zemindars levied tolls on merchandise passing through their territories. When the Company acquired possessions in India, the old system was retained for some time, and duties

by the Act of 1797 and prohibit all importations on foreign vessels into the ports of British India from the United Kingdom and British Possessions generally, and from any ports whatever in Asia, or on the coast of Africa. *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

¹ In a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas Maddock, Acting President of the Council of India, he stated that he was prepared to concur in an enactment to declare the coasting trade absolutely free. He was also strongly in favour of the abolition of export duties on the staple products of India which were already heavily taxed in the shape of rent on the lands on which they were produced, which would be greatly benefited by the proposed measure. In his opinion, it was desirable for the government to encourage the production of silk, sugar, cotton, saltpetre, food grains, and indigo. He, however, did not consider it desirable to make any difference between indigo and other articles, as Java, Brazil and some other countries had already begun to compete with India in the trade in that article. The only difficulty was a financial one. Mr. Millet, a member of the Council of India, agreed with the President in most of his observations.

of varying amounts were levied at almost every stage of the journey. Gradually, these various tolls were commuted for one general duty payable at the nearest station to the place whence the goods were despatched, and a *rowana* or permit was issued by the Collector authorising the goods to pass without payment of any further dues. The goods were, however, liable to examination all along the route, and the consequent delay and vexation were great. Besides the duties, there were illegal exactions by the collecting officers. The entire system was oppressive, particularly to the small merchants, and impeded, in no small measure, the development of internal trade.¹

Inland duties were generally levied *ad valorem*. The duties on salt, tobacco, and a few minor articles were, however, subject to payment according to quantity, while those on silk and indigo were levied according to a fixed valuation. The work of appraising was a matter of no small difficulty: and in cases where articles, like piece-goods, had to be valued by poorly paid officers, considerable amount of corruption prevailed.

Goods imported by sea passed free in the interior, whether an import duty was leviable or not. The inland duty was, either wholly or in part, repaid on goods for exportation. The system of drawbacks, however, led to much inconvenience. The collection of inland duties was in many districts farmed. Under this system there was less smuggling, and the cost of superintendence was saved. But it led to much extortion.

Let us now discuss some of the details concerning these inland duties as they were found in the different provinces. In Bengal, in 1772, the zemindari *chaukis*, where transit duties were exacted were abolished, and only the government *chaukis* were retained. The duties levied on goods operated partly as customs and partly as transit duties. All transit duties were abolished during the administration of Lord Cornwallis;

¹ *Vide Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832-33.*

but were re-imposed in a modified form in 1807. Under the provisions of Bengal Regulation IX of 1810, a large number of articles including cotton yarn and piece-goods, silk-goods, embroidered goods and brocades, betel-nut, drugs and gums, paid a transit duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. Woollens, gold and silver tissues, indigo, sugar, or gur, paid 5 per cent. A specific duty of Rs. 7 per maund was levied on iron and steel at the nearest customs house on the frontier. Goods which had once paid the prescribed duties were not liable to any further duties in passing through the provinces. By Regulation XVII of 1810, a transit duty was levied on all salt, not being salt purchased at the Company's sales in Calcutta at the following rates: Lahore salt, 1 rupee per maund; Balumba salt, 12 annas; Salumba salt, 8 annas; any other alimentary salt, 4 annas. In 1815-16, the gross collections amounted to Rs. 2,19,358 (£21,935).

In 1825, Holt Mackenzie submitted a memorandum in which he pointed out the many objections which existed to the collection of inland transit duties, and urged their abolition. These duties, in his opinion, not only caused great vexation, but imposed on trade a very heavy tax in the shape of delay and illicit exactions. Some articles had to run the gauntlet through ten customs-houses before they reached their destination, and few of the staple commodities of the country escaped subjection to repeated detention. The burden of the government duty, he wrote, of five or seven and half per cent. was itself a heavy one, but when to this was added the illegal demands of customs-house officers, it became almost prohibitive to the merchant who did business on a small scale.

The subject again attracted attention a few years later. In 1834, Charles Trevelyan submitted a report on the customs and inland duties in the Bengal Presidency. In the following year, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, invited the earnest attention of the Court of Directors of the Company to this Report. In the course of this letter,

Lord Ellenborough pointed out that no less than 235 articles were subjected to inland duties and that the tariff included almost everything of personal or domestic use. The operation of the system, combined with the practice of search, was extremely vexatious and offensive, without materially benefiting the revenue. And its effect was virtually to prohibit the manufacture in towns of all articles not absolutely required for their own consumption, to confine manufactures to the place where raw material was produced, and by such restrictions to depress the productive industry of the people. "It is a system," added Lord Ellenborough, "which demoralises our own people, and which appears to excite the aversion of all the foreign traders of Asia."¹

A few days later, the Board of Control requested the Court of Directors to send instructions to the Governor-General in Council asking the latter to take immediate measures for delivering the internal traffic of the British territories from all obstruction to which they were at that time exposed by town and transit duties and to enter into engagements with the Indian princes for the purpose of extending beyond the British frontiers entire freedom of commercial intercourse.²

Not long after, a Committee was appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of investigating the system in force for levying exports, imports, and transit duties in the three Presidencies. While the Committee was pursuing its enquiry, A. Ross, officiating Governor of Agra, was induced on a representation from the Board of Revenue of that Presidency, to abolish the Bareilly, Cawnpur and Farukhabad customs houses. The Governor-General in Council expressed his disapprobation of the precipitancy with which this measure, involving a serious reduction of

¹ Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, dated 18th March, 1835. He further remarked that the system of internal taxation was inferior to the system of every state in Asia, with the single exception of Lahore.

² Letter, dated the 4th April, 1835.

resources, had been adopted, without previous consultation with the Supreme Government. However desirable the change might be, he thought it was ill-timed. Besides, the measure placed the Governments of India and Bengal in a very difficult position. Two courses were now open to the Government of India, namely, first to rescind the orders of the Governor of Agra, or secondly, to carry the policy further by abolishing the internal customs-houses in the Bengal Presidency. The first course was open to serious objection, for it would not only have been extremely unwise to restore a system which could not be maintained permanently, but would have exhibited an instability of purpose on the part of the government. The second course was in accordance with the views of the Court of Directors and in consonance with the sound principles of trade. After due deliberation, this course was chosen. The Court of Directors, on this occasion, took a very serious view of the conduct of Mr. Ross, and directed that the administration of the Agra province should never again be delegated to him in any circumstances.¹

Judging the matter in a reasonable spirit, the impartial critic would perhaps observe that although Mr. Ross was wrong in method, he was right in substance. It cannot be denied that to him belongs the credit of having taken the first active step towards the ideal of freeing the trade of the country from the most undesirable impediments. The effects of the measure were quite good. Not only was the North-Western province rid of a serious evil, but it hastened the repeal of the duties in the other provinces.

By Act XIV of 1836 all inland customs and town duties were abolished throughout the Presidency of Bengal. The question, however, with which the Government was now faced

¹ Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated the 1st February, 1837. In a Minute, dated the 17th April, 1837, Mr. Ross adduced arguments to justify his action, and used the following significant words: "Much as I regret having incurred the displeasure of the Court, I cannot but derive very great satisfaction from having made the first effective movement towards their realisation."

was, how was the deficiency in revenue to be made up? In order to fill the gap, the Governor-General in Council decided to adopt a revised scale of import and export duties.

The transit duties in the Presidency of Bombay were abolished in 1836, and sea and frontier duties substituted. In order to cover a portion of the loss arising from the abolition of the transit duties, a customs and excise duty of 8 annas per maund was levied on salt. This, however, proved insufficient to make good the loss.

In the Madras Presidency, in the early years of the Company's rule, the inland duty was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹ The income derived from inland customs amounted to 19,285 pagodas in 1767-68, but, twelve years later, it fell to 14,694 pagodas. By Madras Regulation I of 1812, a general inland duty was levied at the rate of 5 per cent. on a large number of specified articles. This duty was payable once only, and the certificate of such payment enabled the goods to pass free by land throughout the territories under the Presidency, except into the limits of the town of Madras or into the provinces of Canara and Malabar. In the former case, they were liable to the further payment of the town duty, and in the latter, to the duty prescribed under special rules. Cotton and cotton thread were declared exempt from duty, except on exportation by the land frontier to the territories of the Indian powers or foreign European settlements. In the one case they were charged with the aggregate duty of 8 per cent., and in the other case with the duty to which they would be liable if exported on foreign vessels by sea. Grain of all kinds was also exempted from duty, except on exportation by the land frontier or when entering the foreign European settlements, in which case it was charged with a duty of 3 per cent. Articles of European import, sold at the Company's sales, as also goods which were the property of the Company, were allowed to pass free.

¹ *Vide Letter from the President and Council at Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, dated the 9th January, 1761.*

The abolition of the inland duties in the North-Western Province, Bengal and Bombay paved the way for the adoption of a similar measure for the Madras Presidency. These duties which yielded in 1843-44 about 30 lakhs were abolished by Act VI of 1844. In newly-acquired territories, the inland and frontier duties were abolished soon after acquisition.

Tolls were charged on boats passing along certain channels of internal communication. These levies caused vexation and abuse, and impeded the trade of the country. But they were less objectionable than other forms of transit duty. They were abolished along with the other inland duties.

We now come to another class of taxes which were akin to the inland customs, namely, the town duties. They were originally levied for local improvements, but were afterwards merged in the general revenues of the country everywhere except in the city of Madras.

The Calcutta customs levied in the early days of the Company have already been noticed. These were, in reality, town duties. They were collected by the Company in virtue of their ancient factorial rights.¹ The rates were, four per cent. on imports by sea, with some exceptions, and on bulky articles imported by land, and two per cent. on land imports consisting of piece-goods and cotton. The duties were levied whether the goods imported were for local consumption or for the purpose of subsequent export. In 1795, the Calcutta customs were abolished. Town duties were established by regulations enacted in 1801 for the Lower Provinces and Benares and in 1805 for the Upper Provinces. The number of articles subjected to these duties exceeded sixty, many of which were also subject to payment of customs duties. These regulations were found objectionable and much inconvenience

¹ As Harrington points out, the Calcutta customs were entirely distinct from the "Government customs." The latter were imposed by the company "under the authority of the Dewani grant, and in conformity with former usage, as exercising a delegated power of sovereignty within the province specified." *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.*

was felt from the system of successive collections. In 1810, the regulations were revised. By Bengal Regulation X of that year, a town duty was levied at the rates and on the articles specified below on the importation of those articles for sale, store, or consumption into any of the cities and towns, namely, Calcutta, Benares, Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Bareilly, Midnapur, Burdwan, Hughli, Krishnagore, Jessore, Natore, Dinajpur, Comilla, Islamabad, Nasirabad, Rangpur, Purnea, Sylhet, Bhagalpur, Mazaffarpur, Chapra, Arrah, Gaya, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpur, Mainpuri-Koel, Moradabad, and Meerut.

<i>Articles.</i>			<i>Rate of Duty</i>
Grain, viz., rice, wheat and barley	...	...	2½ per cent.
Gram and pulses	...	...	5 „ „
Oil and oil seeds	...	...	5 „ „
Sugar, including jaggree and molasses	...	...	5 „ „
Ghee	...	...	10 „ „
Tobacco	...	...	10 „ „
Betel-nut	...	...	10 „ „
Turmeric	...	...	5 „ „
Charcoal and fire-wood	...	...	5 „ „

(Levied on importation into Calcutta only.)

By the same Regulation, a duty was also levied on the importation of salt, not being salt purchased at the Company's sales at Calcutta, into Benares, Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Bareilly, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpur, Mainpuri-Koel, Moradabad, and Meerut at the following rates :—

On Lahore salt	...	...	1 rupee per maund
Sambur or Doodawree	...	..	8 annas „
Balumbar or any other alimentary salt	...	...	4 annas „

The total gross collections in 1814-15 from the cities and towns of the Upper and Lower Provinces of Bengal amounted to a little over four and a half lakhs of rupees, the net

collections being somewhat above four lakhs. The largest sum was derived from Calcutta amounting to over a lakh of rupees.¹ All town duties were abolished in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces in 1836.

The town duty levied in the city of Madras was originally very small. In 1767-68, the proceeds amounted to only 259 pagodas. The collection of duty seems to have ceased in 1777-78. Mention is found of another sort of collection in Madras city known as town brokerage, the amount of which varied from 300 pagodas in 1767-68 to 700 pagodas in 1779-80. By Regulation III of 1812, piece-goods imported by land into the town of Madras, or manufactured within the limits of the land customs-house *chaukis*, were made liable to payment of a duty of 8 per cent. on the market value of such goods. Piece-goods imported into, or manufactured in, the city for the consumption of the place, usually classed under the term *pattanatiram*, which exceeded in value 20 star pagodas per corge, were subject to an additional duty of 2 per cent., making a total of 10 per cent. If the piece-goods had already paid the inland duty, they were entitled to a drawback of the amount of the duty, on production of the certificate of payment. All articles of dress imported into or manufactured within the town limits, for the consumption of the place, the value of which did not exceed 20 star pagodas per corge paid only 3 per cent. duty, and the production of the certificate of payment of the inland duty entitled such goods to a drawback of the whole amount of the duty. Besides, a list of gruff duties was prepared by the Board of Revenue, on which duties at rates not exceeding 10 per cent. were levied, subject to deduction in case of payment of the inland duty. Duties were also imposed on betel, tobacco, gudauk, bhang, ganja, and opium at different rates, and no drawback was allowed even if accompanied by rawanas

¹ The exact amount was S. R. 1,09,080. Benares came second with S. R. 65,677 ; Mirzapur third, with S. R. 61,363, the collections from Murshidabad were S. R. 37,393 ; from Patna S. R. 22,647. The smallest amount was collected from Chittagong, namely, S. R. 132.—Harington's *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*.

showing payment of the inland duties. Duties were levied on areca-nut according to the quantity of the article, at 20, 16, and 12 per cent., respectively.

Under the provisions of Regulation I of 1803, a duty of one rupee per Surat candy was levied on all cotton imported into the town of Bombay, whether in bales or dooras, without any drawback on re-exportation. A duty at the rate of 4 per cent. was levied on a large variety of goods, such as oil, ghee, betel-nut, tobacco, shawls, sugar, gur, candles, piece-goods, saltpetre, and spices. Some of these varieties of goods, when imported for the purpose of being wholly or in part exported, were allowed to be warehoused without paying the town duty. Liquors, whether in casks or in bottles, were liable to duty at varying rates according to kind and quality.

These duties ceased to be in force in 1815, but were re-established in 1820, with certain alterations. In 1827, further alterations were made in the system of town duties in Bombay. Tobacco for internal consumption or exportation was made liable to a duty of three rupees per Bombay maund, and no drawback was allowed except on exportation to the United Kingdom. The same duty was levied at every port within the Presidency, in addition to the established customs. The rates of duty, hitherto leviable both at Bombay and the districts, on spirits were abolished, and were to be regulated by the orders of the government for each place respectively, but were in no case to exceed one rupee one quarter and forty reas per gallon.

Taxes were levied in the town of Surat on various trades engaged in the manufacture of silk cloths, at the following rates : raw silk dealers, Rs. 4,375 ; silk spinners, 1,880 ; brocade manufacturers, at Rs. 2 per piece, about Rs. 3,500 ; putola silk, Rs. 700 ; elacha stuff, Rs. 600 ; kinareewallas, Rs. 800 ; total Rs. 11,855. These were abolished by Regulation XVII of 1830, and, in lieu thereof, a town duty of four rupees per Surat maund was levied upon the import of the raw material into Surat. The annual payment of Rs. 15, hitherto collected

from each member of the rice-beaters' panchayet who cleaned rice for sale, was also abolished, and, in lieu thereof, a town duty of two annas per bera of seven Surat maunds, was levied on the import of the article into Surat, whether by land or sea. Lastly, an import town duty of five per cent. was levied on betel-nut and paper imported into the city of Surat.

Act XIX of 1844 repealed all these duties. The main provision of the Act was in these words :

“ It is hereby enacted that from the 1st day of October 1844 all town duties, *kusub veras*, *moturfas*, ballootee taxes, and cesses of every kind on trades and professions, under whatever name levied within the Presidency of Bombay, and not forming part of the land revenue, shall be abolished.”

Abkari (a Persian word which means the manufacture of water) was a tax imposed by the rulers of India upon the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs. During the early days of the East India Company, the old system was continued.

When the sayer collections were resumed in Bengal from the landholders in 1790, it was deemed expedient to continue and extend the *abkari* duties. The various rules and orders issued in regard to these were embodied in a Regulation in 1793. This regulation was amended in 1800. In 1813, all the rules and regulations respecting the manufacture and sale of liquors and drugs were consolidated.

The *abkari* taxes were assessed by the collectors. They included the produce of the arrack and toddy taxes, and sometimes the collections on pepper and betel were also placed under this head. The duty on spirits in the three Presidencies, and those on the retail sale of opium and other intoxicating drugs, were chiefly levied by means of licenses to open shops. These licenses were generally put up to auction and granted to the highest bidders. There was, besides, a still-head duty on

spirits manufactured in the English fashion.¹ The *abkari* was thus a mixed system of excise and licenses.

Till the year 1829, the collectors of land revenue in Bengal received a commission on the amount of their *abkari* collections. But in that year this inducement was withdrawn, and the nominal control of the department was transferred to the Board of Salt, Opium and Customs in the Presidency. This change, however, led to a falling off in the revenue. The *abkari* collections in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1829-30 amounted to Rs. 20,27,356, but the average of the seven years from 1833-34 to 1839-40 was only Rs. 15,19,713. In 1840, an Act was passed for placing the superintendence of the department in certain districts under a Commissioner and for providing rules for the collection of the revenue. The new system proved satisfactory from a financial point of view.

The income derived from *arrack* and *toddy* licenses in the Madras Presidency was 14,158 pagodas in 1767-68. It rose to 17,567 pagodas in 1779-80.² The subsequent history of excise revenue, in this as well as the Bombay Presidency, is one of slow but steady expansion.

The income derived from this source from the whole of India, including excise duties in Calcutta, was £966,034 in 1856-57 and £843,995 in 1857-58. It thus amounted to a little over 3 per cent. of the total income of the Government. The revenue realised in these years was several times as large as that obtained in the early period of the Company's administration. The increase in the yield of *abkari* duties was attributed partly to more active management, partly to the measures taken for better regulating the retail of opium, but chiefly to the increase of population. In reality, however, it was due in no small measure to the greater prevalence of the drink habit among the people.

¹ In 1832, the still-head duty was six-sixteenths of a rupee, London proof.

² From the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

As for the character of this branch of the public revenue, the Select Committee of 1832 found that this tax was collected with less expense and less speculation than many others and that it caused little complaint. In the evidence given before the Lords' Committee of 1852-53 it was represented as a great moral evil connected with the British Government. It was asserted that it created drunkenness among a sober people. The effect of the *abkari* system was also said to injure the moral character of the troops. As the general test of a good officer of the department was believed to be the amount of revenue he was able to raise from this source, the result was an encouragement of one of the worst vices. It was also pointed out that the principal evil of the arrangement was that the police, who ought to have been the guardians of order and sobriety, had an interest in a large consumption of spirits.¹

There was a monopoly in tobacco in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, namely, Coimbatore, Canara, and Malabar.² The cultivation was permitted only in Coimbatore. The raiyats entered into engagements to deliver tobacco of approved quality into the government stores at fixed prices. The article was then sent to Malabar and Canara and delivered out to licensed dealers at enhanced rates, the excess of profit above the cost of the article constituting the revenue. These districts were easily accessible only by particular land routes or by sea, which circumstance afforded facilities for the collection of a considerable revenue from tobacco that did not exist elsewhere. The monopoly, in the first instance, raised the price to the consumer by 300 or 400 per cent., and owing to abuses in management, often by as much as 700 or 800 per cent. Representations having been made to the government, the monopoly price was slightly reduced in 1816. The Select Committee of 1832

¹ Minutes of Evidence before the Lords Committee, 1853.

² The income derived from betel-nut and tobacco farms was 26,502 pagodas in 1768. It gradually increased, and amounted to £42,042 in 1779-80. Fourth report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

expressed the opinion that by the operation of this system, the poorer classes were deprived of the legal use of a commodity which, in the moist climate of Malabar, was considered a necessary of life. The consequence was that smugglers often traversed the country, plundering wherever they went, and occasionally overpowering the police. Instances were on record of whole villages having been burnt by them when the raiyats refused to sell the tobacco. There was great increase of crime and fraud. The consumption of tobacco had, among an increasing population, decreased by more than 40 per cent. since the introduction of the monopoly. The limited operation of the impost was another objection urged against it.¹

An injustice incidental to the monopoly was also noticed by the Select Committee of 1833. The land revenue in Coimbatore, derived from lands which yielded tobacco, was fixed in 1800 with reference to the unrestricted cultivation and free sale of the commodity. In 1812, however, the government prohibited its cultivation, except under license, and in quantities and prices fixed by themselves; but no alteration was made in the assessment of the land revenue.² In 1844-45, the yield of the tobacco impost was Rs. 8,26,044; in 1852 it was about six lakhs. In the latter year, the monopoly was abolished and the tax ceased.

A stamp duty was first levied in Bengal in 1797. The object was to make good the deficiency in the public revenue caused by the abolition of the police tax. The revenue derived from this source during the first year of its imposition was only £1,975. Originally, stamps were used mainly in connection with legal proceedings.³ But their use was afterwards extended

¹ Report from the Select Committee, 1832-33.

² *Ibid.*

³ Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

The following rates were fixed : Law papers, one rupee, eight annas, four annas, and two annas, according to the size of the paper; pleadings, four annas, eight annas, one rupee, or two rupees; copies of judicial papers, one rupee, eight annas, or four annas, according to the size; copies of revenue papers, the same rates as judicial papers; obligations

to monetary transactions. Licenses for the manufacture or vend of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs were also ordered to be drawn upon stamped paper. The amount realised from the stamp duties having proved inadequate, new rates were fixed in 1800, and the use of stamped paper was further extended. Further modifications and additions were made in 1806, 1807, 1809, 1812, and 1813. In 1814, the old rules were rescinded, and increased rates were fixed. On this occasion, transactions in Calcutta, which, excepting pleadings and miscellaneous papers in the Sadar Adalats and the government offices, had been previously exempt, were made subject to the duty. The tax was also extended to the ceded and conquered provinces. In 1824, the rules relating to their use were remodelled, and the obligation of the use of stamped paper was extended to bills of exchange, notes of hand, receipts, and other documents. Bills of exchange under Rs. 25 and receipts under Rs. 50 were exempt. The use of stamped paper gradually became more general, and the revenue derived therefrom steadily increased. One of the recommendations in favour of this impost was that, in consequence of the legal obligation requiring all transfers to be made on stamped paper, the great Indian capitalists, who made no other contribution to the State resources, were included under the operation of this tax. The department of stamps was in charge of a superintendent who was responsible to the Board of Salt, Opium and Customs. The actual sale of stamps was in the hands of licensed vendors.

In Madras, stamp duties were imposed in 1808, chiefly on legal proceedings. In 1816, they were extended to commercial dealings such as bonds, bills of exchange and receipts, as also to deeds, leases and mortgages. The revenue, however, derived from this source in this Presidency, was stationary. An incidental benefit derived from this tax was that the use of

for money, namely, bonds, promissory notes, etc., four annas, eight annas, or one rupee; customs house rowanahs, from four annas to ten rupees; sanads to kazis, twenty-five rupees.—Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

stamped paper tended to check the forgery of deeds and documents of all kinds.

A stamp tax was established in the Bombay Presidency in 1815. The city of Bombay, which was within the jurisdiction of the King's Courts was, like the cities of Calcutta and Madras, exempted.¹ Views of contrary sorts were held in regard to the nature of the stamp duties. The official view was that the effect was salutary, inasmuch as stamps tended to check litigation. On the other hand, it was said that they were a burden on poor litigants, and impeded the course of justice.

The revenue derived from stamps increased slowly but steadily, particularly in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. In 1856-57, the stamp revenue for the whole of India was £612,788. In the following year, it fell to £456,363. In the last year of the Company's rule, the income derived from this source amounted to over 1·6 per cent. of the total revenue of the country.

The pilgrim tax was insignificant as a source of revenue, but it is a subject of interest, not merely from the nature of the imposition, but also the controversy it gave rise to. A certain sum per head was collected from pilgrims resorting to many of the temples of India. Besides, the offerings which the devotees brought with them were subjected to a toll, being divided in certain proportions between the officiating priest and the renter of tolls. Fixed sums were also demanded of those who wished to perform the various penances, while no shops or stalls were allowed to be erected during these festivals without payment of fees. In the Madras Presidency, no pilgrim taxes were collected by any public regulation, but the offerings made by pilgrims at the great temples were, conformably to ancient usage, applied to the service of the State, after defraying therefrom the expenses of the temples.²

¹ *Vide Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.*

² *Report from Select Committee, 1832-33.*

In 1804 and 1805, regulations were enacted for the protection of pilgrims visiting Jagannath from undue exactions on the part of the officers of the temple or of the government. It was provided that the same tax should be levied as had been done under the Mahratta government. The general superintendence of the collection was vested in the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. The rates levied on different classes of pilgrims and the persons exempted from payment were specified, and the mode of administering the tax was laid down. Modifications were made in these regulations in 1806 and 1809. In 1810, regulations were enacted for the collection of duties from pilgrims resorting to the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. The tax previously collected was continued, and the rate was specified. The collection was placed under the direction of the Collector of revenue at Allahabad.

As early as 1809, Mr. Harington, a high government officer, had recorded a Minute against the levy of pilgrim taxes generally, and urged their entire abolition whenever the state of the finances should permit. In 1811, the Commissioner of Cuttack, strongly urged the abolition of the Jagannath pilgrim tax. The government, however, accepted the arguments in favour of the continuance of the tax. The subject was again considered in 1827, and on this occasion also, the government considered it desirable to continue the tax. In the meantime, the principle of the tax had excited much reprobation in England. In 1829, the Governor-General consulted the officers in charge of the districts in which the tax was levied. Their opinions varied, but the Governor-General, while considering the principle of the tax as objectionable, thought it inexpedient to repeal it. In 1831, the Governor-General again referred to the subject, and in a minute, dated the 25th March, after briefly stating the conflicting opinions that had been entertained, he observed that he deemed it the bounden duty of a government ruling over Hindu and Mahomedan communities to protect and aid them in the exercise of their harmless

religious rites; and he thought that places of pilgrimage, and persons who frequented them, were entitled to the special care of the government. He, therefore, considered a tax on pilgrims as just and expedient, and he thought it proper that the income derived from this source should be first applied to the repair of temples and the surplus, spent in constructing roads and serais.

In 1833, the Court of Directors in a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, fully discussed the question and formulated the following conclusions: First, that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rights and festivals, and generally, in the conduct of their internal economy, must cease; secondly, that the pilgrim tax should everywhere be abolished; thirdly, that fines and offerings should no longer be considered as sources of revenue to the British Government, and they should consequently no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company; fourthly, that no servant of the Company should hereafter be engaged in the collection or management or custody of moneys in the nature of fines or offerings, under what ever name they might be known, or in whatever manner obtained, whether furnished in cash or kind; fifthly, that no servant of the Company should hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources; sixthly, that in matters relating to these temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, the Indian subjects of His Majesty should be left entirely to themselves; seventhly, that in every case in which it would be found necessary to keep a police force specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims or the worshippers, such police should hereafter be maintained out of the general revenues of the country.¹

The Directors observed, however, that much caution and

¹ Parliamentary Papers, No. 261 of 1839.

many gradations would be necessary in acting on the conclusions at which they had arrived. Further correspondence between the Governor-General in Council and the authorities in England followed. In 1839, the Governor-General in Council, in a resolution dated the 11th March, referred to the anxious desire of the Court of Directors regarding the abolition of the pilgrim tax and the discontinuance of the connection of the government with the management of all funds assigned for the support of religious institutions in India, and proposed to carry this desire into effect in the Presidency of Bengal at once. Accordingly, in 1840, a law was enacted by which all taxes and fees payable by pilgrims resorting to Allahabad, Gaya, and Jagannath, were abolished.¹

Of the less important sources of revenue, the most widely known tax was *sair*. The term was, however, one of somewhat variable import. In the report of the Bengal Revenue Commissioners of 1776-78, *sair* was described as consisting of "such rents and profits as are uncertain in their amount, and annually liable to considerable variations." Under this head were often included duties collected on the "merchandise passing through the country or sold in the markets, rents of lakes or of ferries, and fees paid by brokers or weighers."² On the 11th June, 1790, the '*sair*' duties were resumed by the Government of Bengal, and it was laid down that no landholder, or other person of whatever description, should be allowed in future

¹ Market duties were collected in Calcutta. The markets were of two descriptions. The majority of them belonged to individuals who paid a certain *jama* or assessment to the government, the amount of which being fixed either in perpetuity or for long periods. The collective assessment of such markets was Rs. 10,030 in 1790. Other bazars which were held on ground belonging to the Company, were let in farm. The annual sum realised from such markets was Rs. 7,685. The regular collections in a bazar consisted of a rent called *te-bazari* and a *tolah* paid daily by each of the vendors for the privilege of retailing articles. There were, besides, certain irregular collections, such as these derived from certain monopolies, road duties, and *touldari* (weighman's fees). Some of these collections were abolished early, but others continued as late as 1788. Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

² Extract from the Report of Anderson, Croftes and Bogle in Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

to collect any tax or duty of any denomination, but that all taxes should be levied on the part of the government and collected by officers appointed for the purpose.¹ As, however, these duties were of a very vexatious nature, it was decided on the 28th July, 1790, to abolish all duties, taxes and other collections coming under the denomination of '*sair*,' with the exception of the government and Calcutta customs, pilgrim taxes, the *abkari* tax, collections made in the ganjes, bazars and *hats*, and rents paid to landholders under the denomination of *phalkar*, *bankar*, and *jalkar*. Compensations were granted on a calculation of the average net produce in past years.² Persons exacting any taxes contrary to these regulations might be prosecuted before the courts.³

Even after the abolition of the duty, the term was retained in the Finance Department. The revenue derived from saltpetre in Tirhut was considered a '*sair*' collection. The collections at Gaya and other places of pilgrimage were often included under this head. In Madras, the transit duties were often designated as '*sair duties*.' A small amount of revenue was derived from cardamom, one of the products of the hills of Malabar, Canara, and Coorg.⁴ In fact, all inconsiderable collections from miscellaneous sources were brought under this general head. In the Bombay Presidency, originally, a great variety of *sair* was collected. The income consisted of all items of demand not forming any portion of the land revenue or the revenue derived from customs or salt.

The '*sair*' duties were abolished in most of the provinces in 1844. The abolition gave great relief to the people. The

¹ No monthly or annual payments of the nature of rents were understood to be within his prohibition. The collectors, in resuming ganjes, *hats* and bazars were instructed to carefully attend to this distinction.

² Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

³ In 1792, the courts were given power to decree a refund of the amount exacted and to impose a heavy fine. In 1805, they were also empowered to sentence the offender to rigorous imprisonment.

⁴ The collection was farmed to the highest bidder by the government.

revenue collected under this head during the year 1857-58 was only £268,360.

In the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, there were two other taxes of a very vexatious nature, namely, moturfa and bullooteh. The former was of Mahomedan origin, and was a tax on trades and professions. It embraced in the Madras Presidency all weavers, carpenters, workers in metals, and salesmen.¹ Originally, it was confined to certain parts of the Presidency, but it was made general in 1832. The rates, however, varied from district to district. It fell more heavily upon the poor than upon the wealthy; while the discretionary power under which it was collected afforded a wide field for the practice of inquisitorial visits and extortion.² The impost was thus a very oppressive one. The revenue derived from this source sometimes formed part of the item 'small farms and licenses,' and sometimes was shown under the head 'customs.' Bullooteh was a tax levied upon the fees in kind received by the village artisans from the cultivators. Moturfa and bullooteh were abolished in the Bombay Presidency in 1844, but they did not cease to be levied in Madras until after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown. In 1857-58, the moturfa tax yielded a revenue of £107,826.

There were, besides, numerous small cesses, which varied from place to place. Under the old village system they were collected by the *patel*, part going to the government and part to the village officers. When the raiyatwari system was abolished, these cesses were commuted into a money payment, which caused considerable oppression and inconvenience. Some amount of "extra revenue" was also realised, particularly in the Madras Presidency, under the head "small farms and licenses." This consisted in the annual leasing out to individuals of

¹ It seems the tax was levied whether the salesmen possessed shops, which were also taxed separately, or vended by the road side. The tax extended to the most trifling articles of trade and the cheapest tools the mechanics might employ. *Vide a Petition from Madras Association. Appendix D to the Report of the Lords' Committee, 1853.*

² *Ibid.*

certain privileges, such as the right of measuring grain and other articles, the right to the sweepings of goldsmiths' workshops, the right of grazing cattle, ruby brokerage, etc. These small farms and licenses were a source of great oppression to the people.¹

Some amount of income was derived in every province from undertakings of a commercial character. The Government of Bengal, for instance, worked stone quarries at Chunar, Ghazipur and Mirzapur. In 1799, these quarries were thrown open to the public, subject to payment of certain duties.

Among the miscellaneous taxes was a wheel tax. It was levied on hackeries, carts, buggies and chariots in Bombay. The Select Committee of 1832-33 observed that in a country where capital was so scarce and implements so rude, a tax on peasants' carts could scarcely be so low as not to be oppressive and at the same time be worth the trouble of collection.

Taxes were, on some occasions, levied for special purposes. In Bengal, a police tax was levied in 1793. It was imposed on Indian merchants, traders and shopkeepers throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The system of assessment was this. The collectors annually estimated the total amount of the tax that would be required for the support of the police in each district or city, and assessed it proportionately on the several *parganas* and wards. They appointed Indian assessors to determine the amount payable by each merchant or shopkeeper in the *pargana* or ward. An appeal against the assessment lay to the civil court. Difficulties were, however, experienced in determining what persons were liable to be taxed under this Regulation, and in fixing the general amount and the individual proportions of the tax. Fraud and exaction took place in the assessment and collection of the tax in numerous cases. It was, therefore, resolved in 1797 to abolish the tax.

¹ Petition from the Madras Indians' Association, Appendix D to the Report of Lords' Committee, 1853.

For purely local purposes also, taxes were sometimes imposed. In Calcutta, there was a tax on houses. In 1813, it was resolved to levy a similar tax in some of the towns of the Lower and Upper Provinces of Bengal. But it was regarded as an innovation, and was strongly opposed. At Benares, it led to a movement of passive resistance, and the tax was withdrawn. Soon afterwards, however, it was successfully introduced in a modified form in several towns. A resistance was offered at Bareilly, which was quelled.¹

This review of Indian taxation must have struck the reader with wonder at the simplicity and absence of variety of the system, considering the vast extent of country it comprised and the period of nearly a century it covered. The number of taxes which yielded any substantial revenue to the State was surprisingly small, and but little was attempted in the nature of experiment in the art of tax-gathering. The reason, however, is not far to seek. A British official of large Indian experience rightly observed :²

“ In such a country and with such a people, there is little choice left to the financier. Where the millions live almost entirely on the produce of their rice fields, with only a rag about their middle, and a few brass pots for their house-hold goods, there is no very extensive field for the display of financial ingenuity. There are fifty different ways in which the English tax-gatherer may get at the poor man. But in India the approaches to the mud hut of the labourer are few; and the tax-gatherer must advance by them or keep away altogether. He has been going a long time along the same beaten roads.”

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

¹ For accounts of the two movements at Benares and Bareilly, see Wilson, *History of India*, Vols. I and II.

² Kaye, *History of the Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 421-423.

Reviews

Indian Day, by Edward Thompson (Alfred A. Knoff, London: Price 7s. 6d.). Those who want adventures and thrills will be disappointed in this book because it describes the everyday existence of English officials in a remote corner of India. The book is distinctly one with a purpose as all Thompson's works seem to be (I have not forgotten his *Atonement*); and the purpose is to show that in spite of all differences of the exterior, Indian and English are one; that is illustrated by the two strong men, Jayananda and Findlay "coming from the ends of the earth" and "standing face to face," after the latter has had his illumination. But I think many English readers would not like Mr. Thompson's remarks on their blatant jingoism which they miscall "philanthropy" or "patriotism." Nor would, I am afraid, many Indians like the author for depicting the cad Deogharia or the oily scoundrels the Raja and his brother. He has trodden on the corns of both parties, but he has done so with an insight into their natures and a freshness of candour and a sly humour which makes the reader smile in spite of himself. The pen-pictures of nature in India in all her varied moods rise to poetic levels and the language is superb. I wonder why the notice on the cover tries to make out Hamar to be the hero. Is it because like the usual "hero" in a novel he woos Hilda and wins her in the end? My opinion, however, is that Findlay is the real hero of the book. He gave all he had and through mortal agony achieved the glory of following his friend and master. His words, as he strides down the hill after his burden has fallen from him, form a most noble prayer:

"O Lord, my father, my friend! I thank thee for my brother the sun. I thank thee for my brother this hill, for this glorious jungle, for this ridiculous stone idol, for this golden world that thou hast made! I thank thee for my brethren the children of men, whom I am striding to meet."

Mr. Thompson is one of the many Englishmen (happily ever increasing in numbers) who try to look below the surface of outward appearances. They scratch an Indian and find—a brother. And it is these Englishmen who build up and preserve the Empire as well as any of "the great Pro-Consuls." They look beyond the pettinesses and shams of Indian officialdom and try to realise the truth of Vedanta, which they have learnt in the land they have so well loved and served.

Essays and Criticisms, by Syamacharan Ganguli, B.A., Hony. Fellow, Calcutta University, and late Principal, Uttarpa College. Published by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, pp. xiv, 270. Price Re. 1-12, 1927.

This is a collection of fifteen articles on various topics previously contributed to first-class magazines from 1877 on, and much appreciated in their day. It speaks highly of the author's mettle that even now in his ninetieth year he has been loyal to the teacher's vocation and has thought of publishing these fruits of his ripe experience for the education of the public. The very first essay in the series, "Bengali, Spoken and Written," written just fifty years ago retains its freshness and original interest as if it had been penned to-day. The second essay, the article on "self-determination," particularly demonstrates the independence of the author's views. It is not necessary to introduce each essay in its turn, but it may be safely asserted that these articles in their racy, commonsense, vigorous style, give the lie direct to what is jestingly spoken of as *Babu English*. Though the Reforms and recent movements have made many of his political essays obsolete in theme, the comments have still something left that is permanent. It is worth remembering that some of the essays collected here won him praise from such a ripe and veteran scholar as Sir George Grierson, and the book under review should be assured of welcome and admiration.

P. R. SEN

An Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry, edited by Gwendoline Goodwin (John Murray: Price 3s. 6d.).

This is the latest addition to the splendid "Wisdom of the East Series" brought out by Mr. Murray. In every way it is worthy of its predecessors. The Introductory note is extremely well written and quite interesting. India is a huge country and a fresh life is at present surging all over it which is finding voice in song and music all over the land. At such a time a book like this is specially valuable for it gives us a glimpse of what is going on in Indian hearts to-day. To the Western reader this is sure to be a welcome and a revealing volume, wonderful in the variety and freshness of its contents. To the Eastern reader the thing that strikes most is the wondrous treasure left out. Bengal, as is most fitting, takes the largest share of these selections, but even here we miss some of the wondrous pieces of C. R. Das and I think something more of Manomohan Ghosh might have been given. Of course the editor has

chosen what appealed most to her. Where space is limited and choice unlimited, the editor is necessarily in the position of Browning's youth, thinking of

"Which lily leave, and then as best recall."

I have no quarrel with the present selection. I would only suggest to Mr. Murray that there is room for several such "Anthologies of Modern Indian Poetry," and that the word "modern" should be interpreted in the light of the spirit embodied in the poem rather than the mere date of birth and death of the writer. Comparisons are always odious, especially when we have here poems from writers of world-wide repute, but I must confess that what most charmed me in this book are the poems of Narayan Varnan Tilak.

BOOKWORM

Twilight Verses, by "Antyees." Published by N. T. Sethna, Ahmedabad: Price Re. 1-8-0.

The book has been brought before the public with a foreword by Mrs. Shirley Maureen Hodgkinson, J. P. of Bombay, a foreword which, read in the proper light, spells fore-warning. The poet has sung "these simple strains" because the "Love for poetry has overwhelmed his heart"—and evidently his sense has not survived the process of immersion. The author admits he has not aimed at what he calls "exclusive originality"—a delightful phrase but in a sense other than that in which it is applied by him. The poet "cannot bear criticism's evil tide" (page 6), he is a "wretch that inniy pines" (p.3.). The bitterness is taken away from the critic's pen when he is told in the beginning, on opening the volume, that the writer craves his indulgence, as he wields a boyish pen, and that the critic must not be too hard. Immaturity of sentiment and crudeness of expression were therefore quite expected, but not the frequent punctuations by means of O's and Oh's and Ah's, nor mistakes of grammar like

Doth thou sing from Italian Sea
That has taken Ah! in its care
Thou my poet beyond compare? (p.14)

The writer quotes Lord Byron's audacious words in the preface and in the book itself the rhymes, the rings, the themes all point to Byron as the model, but it must be candidly confessed that the great poet had

genius as well, and even from a boyish poet's pen the lines are not promising and the critic had best reserve his admiration and admonition till some later and more opportune moment. May that moment come soon and bless the young aspirant after literary fame with the divine fire of poetic genius, but till then ' twilight verses ' will not bear the light of day.

P. R. SEN

Voices from Within, by Rai Sahib Govin Lal Bonnerjee. Published by Jitendriya Bonnerjee, B.L. Price Re 1-4, pp. 92.

In this beautifully printed, handy manual of pithy sayings relating to life in general, we come upon a rich fund of noble sentiments nobly expressed. Any of these would serve admirably well for a specimen, but we resist the temptation and would rather invite the reader to partake of the rich repast. This is not an immature production; the appreciative reader would find in it substantial food well seasoned. It will come in as a suitable birth-day present or as a prize-book in schools and colleges, and is in every respect commendable. Each of these 250 thoughts sparkles with life; and we hope the author and the publisher will not take it amiss if in praising their creditable performance we find fault with the last sentence which is hardly English in idiom "Once you lose it, and you are gone for ever," etc. Evidently this is an oversight and it will be rectified in the next edition.

DEBENDRANATH BASU

Sakuntalāy Nātyakalā (in Bengali), by Sri Debendranath Basu. Published by the Barendra Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 158 pages: Price Re. 1.

We extend our hearty welcome to this excellent manual of dramatic criticism which combines in its brief span of only 158 pages both lucidity of exposition and richness of information. It is admittedly an important contribution to the Sakuntalā literature in the Vernacular, an efficient and valuable help in unfolding the intricacies of dramatic construction. The writer is a well-known veteran in the world of Bengali authors; just a few years ago he had translated Othello into Bengali and his version was placed on the Bengali stage. The book under

review, a fruit of the author's mature years, contains subtle touches which make themselves felt only after repeated and careful studies and it is at the same time a comparative study of English, Sanskrit and Bengali dramatic technique. It will meet the requirements of the B.A. student who takes up, for the first time in his collegiate course, Sanskrit and English plays for study as well as enlighten the layman who wishes to enjoy and to learn.

P. R. S.

CONGRATULATIONS TO PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN.

Our congratulations to Professor S. Radhakrishnan who has been elected unanimously President of the Postgraduate Council in Arts for the session 1927-28. His breadth of vision, his deep loyalty to the institution, his faithfulness towards his colleagues in the Postgraduate Department and his organising capacity will, we trust, prove useful in the discharge of the onerous duties entrusted to him by the suffrage of his fellow teachers. We wish Professor Radhakrishnan every success in life.

* * *

CONGRATULATIONS TO SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

Our congratulations also to Sir Nilratan Sircar who has been elected President of the Postgraduate Council in Science for the fourth time. We shall miss his inspiring guidance from the Arts Council for the present but the professoriate in the Arts Department will remember with gratitude the intense self-sacrifice that a "mere half-timer" and "a medical man" rendered to the Postgraduate Department over whose deliberations and destinies he was ordained to preside by his width of culture, his deep veneration for the past and his affectionate regard for the aspirations of the rising generation of young lecturers.

* * *

THE LATE MR. JOGINDRANATH BOSE.

A notable personality has been removed from the field of Bengali literature by the hand of death. Mr. Jogindranath Bose, whose death last month we deeply mourn, was a life-long devotee to the cause of Bengali literature and was one of the few eminent writers who contributed to

its present wealth. His pure and modest life was naturally reflected in the simple and chaste style which he adopted in his writings. He began his life as a teacher, and his exemplary character, which endeared him to students and guardians alike, remained the principal trait of the man even when he became known to fame and fortune. His life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt is an enduring monument to his industry and critical faculty, and it has become a classic in Bengali biographical literature. His *Prithviraj* and *Sivaji* received in his life-time the full meed of praise which they deserve, and his numerous other writings have been acclaimed with unstinted praise by an appreciating public. A strong undercurrent of patriotism and of lofty ideals breathing the purity and sanctity of ancient lore pervades his works. When Sir Asutosh Mookerjee introduced the scientific study of Indian Vernaculars in the Postgraduate Department of the University, he invited Mr. Bose to take part in the work, and Mr. Bose responded with characteristic enthusiasm ; but it was his failing health that stood in the way of his continuing the work. He was appointed to examine Premchand Roychand theses, and though illness prevented him from performing his duties, no small joy was his to see his beloved vernacular a subject for examination for the Blue Riband of the University. Mr. Bose died in old age—he was seventy-one at the time of his death—and his life stands out as a model of “well-conducted habits controlled by the rules of prudence and moderation.”

So mayest thou live ; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
 Into thy mother's lap ; or be with ease
 Gathered, not harshly plucked, for death mature.

* * *

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

Final M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 23 of whom 3 passed and 20 failed,

Of those who failed none passed in Part I whilst 12 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the Examination was 242 of whom 93 passed, 147 failed and 2 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 2 but none passed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 157 of whom 88 passed, 68 failed and admission of one candidate was cancelled.

I.E.—

Section A.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 52 of whom 36 passed in all three groups, 14 were partially successful (13 failing to qualify in Mathematics and 1 in Physics) and 2 failed completely. Of the 6 who appeared in one group, only 4 candidates qualified, thus completing Section A.

Section B.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 39 of whom 22 passed and 17 failed.

B.E.—

Non-Professional Section.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 24 of whom 14 passed in both groups, 9 qualified in one group, Science, and 1 failed completely, and 7 candidates who had qualified previously in Science appeared in Mathematics only of whom 5 qualified, thus completing the Examination.

Professional Section.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 31 of whom 21 passed in the Second Division, 8 failed, 1 was absent and 1 was expelled.

B.A.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 3,143 of whom 1,169 were successful, 152 were absent, 11 were expelled and 1,783 failed. Of the successful candidates, 931 were placed on the Pass List and 225 on the Honours List,—the percentage of pass being 39·49. Of the candidates

in the Honours List, 25 were placed in the First Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 68 passed with Distinction. In this connection the following tabular list indicating the percentage of pass from 1922 will be found interesting to our readers :

Year.	Percentage of Pass.		
1922	74.8
1923	.	.	72.8
1924	72.1
1925	.	.	58.7
1926	57.1
1927	.	.	39.49

* * *

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in scientific subjects for the year 1926 has been divided equally between Mr. Gopalchandra Chakrabarti, M.Sc., Mr. Subodhchandra Mitra, M.Sc., and Mr. Suddhodhan Ghosh, M.Sc., and in arts subjects for the year 1926 it has been divided equally between Mr. Ramaprasad Chowdhuri, M.A., Mr. Dhirendramohan Dutt, M.A., Mr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., and Mr. Ambujanath Banerjee, M.A.

* * *

PROFESSOR SYAMADAS MOOKERJEE.

We have been requested to publish the following :

“Prof. Dr. W Blaschke
Hamburg 13
Rothenbaumchausse

Mathematisches Seminar
der Universitat.

To Prof. Dr S. Mukhopadhyaya.

Very learned Mr. Colleague,

For your kindness in sending me your very beautiful geometrical work I thank you and am very much obliged to you. If, as I hope, a new edition of my “Lessons in Differential Geometry” comes out, I shall not fail to insert therein that you were the first to discover the beautiful theorems relating to the number of cyclic and sextactic points on an oval.

With greatest esteem,

Yours devoted,

W, BLASCHKE.”



PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN, M.A., D.D., Ph.D.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1927



KRISTODAS PAL¹ .

In the immortal words of the poet, Keats,

“ A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams and health and quiet breathing.”

I think most of you will agree in regarding a good and noble life as the most beautiful thing in God's world. To have fellowship with the mighty dead, to remind ourselves on occasions like the present of their virtues, their struggles and conquests, is like getting renewed inspiration from

“ All lovely tales that we have heard or read,
An endless fountain of immortal drink,
Pouring unto us from the heaven's brink.”

Until a few weeks ago when I was approached to take part in this meeting, Kristodas Pal was little more to me than a name. I remember when I first came to this country thirty-two years ago, spending a few days in Calcutta on my way to Orissa. In the vicinity of College Square it was my privilege to see the imposing statue of Kristodas Pal, erected only the

¹ Address delivered at the forty-third Kristodas Pal Memorial Meeting, Calcutta University Institute, July 24, 1927.

year before, but all that remained in my mind regarding him was that he was a great journalist and an ardent patriot. Some ten years ago it was my privilege to meet his distinguished son, Mr. Radhacharan Pal, when I was for a period a fellow-member with him on the Bengal Legislative Council. Although that led me to make further enquiries from such as knew, regarding the work and personality of Kristodas Pal, yet I must confess that I remained sadly ignorant of all that he meant for Bengal during a life of public activity covering a period extending over nearly a quarter of a century. But a few weeks ago I received a call from Mr. Sitanath Pal, a grandson of Kristodas Pal, who was kind enough to do me the honour of requesting me to take part in this commemoration meeting. I naturally hesitated, but after a few days, during which I had an opportunity of studying his life and writings I readily consented. I soon found after reading much that has been written regarding his life and character, and specially after browsing in the old files of the Hindu Patriot that I was in touch with a powerful personality, who I do not hesitate to say will find a worthy place among the greatest half a dozen Indians produced by this country in the nineteenth century. In what it may be asked, does his greatness consist? True he was the editor of an important newspaper, but there have been many editors and journalists similarly circumstanced who cannot by any stretch of imagination be called great. He was the Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of a notable organisation of Land-owners, the British Indian Association, but I presume he is the only Secretary of that Society, whose name will go down to posterity. He was a justice of the peace, and a Municipal Commissioner, he was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and ultimately even of the Supreme Legislative Council, but we all know that it sometimes happens that very ordinary men occupy those positions of honour and trust, without any fraction of greatness about them. Kristodas Pal was even a Rai Bahadur and a C.I.E., and above all, like myself a fellow of the University of Calcutta, yet, sad to

confess I have met many Rai Bahadurs, C.I.E.'s and even University Senators who I am quite sure will be wholly forgotten by their countrymen, and the world in general, fifty years hence. Some writers express regret that Kristodas Pal did not get the opportunity of serving his country as Finance Minister, or as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I share that regret, for I am convinced that he had qualities that would have ranked him among the greatest Lieutenant-Governors that have ruled Bengal or any Indian Province. But be sure of this, that no exalted position, such as the Governorship of Bengal would have made Kristodas Pal greater as a man, or more worthy of our affectionate commemoration to-day. In the quarter of a century extending from 1869 to 1884, the period of Kristodas's public activity, Bengal had nine Lieutenant-Governors. The names of several of them are wholly forgotten by the present generation, and only two of those nine powerful officials, are regarded as worthy of a short biography in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but it is interesting to note that that great and impartial repository of universal knowledge gives somewhat greater space to Kristodas Pal, than it does even to the two distinguished contemporary Lieutenant-Governors whose lives are briefly recorded in its pages. Real lasting greatness is in the man, not in any official position he occupies or in the wealth he commands, or in the titles he has inherited, earned or purchased. There were many millionaires, powerful officials, landed magnates, or popular leaders in the days of Kristodas Pal. No doubt many of them were good and worthy men in their day and generation. Concerning others we may fairly say that the less we know about them the better, but in regard to such a life as that of Kristodas Pal we feel like saying :—

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.”

And our lives will be all the poorer if we neglect occasions such as the present, meant to bring us into touch again with

what is

“ An endless fountain of immortal drink.”

We are here to-day not to do good to Kristodas Pal—he has finally passed to his reward—but to do good to ourselves. What are some of the great qualities that characterise the life and personality of Kristodas that it is good for us to remember and perilous to neglect in the Bengal and the India of to-day? I cannot pretend to be able to tell you anything new, but I can only recall in my own way much what others have said on similar occasions. I can moreover assure you that what I do say is uttered with all sincerity and conviction, and if I use what some may regard as excessive liberty of speech in certain matters, well, I am only following in the footsteps of Kristodas Pal himself. I can only attempt a brief review of some of the characteristics of Kristodas Pal (1) as a man in private life, (2) as a Journalist, (3) as a politician and a man of affairs.

Kristodas as a Man in Private Life.

There are few doctrines more dangerous than this that the private life of a public man is no concern of the community. The foundation of all national greatness must be laid in the homes of our people, and when a man's home-life is essentially bad, I take it that there can be no permanent value in any public work he undertakes. Kristodas's private life will bear the most thorough investigation. To the last he was a devoted son, an affectionate father, a faithful husband, and an honourable friend. This cannot be said of all public men by any means, whether in the East or the West. I grant that it is possible to feel marked appreciation for the great abilities of public men even though their private lives will not stand looking into, but we do not continue to hold in reverence and

affectionate esteem their memory. Of such it may be truly said

“ The evil that men do live after them
The good is oft interred with their bones.”

The descendants of such men are often their most bitter critics, because it is they who have been most deeply wronged. We can have no abiding respect for a man who devotes his energies to his motherland, but who in selfishness, is indifferent to the needs of his own father and mother, is disloyal or cruel to his wife, neglectful of his children, and dishonourable to his friends. Kristodas had his reward in the life-long devotion of a distinguished son and it is gratifying to see the grandson carrying on the honourable tradition. Kristodas has a host of friends and affectionate admirers to-day because he was true and honourable in his private relationships.

Moreover, Kristodas was a humble man to the end, equally accessible to all, high and low. In reading the records of the life of Kristodas, I am reminded of an incident in the life of Jesus. His disciples had been disputing among themselves as to who should hold chief place in the new kingdom that they expected their master to establish. “ And Jesus called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, except ye turn and become as little children, ye shall in nowise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child the same is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.” Kristodas was born in quite humble surroundings, and the early years of his manhood meant a struggle with poverty. He was dismissed from his first and only government appointment on the ground of supposed incompetence, but the real reason was no doubt the successful intriguing of a rival candidate. In due time however, Kristodas won through, and in the later years of his life he was courted and consulted by Viceroys, Governors, Judges, Maharajas, Zemindars and millionaires, but he never lost his mental balance and showed no signs of that very common

malady, swelled head. Throughout he retained the simple heart and humble disposition of a child. Though a favourite of the great, and the secretary of an organisation consisting of rich zemindars, he never chose to forget the associates of the days of his childhood, and the struggling years of his poverty. At home his office room was always crowded with visitors, consisting of the rich and poor, the learned and ignorant, and advocate of zemindars though he was supposed to be, no poor peasant appealed to him in vain for help, guidance and advice, in the hour of his need. At heart we despise the great man who is ashamed of his humble origin, and who refuses to recognise and mingle on terms of equality with the friends and associates of his days of struggle and poverty. We may admire or envy the heights of greatness or wealth to which he has risen. Our love is reserved for a man like Kristodas, humble at heart, childlike in disposition, amid all the glamour of official recognition and popular applause.

There is one other great quality of Kristodas as a man to which I wish to refer. It is his high sense of honour and honesty. He was an essentially reliable man and people knew that here was a man they could trust implicitly whose word was his bond. Dishonesty in public men of great popular repute at the time is not an unknown phenomenon in East or West. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was in England the infamous case of Jabez Balfour, a notable member of the British Parliament who brought ruin upon thousands of humble folk, by the collapse, as the result of dishonesty, of the companies of which he was managing director, while in our own day, that clever but utterly unscrupulous politician and company promoter, Horatio Bottomley, succeeded in fooling and defrauding a section of the British public for a period extending over many years. I know enough of conditions here in India to be aware of the fact that in the course of the passing years sometimes there has been no implicit faith in the honesty and integrity of a number of your public men, well-known in politics or commerce. Soon after coming

to India I remember hearing of liberal subscriptions being raised for this public purpose or that given by a trusting people in times of enthusiasm, but in too many cases, no account was given to the same public of the expenditure of such money, notwithstanding much pressure and repeated demands; and though those in charge of such funds were recognised as men of national repute and standing. And what about the crores of rupees that were trustfully handed over to company promoters sometimes well-known public men from Swadeshi days onwards, with results in too many cases ending in utter collapse and ruin so far as the shareholders were concerned, but not always the directors? We join in this commemoration to-day of Kristodas Pal in love and reverence because we know he was a man of integrity, worthy of complete trust by all and sundry. No good can come to any country, East or West, that tolerates public men lacking in integrity and honesty in private or commercial or philanthropic relationships and transactions.

Kristodas Pal as a Journalist.

I do not pretend to be a judge of good journalism, but for the last forty years I have been a constant reader of a good many newspapers, magazines and reviews, good, bad and indifferent, and I can say with all sincerity that the *Hindu Patriot* of Kristodas is a journal after my own heart. During the past weeks I have had the privilege of consulting the old files of the *Patriot* extending over a number of years and have read with intense interest and appreciation a large number of his articles and reviews on a great variety of subjects—political, social, educational, technical, financial, agricultural, literary, religious. If one number only had come into my hands in the days of his activity, it would have been enough to have made me a regular subscriber, and I am not in the habit of making any rash decisions in such matters. I will indicate briefly some of the salient features of Kristodas as a journalist, as they strike an average reader like myself.

First, he has a passion for facts. It is perfectly evident that he is trying to give the true record of the events of the day, as he believed them to have happened, and if he has been led astray at all, he does not hesitate to make the necessary correction in a subsequent issue. A journal that deliberately tampers with the facts, that suppresses, or doctors the plain records of events as they really happen, is guilty of high treason against the rights of the average reader. Further there is a chasteness, a vigour, a terseness and a lucidity about his style that to me is particularly attractive and effective, and ranks him among the great names of English Journalism. In every article he wrote you feel you are in touch with a sincere, vigorous and cultured personality. Although I am a teacher of English I have little faith in the drawing up of formal rules and regulations for the cultivation of good style. The style of man is the expression of the man himself, and the personality of Kristodas lives in his style. Some good people have the habit of condemning the reading of all newspapers and reviews as so much waste of time on what is ephemeral trash. I admit the condemnation is wholly justifiable in the case of too many papers. There is no trace of the educative about them. But a really good journal—and there is still a number left—is a university and a church in itself. Tell us the papers a man reads with eager appreciation and zest, and I shall have little difficulty in telling you the kind of man he is in himself. Next to a good book there are few enjoyments in life greater than the reading of a good paper or review. Kristodas must have made many men happier and better by his editing of the *Hindu Patriot*.

Kristodas had a respect for facts and he had style, but in his general outlook he entertained definite ideals and convictions of his own. It is difficult to have any respect, much less have any affection for a paper with no policy. After a time one comes to know instinctively what line a paper is likely to take on any particular issue, but we expect it to take a line and not wobble. A journal that turns now this way, and now that,

like a weather-cock, according to the breeze that blows, is not an unknown phenomenon, but such a journal does not make history. It is because Kristodas held strong convictions, and had the courage to give utterance to them, that he is now regarded as a maker of history. He may have been mistaken or one-sided in his views from time to time—if he were not, he would be superhuman—but a man who says or does nothing because he is afraid of making mistakes, ends in making nothing.

While Kristodas held strong convictions of his own he was invariably fair and moderate in his comments on men and affairs. He frankly recognised that other men had convictions which they held as strongly as he did his own. There is thus in his most crushing criticism a sweet reasonableness, that makes it impossible for one to be angry or irritated. I can well understand the indulgent twinkle there must have been in the eye of Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor who in introducing Mr. Pal to the Viceroy remarked, "Allow me to introduce to you the man who abuses me every week in his paper." I don't know what is the effect with you, but so far as I am concerned, unjust abuse of any person or thing that I venerate or love, simply ends in the silent boycott of the journal concerned. I avoid it instinctively as I do a man who has played me false, because I know it is incapable of fairplay and honourable dealing. There are many papers, believe me, in the East and the West, who haven't it in them to treat an opponent fairly. Occasionally Kristodas came down heavily on the methods of certain missionaries. In not a single instance have I felt that his criticism was unfair or without a solid basis of fact. Indeed it may be said in general that his criticisms were so feared and so effective, just because they were so fair. Criticism that is essentially unjust acts like water on a duck's back—it fails to penetrate.

One more point I wish to mention in regard to Kristodas as a journalist. The *Hindu Patriot* did not defile its pages with vulgar sensationalism or gross personalities about the living or

the dead. In this respect Kristodas showed that he possessed the tone and the instinctive restraint of the true gentleman. To publish something new and sensational, whether true, false or exaggerated, is, I am afraid, the dominant ideal of not a few journalists, simply because it is profitable. You may have heard the story of the American Editor. Calling his young apprentice to him he remarked, "Now my paper wants news, nothing but news. If a dog bites a man, that is not news. It is the nature of dogs, and they have been practising it since the creation. But when a man bites a dog, that's real news. Bring it along to me properly dished up and I will see that it gets proper head-lines." Some papers seem to live on sensational stunts. The *Hindu Patriot* throughout stands for sanity and goodwill. It is needed to-day.

Finally,

Kristodas as a Politician, and a Man of Affairs.

He had the advantage of beginning and continuing his public life with a clean private record and so he was held in greatest respect for his integrity and high character, even when men differed from him in their views of public policy. I take it that there are three great qualities needed for the highest public service—industry, ability and character, and the greatest of these is character. A man may go a long way with only one of those qualities but he will never reach the highest rung in the ladder without a combination of all three—industry, ability and character.

Kristodas began life in 1857 at the age of 19, having had the elements of a sound education under able teachers—European and Indian. The University was founded in the same year, and some think he was fortunate in escaping the grinding toil involved in the pursuit of University certificates and degrees. University or no University would have made no difference to a man of the calibre of Kristodas. He would have rejoiced if he had the academic opportunities in youth of young men more favourably

circumstanced and he would have made wise and effective use of any and every opportunity that came his way within the portals of a University. He was too great a man to be spoiled by the glamour of any academic laurels he might have attained. Some years ago an old student of mine managed on my recommendation to get an appointment in a certain office. A year later the head of the department wrote to me in effect,

“ The young man you recommended sometime ago is different from practically all the other Calcutta graduates I have had experience of. They come thinking that because they are graduates they know everything to begin with. He came frankly recognising that he knew nothing, and had everything to learn. The result is he is steadily making good.”

Now that is the stuff of which Kristodas was made, and all other men, East or West, that rise to the top. They enter on their life-work, knowing full well, notwithstanding all their academic certificates, that they are only at the beginning of their real education, that which counts in the battle of life. Kristodas was bent on cultivating to the utmost the powers that God had given him, and so for years he spent all his leisure hours in that University of books—the Public Library. Unflagging industry and continuous study of all the best sources of knowledge, ancient and modern with the inestimable blessing of a good memory, laid solid foundations that gave him courage and confidence in all his public work.

I can only rapidly review what I consider some of the main characteristics of his public work. He had no doubt the gift of eloquence in a marked degree, and could use the English language in a way that was the envy of most Englishmen who had the privilege of hearing him. But his eloquence had nothing in it of the frothy kind, with no accompanying substance. We all know that many high-sounding eloquent orations are at bottom so much clap-trap, mere stuff and nonsense, simply because they are a mere appeal to men's emotions at the time, and have no solid basis of fact. To thinking minds,

European and Indian, Kristodas was a man of persuasive speech, because he combined with it a respect for truth and hard facts. Unlike many public speakers, he knew also how to debate, which is a very different thing from eloquent speech. It is not so much set orations, as speeches with good debating points, opportunely seized in the course of discussion that really influence opinion and shape conclusions in our public bodies, and here Kristodas was admittedly a master-hand. Moreover, though he had never travelled beyond the borders of India, and remained a devout orthodox though progressive Hindu to the end, he was singularly free from strong prejudice and partisanship, whether social, religious, political or racial. He knew it to be his duty and privilege to know all men with whom he was called upon to deal, whatever their party, race or creed, and knowing all men as he did, he misrepresented none. I am convinced that most of the misunderstanding and hatred of public life are due to men's sheer ignorance of one another. We depend so much on hearsay. We have not the courage, patience or industry to examine things for ourselves at first hand and gradually our opponents assume in our minds the shape of monsters, when in reality they are men just like ourselves and perhaps sometimes a little better. In most cases perhaps to know all is to forgive all. Kristodas was sometimes blamed for being friendly with so many kinds of people, as Christ was blamed for being on friendly terms with publicans and sinners, but he showed the instincts of a great public man when he considered his duty to know and understand all and sundry by personal touch rather than from mere and often grossly prejudiced report. Yet with all his human sympathy for men of all types and races, he was throughout his career an ardent patriot, but his patriotism was always combined with a genuine cosmopolitan outlook. He knew very well that that patriotism was false and mischievous that always shouted "my country, right or wrong," that always considered everything foreign satanic and everything native divine. He went on his

way serenely, quietly doing and saying what he believed to be his duty to do or say, condemning or praising impartially government or people according as his conscience dictated.

Kristodas did not make the mistake of some public men in being morally afraid to praise anything done by the other side, even when it deserved praise, lest there should be a suspicion of disloyalty to one's own party. Kristodas was far from limiting himself to work of a showy character that brought him into public prominence. Small honours came to him, but they were wholly unsought. He had nothing of the self-seeking politician about him, always grinding his own axe, or seeking some new honour and advantage for himself. Moreover he did not despise the day of small things and was as conscientious in devoting attention to the drains and sanitation of his own city, as he was to great affairs amid the heights of Simla. Work on the small Committees or speaking in the great Assembly was equally important to him, and when occasion demanded, he had the courage to be in the right with two or three, rather than in the wrong with the million. He has been criticised for identifying himself so closely with the cause of the zemindars. I am not a zemindar or zemindar's son, and my natural sympathies are apt to be with the peasants, but there is hope for the zemindars of Bengal when they make a man like Kristodas their guide, philosopher and friend. He felt and felt strongly that the interests of masters and workers were ultimately identical and that the true line of progress was evolution rather than revolution. In conclusion may I suggest that the time is ripe for a new study of the life and times of Kristodas Pal, accompanied by an adequate but judicious selection from his writings? A worthy contribution in this direction will be a fitting qualification for a Doctorate in our University. I pass on this suggestion to some young national scholar with the necessary gifts.

LOVE'S CHAIN

I

Oh, why do I thus crave for things
When all in Thee are found;
Oh, why do I thus wring my heart,
To world of flesh firm bound.

I am Thy slave, O Lord of Love,
Hold me in Thy chain,
Disable tug to hurt my soul
By thoughts, unholy, vain.

In peace and joy the chain I bear
And sorrow comes to me,
That sorrow's mother of Love unseen—
The message of joy from Thee.

If I but kiss the hand that strikes
And bless Thy loving care
For vilest vile that ev'r can be
To lift there to Thine sphere—
Untouched by word or mind,
Where light of man is blind.

II

O, Love me Thou or love me not,
I'm ever thirsty for Thy love,
Beside Thee what of price have I—
Here below or above?
Thou canst destroy this life of mine;
To let me live is glory Thine.

III

Man's good and ill are one to Thee
Ordain Thou, Lord, what's good for me.

IV

What good and ill in me I see
 May I not value them,
May I but value Thee alone
 My life's one single gem.

V

Thou art Eternal all, unseen,
 Love for Thee is love for all ;
This eye is veiled by little life
 I love myself ; but great or small
Thy mercy lets me see
Thee in all, all in Thee?

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE AND POLITICAL CONTROL

Expert management under lay control and responsibility is the basic principle of British Administration to-day.¹ In fact this is the system that has been evolved in all the modern democracies of the world. The present-day Government is far too complicated a business for pure amateurs to efficiently conduct. It requires the life-long experience of a man to master the inside and out of a Government department and handle successfully the administrative machine. Without this expert help, the whole governmental system would at once run out of gear. An efficient permanent civil service, we thus see, has come to be an indispensable factor of the modern government. It is, in fact, the very backbone of the whole administrative structure. Remove this adjunct and the fabric would immediately give way. It might have been possible in an ancient city-state with its few thousand citizens and elementary functions to do without a civil service worth the name. The citizens themselves by rotation might have performed these duties of the state quite successfully according to the standard of their day.² The modern state, however, with its far-flung territory, ever-increasing functions and its new standard of efficiency can hardly do without a well-organised permanent civil service.³ The day-to-day administration of a country can only be neatly carried on by trained and experienced hands. The details of a scheme can be scientifically worked out and methodically applied only by people specially trained for the

¹ See A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, Vol. I (New Ed., 1924), p. 176.

² See A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth* (2nd ed.), p. 161.

³ Even 150 years ago "it was still possible for the amateur, the parliamentary politician, to keep himself in close touch with all the business of a department of state and so long as this lasted the professional administrator could be kept within the sphere of a mere clerk obeying orders." See Ramsay Muir, *Peers and Bureaucrats* (1910), p. 9.

purpose. Take the case of any department of the modern Government, let it be the Treasury or the Home Office; the variety of work it has to perform, the innumerable rules and regulations under which it has to discharge its duty, the various relations it has to maintain with other departments and local bodies would bewilder any new man, whatever be his natural ability and general training.¹ It is only long experience and steadfast devotion to duty for quite a number of years in a department that thoroughly acquaint a man with the nature of the instruments he has to handle. A newcomer is only at sea.

While, however, the bureaucracy is indispensable to the efficient management of any administrative department, a kind of lay control is equally essential for the welfare of the public. "Experts acting alone tend to take disproportionate views and get more or less out of touch with the commonsense of the rest of the world."² "They lose contact with the facts of life, and are overcome by words and figures; they confuse means and ends and regard habit and routine as ends in themselves."³ Walter Bagehot also has pointed out, "If it is left to itself the office will become technical, self-absorbed and self-multiplying. It will be likely to overlook the end in the means; it will fail from narrowness of mind; it will be eager in seeming to do; it will be idle in real doing."⁴ It will, in fact, remain simply enmeshed in rules and regulations, in technical subtleties and unnecessary correspondence. The urgency of work will not appeal to it, unnecessary delay is always found to be its chief attribute. It is with these thoughts in his mind that Professor Ramsay Muir has very cogently observed that "bureaucracy, which is a necessary servant of all modern Governments, becomes dangerous when it is left too free from criticism and

¹ In this connection the White Hall Series edited by Sir James Marchant and dealing with the different departments of His Majesty's Government throws a flood of light.

² See A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, Vol. I (New Ed., 1924), p. 173.

³ See R. M. Dawson, *The Principle of Official Independence* (1922), p. 21.

⁴ See *The English Constitution* (3rd Ed., 1882), p. 199.

when it controls, instead of being controlled by, the sovereign organs of the state.”¹ A golden mean has thus to be discovered between bureaucratic routine and amateurish inefficiency. It is necessary to have in any administration a proper combination of experts and men of the world. It is immensely important that some fresh mind should be always associated with an administrative department. The lay element is to act as a corrective to the professional part.²

In a parliamentary form of government the extrinsic chief is alone responsible for the entire activity of the department. He is to be held accountable by the legislature for everything the department is concerned with. The civil service only plays its part behind the screen. “The work of permanent officials is anonymous.”³ They have nothing so much to do with the general public or the legislative body. They live and move and have their being under the shelter of their political chief. If the permanent officials mismanage a business or in any way fail to do the needful, it is not the miscreants in the office that would be the target of attack in the legislature. All the fury of the people’s representatives will be directed towards the minister in charge of the department. To the outside public, an administrative department is only known through its political head, so much so that the titles of a department and its parliamentary head are almost interchangeable. As for instance the “Home Office” and the “Home Secretary” often mean the same thing.⁴

Now that the political chief is alone responsible to the legislature for the work of his department, it is only meet that the departmental machinery should be run on his authority alone. Power and responsibility should go together. When it is likely that the minister in charge might be given a vote of

¹ See Peers and Bureaucrats (1910), p. 65.

² Bagehot, The English Constitution, p. 199.

³ See Sir Edward Troup, Home Office (1925), Preface.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 3.

censure and even thrown out of office for some action of his subordinates, it is only essential that he should have sufficient authority over these permanent civil servants. "The permanent officials.....are to give their advice upon the questions that arise, so as to enable the chief to reach a wise conclusion and keep him from falling into mistakes. When he has made his decision, they are to carry it out; and they must keep the department running by doing the routine work. In short the chief lays down the general principles, while his subordinates give him the benefit of their advice and attend to the details."¹ They would give him all the advice according to their lead and light, but as soon as the minister comes to a decision and orders a line of action, the subordinates have got only one business to discharge and that is to carry it out in its proper spirit. The measure might appear unpalatable to them, but accepted as it is by the political chief, they have no other alternative but to ungrudgingly put it into action. Their function in fact consists in enlightening the chief upon the facts and figures of a question, in bringing to his notice its past history and present complications and in furnishing him with the pros and cons of the lines of action now possible. This done, they must wait for the minister to make up his mind.² And as he commits himself to a course, they would act according to it. They have no responsibility and no final authority in the matter. Both are vested in the minister.²

The historic statement of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, announced a new policy of the British Government towards India. It declared that henceforward it was the ambition of His Majesty's Government to introduce in India full responsible government, not of course all at once, but by stages and instalments.³ According

¹ Lowell, *The Government of England* (Vol. I), p. 182.

² "Whatever the Home Office does it does by the authority of the Home Secretary either obeying his direct instruction in an individual matter or carrying out a policy for which he accepts responsibility." Home Office, p. 3.

³ See the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p. 1.

to this declaration of policy, an Indian Reform Bill was shaped, and introduced in Parliament in 1919 which subsequently with due amendments and alterations became the Government of India Act of that year. This great constitutional measure along with other salutary, though inadequate, changes in the Indian administrative system, transferred some of the Governmental functions in the provinces to the hands of the representatives of the newly created electorates. So far as these functions were concerned, India was to be administered by a responsible form of government. These departments were to be run under the leadership and supervision of some ministers to be chosen from among the elected representatives of the people.¹ And for the proper administration of these departments the ministers were to be responsible to the legislature which could remove them at its will. In fact for the discharge of these "nation-building" functions, a cabinet form of government was introduced and the ministers were expected to be jointly and severally responsible to the legislature for their action.²

Now in order to fulfil his responsibility to the legislature and ultimately to the electorate, the minister should have, in the fitness of things, been invested with all the authority over his departments. The permanent officers in them should have looked to him alone for inspiration and guidance. They should have given him all the help and co-operation necessary and carried out his order and policy loyally and ungrudgingly. As permanent and experienced officers it was only expected that they should have definite opinions of their own upon many important questions of the day. But as subordinate officers working under the minister theirs was not a function to formulate policy according to their lead and light, but to help the minister to chalk out one according to his ideas and then to carry it out in its details. Unfortunately, however, the past

¹ Sec. 52, sub-sections (1), (2) and (4) of the Government of India Act.

² See the Report of the Joint Select Committee, and also the instrument of Instructions to Governors (VI).

traditions and many of the present functions of the higher permanent services, their extra-Indian recruitment and control and in short all the conditions of their service are incompatible with their implicit loyalty to the minister. The higher services are recruited by the Secretary of State for India in Council.¹ They hold office during the pleasure of His Majesty which means that only the Secretary of State can dismiss them.² In the provinces their promotion in office no doubt depends considerably upon the provincial authorities.³ But in case they feel unappreciated and wronged they may appeal to the Secretary of State in Council whose authority is final.⁴ It is, therefore, not the least unnatural that the ministers would find their authority shadowy over the officers who are not appointed by them and whom they cannot reward or punish in any way. Under the regulations the Secretary of a department, excepting in some technical cases, has to be recruited from among the senior members of the Indian Civil Service. Now⁵ this system is as much true of a transferred department as of the reserved subjects. As a member of the Indian Civil Service, the Secretary, "holding a position analogous to that of permanent Under-Secretary in England"⁶ is beyond the control of his political chief. His loyalty is not limited to the minister. He has greater responsibility to discharge to the authorities who control his future prospects. As a servant responsible ultimately to the Secretary of State for his action, he is not supposed to be always the willing and faithful supporter of the minister's authority. Now not only these anomalous extra-provincial conditions of his service are a natural bar to the Secretary's unflinching loyalty to his chief, but the memory of the past tradition of his office also makes it almost

¹ Section 97, sub-sections (5) and (6) of the Government of India Act.

² Section 96 B, sub-section (1) of the Government of India Act.

³ Rules regarding the Civil Services in India, VIII and X.

⁴ *Ibid*, XVII.

⁵ The Statute of 1861.

⁶ See Sir John Strachey, *India : Its Administration and Progress* (1911), p. 68.

impossible that he should so suddenly develop the silent and anonymous habit of a British Civil Servant.

“The Imperial services in the past have been mainly responsible for the shaping of policy in India” and “the combination of political and administrative functions”¹ in their hands was a source of their immense prestige, dignity and power in the country. The higher civil servants in India, since the first planting of British administration in this country, have had to perform work, far greater in scope and more responsible in nature than any that ever was done by their compeers in Britain. “They are in fact,” observed a minute of Lord Wellesley in 1800, “the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign....They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces... Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world....”² The people who have thus once initiated measures and shaped the policy of Government cannot possibly find their position so congenial in an office where they have to play a second fiddle to the popular head of the department. Many of them have found themselves unable to accommodate to the circumstances created by the Reforms. As permanent officers in a minister’s department, they want to act in an independent capacity and make their own opinions and views prevail. In this recalcitrant tendency they have been considerably backed by some regulations, once perhaps salutary, but which have most irrationally been maintained in the transferred departments under the Reforms. Before the regime of Lord Canning the form of the Government of India was “a consultative Council presided over by the Governor-General who initiated all business and under whose direct orders the Secretaries of the different departments carried on their

¹ See the Minority Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, pp. 161-162.

² Quoted in B. N. Banerji’s article on “The College of Fort William” in the *Modern Review* for February, 1927. Also see P. Auber, *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company* (1826), pp. 625-27.

duties.”¹ There was no portfolio system and the Governor General’s Executive Council was something like the Board of Directors of an industrial company and the Governor General himself combined in him roughly the dual functions of the Chairman and the Managing Director. Members of the Council had practically no concern with the Secretaries of Departments. The latter were to act under, and were responsible to, the Governor-General, with, of course, a right of appeal to the higher authorities beyond India. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 gave to Lord Canning and his successors the means of reforming this system and the council was forthwith converted virtually into a cabinet, with each of its members in charge of a department.¹ But even after the introduction of this system “the duty rests upon the Secretary, apart from his responsibility towards the member of council in charge of the department, of bringing personally to the knowledge of the Governor-General every matter of special importance.”² The Secretary was thus authorised to take matters to the Governor-General over the head of his own chief. This practice was also, as a matter of course, introduced in all the provinces with a Council-Government. Now so long as the Indian administration was purely of a bureaucratic character and irresponsible in nature, no fault could possibly be found with the system. With the introduction of the Reforms, however, the Indian constitution has launched upon a new career. A popular element, responsible to the legislature, has been brought into being. The old secretariat arrangement certainly does not fit in with the new political changes. As already stated, the minister to discharge his accountability to the legislature must have full control over his departmental staff. But illogically enough here also the Secretary comes in to exercise an amount of power quite inconsistent with ministerial responsibility. In cases of disagreement

¹ See General Sir George Chesney, *Indian Polity* (1894), p. 127.

² See Strachey, *India*, p. 67.

between the minister and the Secretary, the latter might carry the subject over the head of his chief to the Governor of the province. It is for the Governor now to decide whom to support. The legislative council might demand a measure and the minister might be quite willing to initiate one but the Secretary at this moment might disagree with his chief upon some vital principle. Now in case the Governor inclines to the side of the Secretary, the measure drops or comes out in an appearance not wholly to the liking of the legislature.

An ex-minister of the Central Provinces, Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar, complained before the Muddiman Committee that "the permanent Heads of Departments can and often do challenge the propriety of minister's orders and the minister can do them no harm; that the various instances of interference that occurred during his term of office had left an impression on his mind that the bureaucracy still wants to retain the control of the departments in their hands; and owing to the very wide powers conferred upon Secretaries cases which were in his opinion petty or simple, were taken to the Governor for final orders."¹ Lala Harkishen Lal, an Ex-minister of the Punjab, also pointed out before the Committee that "officials appealed, complained, took legal advice and threatened him with the opinion of the Government of India and with referring the matter to the Secretary of State."² This anomalous state of things was also to a certain extent brought home to the Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Lee. "In the transferred field the responsibility for administration rests on Ministers dependent on the confidence of Provincial Legislatures. It had been represented to us," observes its Report, "that although ministers have been given full power to prescribe policy they might be hampered in carrying it out by the limitations to their control over the All-India Services, inasmuch as members of these Services unlike those of Provincial Services are

¹ See Strachey, *India*, p. 69.

² See the Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, p. 28.

appointed by the Secretary of State and cannot be dismissed except by him whilst their salaries are not subject to the control of the Local Legislatures.”¹ Accordingly the Report proceeded to frame proposals “to remedy this particular anomaly” and recommended that no further recruitment should be made for the imperial Services on the transferred side. “The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited and appointed by Local Governments.”² So far so good. But the officers of these services could at best rise to the position of the Heads of departments.³ The posts of Secretaries to these departments, however, are reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service.⁴ And the appointment of, and control over, this latter Service “must continue to vest in the Secretary of State.”⁵ Not only this. There are more anomalies still. While dyarchy has been introduced as a form of government in the provinces, the old unitary method has yet been considerably maintained in matters of day-to-day administration. Even now the District officer is “the tortoise which supports the elephant upon which Indian government rests.”⁶ “Though the creation of separate departments has relieved him of direct responsibility for Forest, Public Works, Sanitation, Education and to some extent Jail administration, his peculiar position as executive head of the District keeps him in touch with all these.”⁷ In fact due to historical reasons the functions of government are interwoven in a complete fabric and centre in the moffussil in the hands of the District Magistrate.⁸ He is not only the representative of the reserved side of government in his district

¹ *Ibid* p. 23

² The Lee Report p. 8

³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁴ Of course the Head of the Public Works Department (the Chief Engineer) is also the *ex-officio* Secretary to the department.

⁵ *Vide* the Statute of 1861 as modifying and amending that of 1773

⁶ The Lee Report, p. 7

⁷ See Ramsay MacDonald The Government of India p. 98

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 97.

but is quite in a position to help or hinder the activities of the popular half as well. For successful discharge of ministerial responsibility in matters of Public Works, Forests, Public Health and Education "his active co-operation and counsel are still needed."¹ The Divisional Commissioners also exercise not a little influence and power over the working of the transferred subjects. In matters of Local Self-Government these officers are the agents of the ministers in their respective divisions and as such their "control over the district boards and municipalities is considerable."² Now most of the District Officers and Divisional Commissioners belong to the Indian Civil Service and as such are far beyond the control of the minister. They are not responsible to him for their work and if they try to nullify his orders and go against the spirit of his policy, he is simply helpless and can at best complain to the Governor.³ In its relations with the transferred departments therefore "the Civil Service, as it exists at present in India, is an anachronism."⁴ It has now been fully apparent that "any system of Government which does not give a minister complete control over his own officers and his own department is unworkable."⁵ Now this glaring inconsistency cannot be done away with by the mere amendment of some rules here and the modification of some regulations there.

The Indian constitution is not something static. It will grow and expand in the early future. But "the question of the services is inseparably connected with the question of constitutional development."⁶ Provincial autonomy under responsible ministers, but with irresponsible subordinate officers

¹ See Lionel Curtis, *Dyarchy*, p. 184.

² Kale, *Indian Administration*, p. 262.

³ Mr. C. Y. Chintamony, an ex-minister of U. P., brings to the notice of the Muddiman Committee many cases of interference in his work by these officers. See the Report, p. 29.

⁴ See Curtis, *Dyarchy*, p. 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶ See the Minority Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, p. 163.

will only be a misnomer. If a unitary form of Government responsible to, and removable by, the elected representatives of the people is to be inaugurated at all in the Indian provinces the present Indian Civil Service and other All-India Services must go, lock, stock and barrel. This will be one of the vital and indispensable changes in the Indian constitution before any political progress is possible. With the ministers looking to the Legislative Council for inspiration and their subordinates to the India Office for power and protection, the extended Reforms will be a hollow sham, not worth the attention of sane people. As an adjunct, therefore, of true responsible Government "the position of the permanent services in India should be placed on the same basis as in England." ¹

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NARESHCHANDRA ROY

PRESENT TENDENCY OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I

In the field of world politics of the twentieth century Japan has played a leading role. Although we do not hear much about Japan's position in world politics, it is an undisputed fact that no question of first rate importance in international relations can be solved without taking Japan into consideration.

To get an adequate idea of the present tendency of Japan's foreign policy, it is necessary to note a few of the outstanding features of her foreign policy of the past, and the most important of the national characteristics of the Japanese people. The Japanese people have proven that, above all, they can adjust themselves under changing conditions, better than any other people. It is often said that, the Japanese people are imitators; but in reality their national characteristic is "adaptability" without losing their own national identity. The Japanese nation has never been subjected to foreign domination; they fortunately succeeded in resisting the Mongol as well as the Korean and western invasions. The Japanese had their own civil wars during the middle ages and the era of feudalism; but they closed their country from foreign intercourse as a matter of precaution against foreign intervention or invasion. Thus in making generalisation of Japanese foreign policy one should take into consideration the supreme anxiety of Japanese statesmen and people to preserve their national integrity and to adapt themselves to the world conditions. The Japanese statesmen do not formulate a policy first and work to change the world conditions in line with their policy; on the contrary they try to

form their foreign policy to suit world conditions. Some shortsighted people think that the Japanese statesmen are untrustworthy because they have no settled foreign policy; they should realize that a nation's foreign policy should change according to the change of world conditions.

II

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Japan had no foreign intercourse. American Commodore Perry with a threat of force, induced the Japanese to open their country to the foreigners. The first anxiety of the Japanese was to settle their internal disputes and to learn what seemed to be superior among the western peoples. After the opening of Japan to western intercourse, the western people in their dealings with Japan, imposed the practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction and restriction of tariff autonomy, thus limiting Japanese sovereignty. The Japanese statesmen chafed under the conditions, but they directed their energy to re-organise Japan and strengthen her position by building up her army and navy, so that her demands in international relations will not be regarded as empty words of supplications.

Japanese statesmen were anxious to have cordial understanding with both China and Korea, so that these three nations would work in harmony to preserve their independence. It was the Korean arrogance, Chinese incompetence and anti-Japanese attitude and the Jingoistic party of Japan that brought about the Chino-Japanese War. For about forty years, Japan tried to secure some recognition from western powers, but she was ignored. However, after her victory in the Korean War (the so-called Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895) Japan began to receive respectful attention from western powers, then interested in extending their sway in the Far East. Before the Chino-Japanese War, Japan did not develop her foreign policy to any considerable extent, as she was busy in putting her house in order.

III

After the Japanese victory over China, Russia, Germany and France combined and intervened against Japan and deprived her of the fruits of her victory. The proud Japanese statesmen faced the situation of humiliating surrender at the demand of the three great Powers or to fight them, with superb judgment. They knew that they could not fight with success, so they surrendered. This incident left a lasting impression in the minds of Japanese statesmen. *They realised that a nation may defeat its enemy in the battle-field, but military victory can become a diplomatic defeat, if proper precautions were not taken.* They realised that Japan had to surrender because she was diplomatically isolated.

After the Sino-Japanese War and the signing of the Treaty of Simonosaki, the dominant motive in Japanese foreign policy was, *to find out means to end the condition of isolation in world politics.* In Japan statesmen were divided into two groups. One group headed by late Prince Ito thought it to be best to adjust Japan's relations with Russia and form an alliance with her. His idea seemed to be that, if he made an alliance with Russia it would naturally mean an alliance with France, as Russia and France were in alliance; and also it would provide cordial understanding with Germany which was supporting Russia in her Far Eastern policy. This group of statesmen feared Great Britain, which had subjected India and fought Opium Wars against China, as the most dangerous future enemy of Japan. The other group of statesmen headed by Viscount Hayashi thought that, Japan should secure support from Great Britain and thus check Russian aggression in the Far East, particularly in Korea. The Tsarist statesmen, ignorant of Japan's actual strength, and flushed with their own importance, did not pay heed to Ito's suggestions for an alliance; while the British statesmen, to end the position of isolation in world politics, and to counter-balance the bitter hostility of France and Russia

against Great Britain, facing world-wide unpopularity due to the Boer War, quickly grasped the opportunity of forming the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

IV

Formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the turning point of the history of the world; every important development of world politics during the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance hinged on it. Without the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, there could not have been a Russo-Japanese War. Without Russian defeat by Japan, Great Britain would not have been courted by French statesmen to bring about a settlement of Anglo-French disputes on colonial questions in Asia and Africa. Without Russian defeat and Anglo-French understanding, there was no possibility of an Anglo-Russian understanding, leading to the formation of the Triple Entente. It is very doubtful, if the Triple Entente could have won the War against the Central powers—Germany—if Japan had not gone into the World War against her. Had Japan remained neutral, Great Britain, Russia and France could not have used their full force in Europe against the Central Powers, and it is very doubtful, if America would have entered the World War.

The Japanese foreign policy for twenty years, between the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Washington Conference, was to lean upon Great Britain or follow the British lead. However, during this period, Great Britain reaped the greater advantage from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance than did Japan. Through Japanese support, Britain destroyed her enemies, Russia and Germany, respectively. After the World War, Britain definitely chose to discard the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in favour of an Anglo-American understanding. This brought about a new and dangerous situation for Japan and the Japanese statesmen had to face it as best they could.

V

During the so-called Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, Japanese statesmen realized that they were facing isolation in world politics. There was the Anglo-American combination interested in curbing any further development of Japan's naval power; there was the hostility of China, because of the Twenty-One Demands and Shantung Question. China was being supported by both Britain and America against Japan. Japanese statesmen found that an adventure against Soviet Russia was a great liability. They felt that Britain and America did not look upon Japan as a friendly power, otherwise there could not have been the demands for limitation of Japan's naval power, and at the same time development of great naval bases in Singapore and Hawaii. France was the only power which remained friendly to Japan. They realised that if Great Britain and America be supported by China and Russia in any anti-Japanese policy, Japan was going to face a far worse situation than Germany had to face before, during and after the World War.

The Japanese statesmen again submitted to the desperate situation with calmness, and accepted the Anglo-American coercion in the Washington Conference, as they accepted the terms of Russia, Germany and France after the Chino-Japanese War. They at the same time directed their energy, with great dignity and intelligence to overcome any move which might lead to the isolation of Japan in world politics, and to change the current of adverse world public opinion against their world policies. The Japanese statesmen decided to give up all adventures in the Far East which might be interpreted as imperialistic and expansionist. Japanese forces were withdrawn from Russian territories; Japan returned Shantung to China and tried to find out means by which the Russian and Chinese statesmen might be convinced that Japan had no aggressive

policy against China or Russia and that a friendly understanding with Japan will be to their advantage and mutual security.

“Forsaken by her Western friends, as Japan saw it at the Washington Conference, she made up her mind then and there to alter her diplomatic orientation with a view to seek new friends among her immediate neighbours, that is those on the Asiatic continent. The result has been discernable in her recognition of Soviet Russia, her fraternization with China, her conclusion of “equal treaties” with Persia and Turkey, and her friendly attitude towards Siam. Japan, in short, has turned a new leaf in her book of diplomacy. She has learned that her destiny lies in the East, and that her fortunes are so closely bound up with those of her Asian neighbours that she cannot afford to jeopardise their friendship in order to please the western powers.”

In 1924, Great Britain with some support from the United States, tried to internationalise the Chinese railroads; but Japan opposed this scheme, and helped China to preserve her railroads from foreign control. “No one can fail to notice the friendly relations existing between the Japanese and the Chinese delegations at the League of Nations. Whether on the opium question or on the question of seating of China at the Council of the League of Nations, Japan has always extended a helping hand to the Chinese delegation.” It is clear to all that Japan is willing to aid China to recover “economic independence” as well as full sovereignty by revising the unequal treaties. Japan is not only acting with strict neutrality in the Civil War of China, but watching against any possible international action which may hurt Chinese independence.

VI

Japan's present foreign policy can be termed as “the policy of enlightened peace” with all nations. After the

Washington Conference, the United States Government not only ended the then existing Gentleman's Agreement—Root-Takahira Agreement—but enacted the Japanese Exclusion Law. In spite of this humiliation, however, she is cultivating friendly relations with America in every possible way. Japan's policy towards Mexico and all other Latin American countries has been most cordial. She is trying to expand her commerce and emigration in that region.

Japan's policy towards Asian states, as it has been noted above, is most friendly. Japan has a loyal friend in France ; Japan wishes to remain in peace with Russia. It seems that Russia for her own security needs Japanese friendship ; and thus there is no possibility of any Russo-Japanese hostility in the near future. German-Japanese relations, in themselves, were satisfactory except on two occasions. Germany supported Russia against Japan after the Sino-Japanese War, and then later on took Shantung as a sphere of influence in China. Japan fought against Germany during the World War and eliminated Germany from China and the Far East. To-day there is no reason for any form of German-Japanese misunderstanding ; because Germany has no such political ambition in Eastern Asia, as may hurt Japan. As the present policy of Russia is not anti-Japanese and not anti-Chinese, and as the German policy is not to be hostile to Russia, there is no reason why there cannot be closer relations between Germany, Russia and Japan.

It seems that when Lloyd George's Government to please the American Government gave up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, it did not realize that Japan will be able to develop an independent foreign policy which may not be very pleasing to Great Britain. Japan's independent foreign policy in China has hurt Britain and increased Japanese prestige and power in the Far East. Japan's cordial relations with Russia is not an asset to British diplomacy. As Japan has no cause for quarrel with Germany, France or any other power, and as Japan is determined

not to fight America, even if she be insulted by American immigration laws, it shows that Japan is working out her new foreign policy based upon national security and "enlightened peace" with all nations.

Japan's freedom from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is an asset to Japan and to the cause of world peace, because Japan cannot be called upon to fight other nations to uphold British imperialist policy; and without Japanese support Britain will have to be hesitant in adopting any aggressive policy which may lead to a war against Russia. Of course there is a possibility that Japan may face Anglo-American hostility. But if Japan can maintain cordial relations with the rest of the world, the Anglo-American powers may come to the conclusion that it would not be to their own interest to pursue a hostile policy towards Japan. The present foreign policy of Japan is an asset to the cause of Asian Independence and World Peace.

TARAKNATH DAS

ABSENCE

You are gone! Gone!
How true I know that to be.
The silence echoes with silence
And now there is—me.
I am alone and unwanted,
And—I am free.
But a shroud is over my freedom
A mask fitted over its face.
Two candles flicker and sputter
In the vault of its burying place.

LINWELL ROHL

THE PROBLEM OF REALITY

The monistic Indian philosophy, called the *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Āgama*, may be said to be based on the concept that existence cannot arise out of non-existence (*Ex nihilo nihil fit*). So that complete absence of manifestation would be interpreted by these *Shāstras* as the conserved state of the active principle that causes manifestation, and not the actual absence of it. Properly speaking this interpretation is really derived from the true idea of Reality or *Sat Vastu*, which is ever existent either in an express or in a latent form. This seems to be the ruling principle of this philosophy throughout ; and so it asserts that the phenomenal and ever-changing world, both psychical and sensual, arose out of a Reality, which is noumenal and so spiritual or rather metaphysical in its nature ; and that materiality is nothing but an artificial and evanescent aspect of the activity of this Reality. Once we admit this, there will be no difficulty in our comprehending that such a Reality is the fundamental and essential cause and also the basis of all empirical experiences of the universe, including our own selves, *i.e.*, body and soul. So that this Reality is to be conceived as both cognizing and cognoscible : a fact always to be remembered as the real cause of all our experience and knowledge. Ordinarily man must attain any knowledge through some persistent system of modes, occurring in the consciousness inherent in him. But how does his consciousness undergo any such mode—surely it is by the influence of something, which is powerful enough to affect human consciousness itself ; in fact, we shall see later on, that this power does not come from outside, but is inherent in human consciousness, which is liable to be excited by any external cause, that possesses, it is believed, a similar sort of immanent consciousness in it. Thus the experience of the universe is

nothing more than apprehensions of the play of and by active Consciousness or *Chit*, the primordial Reality.

Professor Eddington, in his attempt to ascribe a reason, as to why the significance of the external world always affects similarly and in the same sense all conscious beings, has hit upon an aspect of this active Reality. He thinks that he has found out a common element, which, he says, is the essence, conducive to the apprehension of the external world in the same manner by all conscious beings always ; and he states that—"The external world is not a mere duplication of the presentation of it in any one man's mind ; it is a symposium of the presentations to individuals in all sorts of circumstances."¹ But how can this symposiac essence affect all conscious beings in the same way always, unless it be also the essence of the consciousness of all conscious beings, as well as of the concept of Reality inherent in the external world ; thus this essence is the principle that cognizes and becomes cognoscible to create any experience. This is an axiomatic truth, without knowing which, the Indian philosophies become quite unintelligible. And this conception is fully in concordance with the *Shaiva-Shākta* doctrine, called *Satkāryavāda* or *Parināmvāda* of Consciousness or *Chit* as active Reality.

But in as much as a fundamental thing cannot be explained in terms more simple, as that would destroy its fundamentality, so, properly speaking, it is impossible to define such Reality by the help of language of thought only. Curtly speaking, it can be said that Reality pertains to the idea of that persistence of existence, which supports and survives all changeful phenomena ; since, "persistence is the criterion of Reality."

Moreover, we find that although phenomenality is ephemeral, its effect persists always on the mind of conscious beings as apprehensions. People come and go, but their life-history persists in the form of thought as knowledge attained by them through experience, and displayed in the examples of

¹ " Science, Religion and Reality," p. 192.

life set by them. Thus knowledge, through its permanent effect, may be said to affect human mind as manifestations of Reality, which is also considered as the common and essential root, as well as the basis, of all apprehensions in the universe. The universe again consists of nothing but a bundle of experiences of the activities of Reality. According to Dr. Eriksen, who has followed out the principle of four-dimensionality (through the help of the theory of Relativity, seen from its absolute side) in the domain of psychology, in his work called "Consciousness, Life and the Fourth-Dimension"—"immortality and eternity involve a question, which must be treated from the standpoint of spirituality in its relation to materiality."¹ So that spirituality and materiality are to be interpreted as related to each other by an idea of Reality as their common basis.

Humanity is ever immersed in the apprehensions of phenomenality, that no doubt, is ever felt as a process of changefulness, constituting the world-flow. Yet it is not very difficult to discern that even in this system of world-flow, similar to what is felt in the case of a running stream (*Santāna*), there is an experience of stability or immutability in the form of persistence of appearance, at its back, that lends colour of prominency to the idea of a continuum of all cosmic events, somewhat resembling the nature of a recurring decimal in arithmetic. This experience of stability or aspect of immutability in persistence is really the index, that points towards the opposite pole to phenomenality, which must be the conception of Reality. Humanity, therefore, should be always mindful of this idea of stability in persistence to constitute a complete knowledge of phenomenality, as distinct from Reality itself. Mr. Joseph Needham, in his contribution entitled "The Domain of Physical Science" to the work called "Science, Religion and Reality," has said that—"As an example we might adduce our knowledge of the nervous system of man.

¹ P. 213.

It has been studied from three main directions : experimental psychology has examined it, bio-chemistry has studied its metabolism and its chemical composition, and bio-physics has collected data about its electric phenomena. But no one has yet synthesised these items of knowledge into one unitary whole." ¹ This "unitary whole" is possible to be recognised only in the root Experience, which again involves the idea of a Reality, and is called the Supreme Experience.

The concept of such a fundamental Reality has actually been conceived and ascribed by the *Āryya Rishis* to Consciousness, when taken in its widest sense ; and this is technically known as *Chit* or *Chaitanya*. This, as the primordial stuff, evolves into the experiences of all the phenomenal world, including the experiences of life, mind, intelligence and all undefinable functional attributes of living and rational beings. It is believed that the experience of creation or evolution is primarily due to a vibration or some sort of motion happening in the continuum of the primordial stuff. The conception of inactive Reality is next to impossibility for ordinary human understanding, given to external experiences only. However, since this motion takes place in a purely metaphysical continuum, its nature should be conceived to possess mainly a psychical aspect ; yet motion in its mechanical sense should also be conceived to have a motional or mechanistic aspect. Here it may be said that the psychical aspect may become converted into mechanical aspect by being veiled by *Tamas Guna*. Accordingly the mechanical aspect of motion has the potency to make things assume objective aspects quite different from what they really are, and so these aspective and objective appearances or presentations are more or less artificial. Thus, although in the beginning, for want of any feeling of materiality or substantivity, this motion should be conceived to be purely psychical in nature, yet for proper human comprehension it should be considered from two distinct aspects

—motional and psychical. But aspects of phenomena are always artificial in the strictest sense, and not real. Nevertheless, the idea of something being more persistent in existence becomes prominent as we proceed towards generic and complex aspects of phenomena. Thus in our ordinary experience of the physical world, we find that the idea of species survives the idea of individuals and the idea of genera survives the idea of species. This sort of comparative experience of permanency has led us to a knowledge, wherefor we say, that the province of science is generalisation; that is to say, from considering the respective individuals we proceed to consider groups of individuals, and thereby philosophically deduce some general law as the result of our experience, that induces in us some idea of persistence of existence amongst the changefulness of the phenomenal world.

Mankind is supposed to be the perfection of creation, since it is said that "man is the epitome of the whole creation"—and the datum of such perfection probably comes from the fact that creation originated from and with a Reality, which must have been a perfection of knowledge and experience. The philosophical doctrine of *tabula rasa* does not seem to be tenable in relation to any particular empirical experience even, and it is much more so with regard to what we understand as Reality; because unless Reality be conceived to be a storehouse of all sorts of experiences, at least in their most generic and complex and synthesized form, then how could it have possibly, in its evolved form of individual consciousness, assimilated and distinguished the several particular and all other experiences of purely empirical nature. The seed of all empirical experiences must be in the Supreme Experience as Its content; and it is for this reason that Mr. J. E. Turner, in his book called "Personality and Reality," considers that the active Reality has an aspect of complexity and plasticity. Here we must note that differentiation of phenomena forms the real source of all our knowledge. Yet human nature is eternally subject to a craving

for experiencing worldly happiness called *Bhaumānanda*. It can seldom shake off this craving habit. Thus it appears to be due to the idea that there is something wanting or incomplete in the very nature of the experience of existence of man. And this idea of negation can never be appeased by following the materialistic and so worldly and artificial path; *i.e.*, this appeasement can never be attained through the satisfaction of the material senses; although however, the same may bring on a feeling of satiation in some particular direction only. But why is this feeling of want or imperfectness of experience so natural to humanity? Creation must have resulted from the evolution of a fundamental stuff, which is Being-Consciousness-Bliss (*Sachchidānanda*), the essence or essentiality of Experience, and so Full. By being evolved the Full becomes limited, and hence the hankering after worldly happiness with the vain hope of attaining Bliss or *Brahmānanda* and becoming Full again.

Accordingly, we are led to presume that phenomenality presupposes experience of stability and immutability at its back, in the form of a conception that conveys the idea of a principle, as cannot be affected by efflux of time or distance of space, like the blueness of the sky. Again by properly analysing any experience of phenomenality, we can readily arrive at the concepts of space and of time, as the true elements out of which arose all notions of differentiation between phenomenality; yet in imagination these concepts are possible to be easily transcended by a notion of immutability. But these concepts of space and of time are almost always of the same nature with all conscious beings, so that they must involve the idea of the same modifications of one Reality as their common basis. Thus, in as much as the idea of such a Reality lends colour to the sense of permanency or immutability inherent in human nature, so this is the reason why people seek to celebrate the anniversary of an eventful incident. Yet we cannot sensually perceive Reality because It is always beyond the scope of all our senses or

instruments for apprehending empirical experiences, *i.e.*, the true nature of Reality, being purely metaphysical, always transcends all its evolving aspects, which of course include all our senses; the latter being more or less material and so artificial. Properly speaking, the apprehension of the true nature of Reality pertains to the stage prior to the evolutions of our senses. Thus it is said that by evolution spirit becomes matter, and since the datum of such a Reality of a permanent nature ever appeals to us, so it is also said that “Spirit can alone know Spirit.”

In discussing the nature of Reality, the “*Sûta Sanghitâ*” succinctly (*Samâsena*) says :—

- (1) “*Ya âtmâ kevalah shuddho nirvikâro niranjanah
Sa eva nitya-schin-mâtrah sâkshî sarvasya sarvadâ.*”

Here *Âtmâ* implies the essential Being (*Sattâ*), that pervades and penetrates (*Atati*) everywhere and everything. As its physical counterpart we may cite the Ether of space, as conceived by Sir Oliver Lodge in his work called “Ether and Reality.” According to him, Ether, although possessing material properties is not matter actually ; similarly Reality should be considered as rather super-spiritual, but containing potential materiality within It. The explanation of the above *Shloka* is—A pervading and immanent, and so omnipresent Principle, which is absolutely stainless (stain of course arose from the effects of the action of *Mâyâ*, the generatrix of the concepts of space and of time and so may be said to possess material properties) and transcends or goes beyond the experience of all evolving aspects of *Chit* and is so pure, is called Reality ; His substance is nothing but Consciousness (*Chit*) Itself, and He (the only conscious Being always present) ever presides as the sole eye-witness and so apprehender and experiencer of all evolutionary processes *Chit*, as the sole fundamental Reality, undergoes to create phenomenality. The above-cited *Shâstra* further says that for the apprehension of phenomenality, *Chit* at once assumes two features in a flux—one of which is

called the *Bhāvāṅgsha* or the Being-feature, which is at bottom a form of *Chit* (*Chidākāra*): and the other the *Vṛittyāṅgsha* or the functioning feature, which is liable to destruction due to its phenomenal and artificial character (*Jadatvāt-kumbha-vastu-vat*). The first on being reproduced by subjectification, assumes the subject-aspect of *Chit* a, the experiencer or *Jñātā* and is called *Shiva*, whereas the second, the flux of subjective-presentation-aspect of a noumenal presentation, being the cause of all experiences (*Kāraṅgshaka*), is named *Shakti*. But both are based no doubt on the same ground, *Chit*. Does not this amount to saying that active Reality is both cognizing and cognoscible at the same time? The experiencer aspect, being supersensual and so less objectifiable and not reproducible ¹ is more permanent (*Chidāṅgsho naiva nashtaḥ syādadrishatatvāt*) than the subjective presentation-aspect of an object, and the latter results in nothing more than an apprehension at first, that causes, by the manifestation of *Sattva Guna*, a phase in *Chit*, which forms the subject by merger of the flow of subjective presentation in a subject-centre. This apprehension on going to the subjective side of consciousness becomes one with the subject itself, and so is said to reproduce the subject.

Thus the system of Indian philosophy, called the *Shaiva-Shākta Darshana*, starts the evolution of the universe with a presence, which it conceives to be the ultimate Being (*Sattā*) as Reality, and which is described by it as the transcendental, quiescent *Brahman* as *Paramashiva*. This is nothing but Consciousness or *Chit* in Its true nature (*Svarūpataḥ*) at *Mahā-pralaya* or final abstraction during Dissolution. Creation or *Srishti*, which implies generations of fluxes of complex apprehensions due to psychical activity, is supposed for our comprehension to begin afresh from the absolutely motionless and inactive state of Reality, whose only attribute then may be conceived to be homogeneity and pervasiveness or super-gaseousness; and it is said by Sir John Woodroffe that—"In this Infinite Calm there

¹ See "Subjectivation and Objectivation," C. L. and F., p. 4.

arises a metaphysical Point of Stress or *Bindu* or *Ghanībhūtā Shakti*, which stirs forth (*Prasarati*) as the multiple forces of the universe. This energising is the cause of, and as *Jivātmā* is, the world experience with its duality of subject and object.”¹ So that in this Infinite Calm, inactive Reality, manifestation commences with the appearance therein of a psychically kinetic principle called *Shakti*, in the form of the Will of *Shiva*, because this Will is preceded by a feeling of Fullness. At first this may be supposed to cause a (mechanically seen) whirling movement to take place in the homogeneous continuum, since only such a motion is possible in a homogeneous medium; and thus thereby it is also supposed to reduce the primordial dreamlessly sleeping continuum into a dynamic sphere of an awakened conscious presence. In this sphere, creation or “seeming development (*Parināma*),” as is understood by the same *Darshana* philosophy, is conceived to commence with a flow of presentative manifestations of consciousness, that causes apprehensions of its *Vrittīyangsha*, to a subjective consciousness or *Bhāvāngsha*, due, as is supposed, to locomotions taking place in the actively conscious dynamic medium. Thus the duality of subject and object is generated in this way.

By the Will of *Shiva* to evolve is meant that no special aim can be assigned to Him for this manifestation, like the reflecting power of a looking-glass; and it is said:—

(2) “*Prayojanam-anuddishya na mando’pi pravartate*
Yadi prayojanoddesho hiyetānanda-rūpatā”

which means that—It is true that even an ignorant person will not engage to do anything without any special aim, yet if we assign any such aim to *Shiva*, that will simply derogate His form as Bliss, an Experience derived from His feeling of Fullness and so involving an idea of complete Independence (*Sva-tantratā*) or perfect Freedom from any other active aspect of Reality, He being the first of this aspective nature.

¹ “*Gariand of Letters*,” p. 2.

The antonym for phenomenality is awakened Reality also called *Tat-Sat*, which is the idea of *Shiva* in the *Āgama Shāstra*. But *Vedānta* calls the primordial substance *Brahman* or inactive or dead Reality, which is supposed subsequently to revive and entertain the will to evolve—*Sa aikshata—Bahu syām—Prajāyeya*. He saw (His Fullness) and felt that He would be Many and then began to evolve. This involves an idea of motion, which should be considered both mechanical and psychical in aspects, whereby It became both cognoscible and cognising. Technically, Reality, in Its aspective attitude, is known as *Sakala Brahman*; where *Kalā* means *Prakriti* or *Shakti*, whose substance is *Triguṇa—Sattva, Rajas, Tamas*. Here it may be said that the psychical aspect of this motion, being surveyed as the effect of *Tamas Guṇa*, shows the objective presentation merely of the activity in question and presents only a mechanically kinetic aspect thereof which is conditioned by the ideas of space and of time. The effects of the three *Guṇas* may be explained thus—it is *Rajas Guṇa* that makes *Chit* active and urges Its manifestation for a presentation, but, in case of prevalence of *Tamas Guṇa*, the objective presentation alone of such manifestation appears as the mechanical aspect of the activity; whereas the subjective presentation thereof, being due to the prevalence of *Rajas Guṇa* alone, after its merger in or absorption by the subject consciousness or *Bhāvāṅgsha*, i.e., when *Kalā* or *Shakti* becomes *Vimarsha* or conserved, manifests as the effect of *Sattva Guṇa*. So that the inactive Reality, which is *Nishkala Brahman*, or as it should be before the advent of the disturbance of *Triguṇa*, is an abstract idea that can hardly be expressed in terms of our thought, because therein there is no concreteness in the form of a presentation at all, not even the Selfhood of *Asmitā*; so much so that It is beyond the notion that It may assume the aspect of a mingled coalescence of the potential Subject with the potential apprehensions of objects. This latter aspect may be said to be the attributive aspect of Fullness of Experience. We can guess some idea of such an

abstract substance, simply for Its entertaining the Will to evolve and the subsequent apprehensions of aspects of evolutions It undergoes to create phenomenality, mainly through the operation of the notion of the Subject and its presentations. Accordingly this Will is called the *Shakti* or power of the first subject or *Shiva* ; because *Shakti* is supposed to be in the form of Energy or Power, that really causes all apprehensions of manifestations, although Herself arising spontaneously to affect the substance of the Subject or apprehender.

The word *Shakti* is derived from the root *Shaka* which means to be able to do something. Consequently *Shakti* implies the potency that brings on activity in a motionless and inactive continuum. Because *Brahman*, also known as Supreme Experience, is conceived to be both *Nishkala* and *Sakala*, so the former or the inactive Supreme Experience holds the *Kālā* inherent or absorbed in it in a *Vimarsha* or latent state; and by the mingled coalescence of the Subject and its objects is meant the state, wherein the Subject does not feel its existence as yet quite separated from that of the apprehension of objects, in the absence of any presentation at all ; and so then both remain in the form of a solution of salt in water (*Samarasā-kāra*) ; because *Shakti* the cause of manifestation still remains merged or absorbed in *Shiva* then. However, this coalesced condition may well represent the sensation of an alert conscious continuum of Experience for the proper apprehension by it of a presentation about to happen. This shows that subjectivity and objectivity both are potentially inherent in Reality. But how is this coalescence disturbed? By the appearance of the Will to evolve, similar to when the crystallising tendency appears by condensation in the brine solution.

As far as our mechanical or motional idea in relation to active Reality is concerned, a similar condensation process is supposed to take place within the body of the conscious active *Brahman* substance, being caused by movements mechanically resembling whirling motions, which happen within the original

conscious but dreamlessly sleeping or seemingly dead homogeneous medium, due to its abovementioned Will or *Shakti*. Through the condensation caused by such whirling motions, a system of innumerable central points arose within the *Brahman* continuum, the substance whereof is nothing but Consciousness proper. Of course these points appeared as punctualised but conscious presences, with cognizing power, and so forming centres of "Self-feeling," as well as of all subsequent empirical and other experiences. These centres took the forms of *Anu* or rather *Paramānu* each; and so the process is called the origin of *Ānava Mala* in *Āgama* philosophy. This is also the origin of the flux of Selfhood. By this system of punctualisation, *Brahman*, which had been originally homogeneous, afterwards became full of heterogeneity, consisting of condensed points of Consciousness or Experience, that would assume subjectified aspects, as the result of the process of subjectivation later on. Thus in the medium of this heterogeneity, it became possible for the *Shakti* residing in these subjective centres to go out in locomotion, tangentially to the points, to create presentations, but carrying with Her at the same time the seed or potency to apprehend such presentations, in the form of experiences derived from the subjective aspect called *Shiva*; this is supposed to be due to the "complexity and plasticity" of the punctualised aspects of active Supreme Experience. This is just like, when we do a thing, it bears testimony of our existence in the form of the fruit of our will to do it. Thus *Brahman* became endowed with the limitation (*Upādhi*) of *Māyā* (*Māyinantu Maheshvaram*). In other words, the calmness of *Brahman* being disturbed, It awakened and commenced experiencing quite a new line of experiences, different from the inactive but introspective Supreme Experience. Of course this new line of experiences constitutes the experiences of the presentations of all cosmical activity, which sets in upon taking the forms of commencement of world-manifestation,

This is why *Shakti* is called *Shiva-rûpa-vimarsha-nirmalâ-darsha* or the latent cause that made *Shiva* or awakened Reality experience something new, and thus caused an apprehension of a presentation in Him which on being subjectified by merger, makes Him feel His *own* existence, as a particular point in the flux of a presentation of Selfhood arising out of active Supreme Experience surrounding Him, and this is actually the seed and centre of all future apprehension of manifestation of the phenomenal world. The expression "own" here is due to the experience of the first reproduced and subjectified aspect of the first subjective presentation as the dominant "I," explained later on. Thus the above result, which was conceived through mechanistically motional differentiation, is also supposed to produce the psychological differentiation of Subject and Object, which of course was a stage other than absolute. So that by creation, what is understood, is really the apprehension of presentations by a reproduced subject consciousness, possessing cognizing power. Although by these apprehensions the original Subject became changed to some extent by repeated reproducing processes, the substance of the first Subject is unconditioned knowledge or wisdom and He is called *Jnânâ-maya*. He is ever-existent as a wakeful Being, and He is known as changeless *Shiva*, the perfect Knower; His attributes, as explained in "*Virupâksha-Panchâshikâ*," are Lordliness, Activity, complete Independence or perfect Freedom, Consciousness Itself, and so on. It should be noted here that unlike *Shiva* all subsequently reproduced subject is always dependent upon the existence of the first Subjective apprehender and the presentation to It.

Thus the process called creation really consists of motional presentations to, and their repeated apprehensions by, Consciousness in the form of repeated, reproduced, subjective, active reality; the presentations appearing as manifestations of contents of past potencies, that were in *Laya* or time of Dissolution conceived as potentialities. So that then the Supreme Experience had become merely the possibility of all cosmic

experiences. But the above manifestation is supposed to commence with a process, which may be psychologically believed to be a subjectivation-objectivation differentiation of the homogeneous primordial stuff, as mentioned above. According to *Shāstra* this happened by a process called *Ahaṅkṛiti* or the creation of the Self; because the first limited experience, that arose as mentioned above, in the absolute unlimited inactive Supreme Experience, was the experience of a flux of Selfhood called *Asmitā*, which by reproduction, generated the "Dominant real Personality" which is different from the "Real whole" and became its persistent feature as Self.¹ This *Asmitā* as self, the Universal Self, is the most persistent of all persistencies of the empiric world, and is defined as:—

(3) "*Ahameko'nastamita-prakāśharūpo'smi tejasāṅg tamasām Antah-sthita-mamānta-stejāṅsi tamāṅsi chaikasya.*"

That is, the first subjectified (central) aspect of this *Asmitā* is perceived as the presence of an experience of the existence of "I" or Self, which before being reproduced by the first subjectivation of a presentation, is without a second, and which illumines in the form of the existence of a (conscious) Being, having consciousness establishing a relation between the manifested and the unmanifested conditions of the universe (through causality), in the form of a principle that knows no setting. Because these manifested and unmanifested conditions of the universe are concepts merely of the Subject "I," the "Dominant real Personality" and the sole existing Being then, as the derivative of (awakened) Reality. This is the first feeling of the first central Subject. Now, because the primordial Reality is Consciousness Itself, so every condensed point in It, or more properly in the flux of Selfhood, is conscious enough to constitute a distinct centre possessing sufficient cognizing power. This is really the first and higher "Self-Feeling."

¹ "Personality and Reality."

But Reality, which is both cognizing and cognoscible, is a monistic principle, and so It establishes the basis of the unity of Selfhood. From this we may say that, it is almost an established theory of the day, that from some sort of fundamental Being (*Sattá*), as the subjective and essential cause, and through the means of Its some sort of movement or initial motion as the efficient and instrumental cause, the dualistic world should be supposed to have arisen. The modern tendency, if we may say so, is to avoid dualistic view as much as we can, and to try to arrive at a monistic principle, in every branch of human knowledge. As a result of this, constant efforts are being directed to explain the otherwise inexplicable, mechanical or mechanistic attributes of Nature, as due to the potency of electricity and magnetism. But what is electricity or magnetism nobody can define properly. Accordingly to explain the structure of matter, recourse is being had now-a-days to the Electron and Electro-magnetic theories of modern science. But we should always remember that phenomenality consists of the three processes of creation, maintenance and dissolution, going on simultaneously for ever. Thus electricity and magnetism in their manifested form can never be without these three operations happening continuously and simultaneously, whereby energy is believed to be conserved as often as She is manifested.

Dr. Eriksen, as has already been stated, did apply the principle of four-dimensionality in the field of psychology, whereby he has been able to consider the psychical and mechanical activities of Consciousness or *Chit* together, and by so doing has arrived at conclusions that admirably help to explain some of the doctrines inculcated by the *Shaiva* and the *Shákta* philosophy of India. According to him, the mechanical or motional side may be thought of as due to Force or outgoing Power, which, we may add, by following the principle of Indian psychology, is exercised by the subject *Shiva*, to apprehend an objective or motional presentation only ; similarly the psychical side may be thought of as due to Energy or more properly

incoming Power, which we may call, by following the same principle, *Shakti* or *Jñāna*, required for the determination by the subjective side of the same presentation. To show the relation between the motional or mechanical and the psychical active aspects of Consciousness or *Chit* and so of active Reality, it is stated that, pursuant to the conception of the Indian psychology, as taught by the *Āgama Shāstra*, when a subject aspect of immanent consciousness surveys a presentation, the subjective capacity in the form of Mind (*Manas*) goes out to the object, and then as intellect (*Buddhi*), the means of forming a determined idea of the object, assumes the form of the presentation so surveyed; up to this the influence of Force acts, and thereafter returns to the subject consciousness as Energy, to be finally merged or conserved in it. This is why both the cognizing and cognoscible aspects are ascribed to Consciousness or *Chit* as stated already.

The process described above actually represents how an apprehension and conviction should be formed. Here *Manas* and *Buddhi* are to be taken as functions of mind (*Antahkaraṇa*), and so are *Vrittis* or modes of Consciousness or *Chit*. In the opinion of Dr. Eriksen, the first course is called the objective presentation (due to the manifestation of *Tamas Guṇa* when impelled by *Rajas Guṇa*) and the second course (technically known as *Vitti* or *Jñāna*) is called the subjective presentation of the object (through the manifestation of *Rajas Guṇa*); whereas by the ultimate merger in Consciousness is understood the psychical process resulting in a conviction through the complete subjectification of apprehension of the presentation, whereby the particular experience becomes punctualised or centralised to a point like the feeling of Self, and *Shakti* becomes *Vimarsha* or conserved. This is the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*, and it happens through the idea of simultaneity of the activity caused by a presentation with the activity that has already resulted in the apprehension of *Asmitā* or "self-feeling."

The first idea of a punctualised sensation of Experience is technically called *Bindu* and is felt as the Self or Dominant real, the subjectified central aspect of Consciousness, from which the Power of the Self starts Her locomotions, to create presentations, objective and subjective. Thus the idea of Power includes both Force and Energy, and it is said :—

- (4) “ *Vedyang sakrama-viddhang vittim-anupravishad*
anga-vishayādyam
Veditari vittimukhato līnang tallakshanang bhavati ”

The phenomenal or objective presentation of a manifestation (*Vedyang*), is endowed with its own course of motion (due to *Rajas Guna*), and between the object and the subject, this course enters into the form of a subjective presentation or *Vitti*, due to the manifestation of *Rajas Guna*, such latter presentation creates the apprehension of either the body of the apprehender or the external world as apprehended by him ; but this subjective presentation, upon riding on ahead of the course of flow of this *Vitti* or *Jñāna*, ultimately merges in the experiencer's consciousness and adopts the characteristic of him, *i.e.*, embellishes the experience of the subjective *Jñātā* himself ; and this becomes the manifestation of *Sattva Guna*, whereby arises the idea of four-dimensionality, as we shall see later on. This proves the truth of what is meant by saying—that the external world is not a mere duplication of it in any one man's mind.

According to Sir John Woodroffe, “ Finite experience is that which is had through Mind and Body, which are the products of the finitising principle of *Chit* which is called Supreme Power or *Mahāshakti*. ” By merger the course of *Jñāna*, notwithstanding its being impelled by *Rajas Guna*, becomes lost, (*Srota-ivābdhan*) like the river in the ocean, *i.e.*, the special movement becomes lost in the generic movement, or the special experience becomes fused with the generic and kinetic Supreme Experience, which has already assumed the

form of *Asmitā* as Self. From this, it is shown, that real experience must be a part of the Experience of "I" or Self, the central Experience, with a centripetal force of intension, existing at all times in the form assumed by Supreme Experience as subjectified active reality, in evolution. Thus all true knowledge is possible to be gained through fusion of apprehension with the experience of Self alone and not otherwise. So it is said "Be not selfish, but be a knower of the Self." Accordingly the search for Reality can never be expected to prove successful, if and when conducted through the external world only, in the ordinary sense of objective presentations; but it will charm the enquirer if he will prosecute the enquiry through the apprehension of the Self, which may be said to constitute the symposiac "essence" of Eddington's "external world."¹

According to the terminology of *Āgama* philosophy, the primordial, inactive Reality, which the "Vedānta" calls *Brahman*, is named *Chit* or *Sangvid*; and it has been rendered by Sir John Woodroffe as Consciousness in his work called "Shakti and Shākta," as also Supreme Experience. This *Chit*, which is a psychical presence, undergoes a process of evolution, whereby at first repeated four-dimensional experiences occur to Self, all which are ultimately, by the separation of the idea of time from that of space, are reduced to the experiences of the phenomenal world.

The above-mentioned changes in evolution can be traced serially through successive four-dimensional phases as perceived by the Self. Again these phases of experience, which are real helps for the proper syntheses and realisations of all empirical experiences, through the light of their four-dimensional or space-time aspects (because they are both motional and psychical), are technically called *Tattvas*. And they, for the purpose of being properly apprehended, should be considered as both motional and psychical or objective and subjective presentations to Self, the subject consciousness or *Bhāvāṅgsha*. These

¹ Cf. S. R. and R., pp. 121-2.

Tattras are enumerated by the *Āgama* philosophy as Thirty-six in number, *i.e.*, eleven more than the counting of the “*Sāṅkhya Darshana*,” whose counting, of course, is also adopted by the *Āgama Shāstra* in almost the same sense.

The *Tattras* are always four-dimensional, subjectified experiences concerning the presentations regarding the evolution of active Reality, which in the subjective sense appeared as “awakened” and in the objective sense as full of activity. But the first of these limited or conditioned apprehensions of presentations appeared as an apprehension of extension to the already contracted or intensive active and awakened Supreme Experience called Self, and was felt as *Tatatra*, a *Tāmasika* presentation, or more properly as subjective *Santatatra* presentation (a *Rājasika* manifestation); but the experience of first extension, on being completely subjectified by merger in the subject, psychically contracts in experience, and the two together are felt as the result of both extension and intension of experience, but separately may be said, to go to generate empirically the concepts of objective space and of objective time respectively. These two experiences of *Tatatra* and *Santatatra* are felt almost simultaneously with the experience of *Asmitā* as self. Accordingly *Tattra* is defined as follows :—

- (5) “*Tatatrāt santatatrāchcha tattrānīti tato viduḥ*
Tatatrang deshato vyāptih santatatrancha kālataḥ.”

That is, *Tatatra* means apprehension of a limited extension or spatial diffusion (as opposed to all-pervasion) in Experience, which is being defined by the first experience of locomotion by the point-like Self, and is felt as an objective presentation; whereas *Santatatra* is the experience of a subjective presentation aspect of that objective presentation, whereby the *Asmitā* consciousness as Self appears as occupying that objective presentation of diffusion, as constituting a continuity of consecutive presences of Self (since experience is always a continuum) in

a succession of repeated endings and beginnings of the presences of Self, arising out of the psychically motional experience of rest in motion. This is just like the conception of a line being composed of a complexity of contiguous placings of points showing a continuity. The meaning of the above *Shloka* is that, a *Tatva* (a manifestation of *Sattva Guna*) is so called because there are both *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences present in it simultaneously (space-time experience). This of course happens when the subjective presentation aspect merges in the subject or the *Vitti* or *Shakti* becomes conserved. Here we may profitably quote Mr. Turner, who says—that “the synthesizing activity in any given combination springs from the character of all its factors.”¹ Again *Tatatva* has its pervasion in space, *i.e.*, it induces the idea of space, and *Santatatva* has its pervasion of experience in succession of time. Thus these two experiences ultimately and independently develop into feelings that cause experiences of empirical space and empirical time respectively. Because the latter is due to the idea generated in the proper surveying of the continuity of *Tatatva* experience, as a succession or sequence of beginnings and endings of the different positions of Self or the subjectified and centralised Experience, in the course of its moving attitude, while tending towards the attainment of empirical experiences of the phenomenal world. But this continuity means successive points in space, which the Self occupies in a time-succession, during the course of its first locomotion. Hence a feeling or experience arises in Self, which ultimately ripens into the idea of past, present and future. This is technically called *Santatatva*.

Now the Self on the subjective side, owing to its psychic activity, is being constantly changed in the flux of Selfhood due to repeated presentations on the objective side; so that the result is the repeated reproduction of the subject in the form of “the self as qualified by a certain experience, feeling or activity,

¹ “Personality and Reality,” p. 50.

different from others and not the self as such." Dr. Eriksen therefore says that—

"The subject or background is therefore practically never a *pure* subject but a subject identifying itself with various presentations, feelings or intentions in relation to the foreground, *i.e.*, the object or objects present to it." ¹

Again the *Santatatva* notion is apprehended purely as a subjective measure, so that any constancy in the experience thereof is ever denied due to its relativity with the repeated *Tatatva* conceptions, which are supposed to vary by every repeated reproduction of a new self by the subjectivation of an objective presentation to Self as qualified by the previous experience. Besides the Self itself is an aspect of active Reality. Accordingly Mr. Bertrand Russell says that—"The universal cosmic time which used to be taken for granted is thus no longer admissible. For each body (here self), there is a definite time-order for the events in its neighbourhood; this may be called the 'proper' time for that body." ² Thus the idea of *Santatatva* must always be a relative term dependent for its significance on the presentation of *Tatatva* forming the genesis of the subjective apprehension of *Santatatva* in question by a given subjective centre. Further the *Santatatva* experience is the effect of the *Tatatva* motion coming back to its starting point upon describing a curve. So that properly speaking *Tatatva* is more the interval felt between events than a distance in space, in as much as the simultaneous conception of *Santatatva* brings on the notion of time in the feeling. Thus it becomes more or less a measurement of interval between events happening in space-time, *i.e.*, it is a four-dimensional experience or the conception of a *Tattva*. This is of course required to infer a physical fact as attached to the result of a process of purely psychical motion, to give it its mechanical

¹ C. L. and F., p. 6.

² "The A. B. C. of Relativity," p. 50.

THE BENGAL MILITARY BANK

The plan of the Bengal Military Bank was first devised by the Commander-in-Chief and after securing the approval of the Governor-General in Council the Bengal Military Bank was started mainly for the purpose of enabling the Military Officers to remit their monthly savings and to assist the Regimental Savings Banks which were in existence in Bengal by that time and to help the formation of several more regimental Savings Banks by affording them proper means of investing their funds with security.

The Work of the Bank.

The Bengal Military Bank was authorised to receive deposits from 1st January, 1821, from all Military Officers, Commissioned or Non-Commissioned or Warrant, Officers or any other officers attached to the military service of the East India Company. The deposits (not less than ten sicca rupees) ¹ could be made out of their pay or monthly allowances by sending an application to the Pay-Master authorising him to deduct the stated sum from their pay. The form of application was as follows :—

Deduct from this pay-bill and remit to the Military Bank as follows :—

	Rs. a. p.
For Captain.....One Hundred Sicca Rs.	100 0 0
„ Lieutenant,,.....Fifty Sicca Rs....	50 0 0
„ Serjeant.....Ten Sicca Rs. ...	10 0 0
Total Sicca Rs.	<u>160 0 0</u>

Signature of the Captain.

¹ The Sicca rupee has become the standard money in Bengal by this time. It must be remembered that there were other denominations of rupees current in Bengal and Lord Cornwallis made a great effort to standardise the 19 Sun Sicca Rupee as the unit of account in Bengal and by 1795 it was established as the standard Money of Bengal.— See the Selections from the Calcutta Gazette, which reproduces the Government notification on this subject ; Fort William, Public Department, Oct. 24, 1792. The intrinsic value of the different species of rupees current in Bengal, Behar and Orissa compared with the Sicca rupee from assays made in Bengal is quoted in a tabular form in this notification.

The Pay-Master had to remit this sum to the Secretary of the Bengal Military Bank stationed in Calcutta by a bill of exchange on the Accountant-General drawn in favour of the Bank. A detailed statement (*i. e.*, a duplicate of the above form) was also to be sent to the Accountant-General and this Memorandum was to state in full the details, *viz.*, amount of deduction from the pay, Battalion Regiment, for the Month of—, year—, to be remitted to the Bengal Military Bank. In addition to this deduction from pay individual depositors could remit savings directly to the Secretary of the Bank.

Management of the Funds.

The General Military Bank in Calcutta was to lend these funds to the best advantage on the pledge or deposit of Government paper, Public Bank shares and other good securities so as to realise the highest rate of interest consistent with perfect safety.

Officers of the Bank.

Twelve Directors were to be in charge of its operations. The Government had the right to nominate three out of the twelve and the remaining were to be elected by the constituents of the Bank at the annual meeting to be held in the month of January. The *ex-officio* Government directors were : (A) The Adjutant-General of the Army ; (B) the Military Auditor-General ; (C) the Accountant, Military Department. The first batch of Directors for the year 1821 was nominated by the Government. The names were as follows :—

- (1) Colonel J. Nicholls—C. B. Quarter-Master-General, His Majesty's Forces.
- (2) Lieutenant-Colonel J. Paton—Quarter-Master-General of the Army.
- (3) Major L. Wiggins—Assistant Military Auditor General.
- (4) Major C. H. Campbell—Deputy Secretary to the Government, Military Department.

- (5) Captain R. H. Sneyd—1st Regiment of Cavalry.
- (6) Captain W. S. Beatson—Assistant Adjutant General of the Army.
- (7) John Palmer, Esq.
- (8) George Cruttendon, Esq.
- (9) James Young, Esq.

Mr. Ballard of the firm of Messrs. Alexander and Company was appointed as the Honorary Secretary and was authorised to appoint House Treasurers to the Bank.

Regulations for Office Business.

(1) The Treasurers have to keep the Bank Accounts in a separate set of books which would have to be produced at the time of the meetings of the Directors or at any time if required by them and individuals are to be granted permission to inspect their own accounts at any time.

(2) By the 5th of every month the Secretary has to furnish the receipts and disbursements and suggest best methods for investing the floating balances.

(3) All bonds, deeds, mortgages, or other papers and documents having reference to pecuniary transactions and being Bank stock or securities are to be made out in the names of the directors ; but mere receipts may be signed by the Secretary for the Treasurers.

(5) There shall be quarterly meetings of the Directors for inspecting the accounts and such other business as may be brought before them. Special meetings when required for urgent business may be summoned by the President or any three Directors.

The signature of three Directors was considered adequate to sanction any measure and to authenticate any account.

The Office of the President was to be annual and three directors had to go out annually by rotation. The Directors were to elect the President and the three seats to be vacated annually were to be filled up by the votes of depositors.

Rules for Depositors.

(1) Remittance must be made in Sicca Rupees. Each remittance must be for at least ten sicca rupees and should not contain any fraction of a rupees.

(2) Bills drawn by depositors not in excess of actual deposit will be honoured at any time. But to facilitate business bills will be payable only

at two fixed periods, viz., 15th July and 15th January. Officers going on leave will be allowed to draw any portion of their deposits by bills at ten days' sight.

(3) The aggregate deposits are to be treated as joint-stock and vested in Government securities. Profits arising out of this will be divided among shareholders according to their respective proportions and carried to the credit of their accounts.

(4) Half-yearly drafts of the shareholders below 1,000 sicca rupees will be paid in cash; if greater than that it is left to the option of the Directors to pay it by transferring a portion of the stock at the rate at which it was purchased or at the rate of the day or at par as may appear most equitable.

Conclusion.

An attempt has been made to describe the methods and procedure of the Bengal Military Bank.¹ From the above description it is apparent that it is no commercial Bank issuing notes or post bills intended for the accommodation of gentlemen living at or going to other settlements than Calcutta. It does no regular banking business such as discounting private bills of commercial concerns nor purchase bullion. It does not receive deposits to be repayable at sight. Thus it appears to be a pure savings bank intended to promote savings on the part of Military Officers under the service of the East India Company. It seems to resemble the modern trustee savings bank. It is quite simple in character and confines itself primarily to the business of collecting money and investment of it without any risks. Thus its main business is to transfer capital and the manufacture of bank money is not its object. It has only the aim of redistributing capital among the points of highest yield but yet safe at the same time. The economy yielded by the Bank is the maximising of the earning capacity of capital placed in its hands. It must also be considered as the forerunner of the Government Savings Banks which were later on established in the Presidency Towns between 1833 and 1835.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ Readers seeking further information on this subject should consult the selections from the Calcutta Gazette, Vol. V., pp. 61-66.

HOW BUDDHISM CAME TO CEYLON

On the night of the full moon, on the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord nineteen-twenty-seven, more than two-hundred-thousand pilgrims wended their devious ways to the ancient city, Anuradhapura, to celebrate the advent of Buddhism to the beautiful Island of Ceylon.

Foot-sore and weary, bearing their infants, as well as their cooking utensils, food-stuffs and sleeping mats, but withal joyous and expectant, they walked and walked for days and days to reach the sacred Mihintale Hill, whereon is the shrine of the great teacher, Mahinda.

By the time the lotus-moon blossomed out in full on the deep, blue lake of the sky, the road from the city to the hill was lined with their camps, with their little fires where they cooked their rice and rested, ere beginning the sacred ascent.

Forty extra trains bearing thousands who were fortunate enough to travel by rail had arrived; all excited, worshipful, bearing gifts for the shrine as offerings to the princely Thera Mahinda, who had brought to them the blessed

“ Scripture of the Saviour of the world,
Lord-Buddha, Prince Siddartha styled on earth—
In Earth, and Heavens and Hells Incomparable,
All-honoured, Wisest, Best, Most Pitiful;
The Teacher of Nirvana and the Law.”

In commemoration of this event the vast multitude celebrated the great Teacher's arrival in Ceylon, climbing with unwearyed, reverent feet the wonderful stone stairway up to the shrine where rests the bones of the Thera, all bearing flowers and crying, “ *Sadhu ! Sadhu.*”

The coming of Buddhism to Ceylon was thuswise : The Star of Prince Gautama, known as the Sakyamuni, was in glorious ascendancy five centuries before the Star of Bethlehem

arose. To India was the Buddha sent, and to the Sakyans, a warrior race, who dwelt "under the Southward snows of Himalay."

After he had attained enlightenment, and deliverance from desire, he went forth upon The Path as a teacher of the Holy Dharma, and established the Sangha.

Among those who eagerly embraced Buddhism was the powerful King Asoka and his adherents. Of the king's household were his noble son, Prince Mahinda and a lovely younger daughter, Sanghamitta, both of whom not only embraced the new religion, but they entered the temple to study for the priesthood. Mahinda had for twelve years been a monk and had attained to lofty wisdom, while his sister had become a Theri noted for her learning and piety.

The teachers of Mahinda urged him to go forth to convert the people of Lanka (Ceylon), to the true faith, as had been foretold by a great sage: Also the command of the god, Indra, came to him to "Set forth to convert Lanka."

A word as to Ceylon and the Singhalese at this period. As writes G. E. Mitton in his excellent book on "The Lost Cities of Ceylon,"—"Ceylon was a kingdom and the royal cities were centres of civilization and learning, though our national ancestry had not been evolved, and 'English,' 'Scottish,' and 'Irish,' much more 'American,' or "British" were unknown."

Hanging from the southernmost point of India, like an emerald set in brilliants, was the little island of Lanka, at that time, says Henry W. Cave, "the chief emporium of the Eastern world. The merchant fleets of India, China, Persia and Arabia entered its ports with silks, carpets, cloth of gold, sandal-wood, horses, chariots and slaves. There they met not only to barter with one another, but to traffic with the Singhalese, whose gems were coveted by the nobles and princes of every country."

The pearls, sapphires, and rubies, and many minor gems, to say nothing of the spices and other rare products, were sought after by the entire civilized world.

The aborigines of Ceylon, of whom little is known, were the Veddas, who dwelt in rock houses and caves, lived in jungles and forests, and were a poor, ignorant race. They were worshippers, in a primitive way, of demons, snakes, or nagas, also of the forces of Nature—probably groping in a vague way, after an Unknown God. They were hunters, and lived as barbarians. Of this early race there are few, if any, left, and they were referred to by later settlers, as Yakkhas, or wild men.

Gradually drifted in from North-Central India the Aryans and other castes, bringing with them the Hindoo and Brahminical religions. From those early invaders came the Singhalese. There is a tradition that a king of Lanka was the offspring of a lion, or *Sinha*, and from him came the national name of the race. This 'Sinha's' grandson, Wijaya, was the beginning of the real Singhalese kings, and it is recorded that he came over on a raiding expedition from India, on the very day of the death of the Great Buddha, which occurred about 483 B.C.

The adventures of this Wijaya are as varied and as interesting as are those of Ulysses, the hero of the Odyssey.

However, neither the dates of the birth nor death of Gautama, the Buddha, have been satisfactorily established by the scholars or archaeologists of the world. Like the Sufi philosopher and poet, they have held "Great argument about it and about, but evermore, came out by the same door wherein they went." What does it matter? Buddha belongs to the Timeless World; he came, he spread his noble teachings over a quarter of this globe, and has to-day more than four million followers.

King Asoka had done much to promulgate Buddhism throughout India, but it was his missionary son, Mahinda,

who bore the light across to Ceylon. The story of his coming reads like a charming fairy-tale in the Mahavamsa, the wonderful old book of chronicles and legends, which were compiled and recorded by a priest of the royal house, in the fifth century A.D. This work of Mahanama's dates from 500 B.C., up to the time of the occupation of the English in the Island, in 1814.

It is therein recorded that when Mahinda received Great Indra's command to "Set forth to convert Lanka," he at once retired to his monastery for one month, and spent it in austerity and prayer. At the end of which time he and his six attending monks exerted their occult power, and arising in the air like a flock of birds, floated away, alighting on Sila-Peak, being the topmost point of the Mihintale mountain. This flight was accomplished on the day of the full moon in the month of Jettha (June-July).

Now this was in the reign of the wise and beloved king Tissa, who was on friendly terms with Asoka, the Indian king.

When Tissa had succeeded to the throne he came into great wealth and power, and had dispatched ambassadors to his friend's court bearing costly presents, in acknowledgment of which, Asoka sent many valuable gifts in return, with the following exhortation :—"I have taken refuge in Buddha, his religion, and his priesthood; I have avowed myself a devotee in the religion of the descendant of Sakya. Ruler of men, imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these supreme blessings, with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation."

On this day King Tissa, attended by forty-thousand of his men set forth to enjoy the chase of the samburs (elks), that were so plentiful in the mountains. The guardian spirit, or Deva of the mountain, took the form of a great stag, and fleeing before the hunters led them up Mihintale in sight of Mahinda, then disappeared.

When the king beheld the Thera standing on the Sila-peak, he was terrified, thinking him a super-natural being. But Mahinda spoke,—“Come hither Tissa.” Then thought the king, “This is a Yakkha!” meaning a wild-man or devil. Reading his thoughts Mahinda called forth his attendants from amid the rocks and replied, “Samanas are we, oh king, disciples of the King of Truth.”

Tossing aside his bow and arrows, the king with his vast retinue drew near to Mahinda and his attendants, and graciously conversed with him. “Whence come these?” he asked, for the first time noting the other members of the mission.

“With me they came,” replied Mahinda. “We are the ministers and disciples of the Lord of the true faith. In compassion for thee, Maharajah, we have repaired hither from Jambudipa.”

The king then remembered the message from the great Asoka, and asked, “Are there in Jambudipa other ascetics like to these?”

Mahinda answered, “Jambudipa is gleaming with yellow robes; and great is the number of arahants learned in the three Vedas, gifted with miraculous powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, possessing the heavenly ear; the disciples of Buddha.”

Then followed a discourse on the Buddhist doctrine, and as the Truth was expounded it laid hold of the heart of the king, and he and his following were then and there converted. Great was the rejoicing, and when Tissa learned that Mahinda was the son of his former friend, Asoka, he eagerly pressed him and his ministers to visit his capital, so that all might share in the wondrous teaching of the God-sent Thera.

In haste the hunting party returned to the city, the king saying that he, on the morrow, would send a wagon for his honoured guests. Preparations were at once set forward to welcome the missionaries in proper state.

The promised wagon was dispatched, but Mahinda doubtless thinking to impress the people, dismissed it; he with his priests arose in the air and floated swiftly to Anuradhapura, descending in the east of the city in the place where later the first Stupa was built, and it was called the *Pathamacetiya* (the first sanctuary).

The entire city went forth to greet with loud acclaim, the aerial visitors, and King Tissa ordered that the great elephant stables be cleansed and decorated with flowers, in which Mahinda could declare the good news to the multitude. But as the stables were adjudged too small for such a gathering, the king invited them to his beautiful pleasure garden, Nandana, and there amid the natural surroundings of trees and flowers, with the green grass to recline upon, and to the accompaniment of singing birds, Mahinda expounded to them the doctrine of the Eight-fold Path, and the bliss of Nirvana, as had been revealed to the Lord Buddha.

Queen Anita, with five hundred maidens and five hundred women of the royal harem accepted the ten precepts, and desired to have 'pabbajja' bestowed upon them. They bore rich gifts to Mahinda and his disciples, and the king offered to them the Nandana Gardens in which to dwell. But Mahinda thought it too near the city for proper meditation and study, so King Tissa generously donated to him and to the priesthood for ever, the south-western pleasure garden Mahamegha. With his own hands Tissa ploughed the boundary-lines with a golden plough drawn by two elephants richly caparisoned, and followed by a rejoicing procession of men and women bearing garlands, umbrellas, waving flags, carrying vases and baskets laden with fragrant flowers, and trays of sandal-dust, accompanied by musicians, shouting paeans of praise.

Under Mahinda's directions the site for thirty-two sacred edifices, baths and other buildings was marked off and subsequently erected.

This historic mountain rises abruptly from the plain to

a height of one thousand feet ; it is eight miles east of the sacred part of the city of Anuradhapura, and there was constructed a wonderful rock stairway, leading by easy ascent to the top of the mountain, having one thousand and forty steps !

Of this relic of past splendour G. E. Mitton says,—
“Mihintale is not seen until we are actually there. A flight of over a thousand stone steps leads up the Hill ; the first flight bursts upon the vision as a dream of heavenly beauty—a stairway leading to Heaven ! Overhanging trees throw green shadows on the worn steps, and the shifting golden lights between may well be taken for angel visitants. For twenty centuries the bare feet of devout pilgrims have ascended and descended those steps, feeling awe, and seeing visions as surely as did Jacob—visions of mighty Buddha overshadowing the Island, and of Mahinda, his apostle, alighting on the topmost crag which towers up into the azure sky far overhead.”

The Thuparama was the first shrine to be built within the enclosure, and King Tissa's next object was to procure some sacred relics to deposit therein. He took counsel with Mahinda, and his nephew Sumane, a wise and holy priest. It was well known that seven relics of the holy body of the Buddha had been rescued from the funeral pyre, and that King Asoka knew of their whereabouts. So after deliberation Tissa said, “Go friend Sumane, and when thou art come to fair Puppapura, deliver to the mighty king, thy grandfather, this charge from us : “Thy friend, oh great king, and the friend of the gods, being converted to the doctrine of the Buddha, desires to build a thupa ; do thou give him a relic of the Sage, and the alms-bowl that the Master used ; for many relics of the Buddha's body are with thee.”

Then answered Sumane, “So be it, Sir.” And he departed at once, and reaching Puppapura found his grandfather, King Dhammasoka, even as he stood honouring the sacred Bodhi-tree with offerings of the Kattika festival.

When he had delivered the king's message, and Mahinda's request, Aśoka gave into Sumane's charge the precious Alms-bowl of the Buddha, and acting upon the advice of his grandfather, he went onward to the Himalaya, and sought out Sakka, Lord of the Devas, and made known his desire, saying, "The relic, the right-eye and tooth of the Buddha, worthy of the adoration of the three worlds, is with thee, O King of the Gods, and the relic of the right collar-bone. Honour thou the tooth ; the collar-bone of the Master do thou give away. Grow not weary of thy duty toward the Isle of Lanka, O Lord of the Gods."

Then Sakka took from the sacred shrine of the Devas, the right collar-bone of the Buddha, and gave it to Sumane, who returned rejoicing to the Citiya mountain and gave the two relics to his uncle, the Thera Mahinda.

The city had been adorned for the reception of the holy relics, and the king rode forth to the Mahamegha-park, on his state elephant, bearing his white umbrella of office, attended by musicians, and at the head of the royal troops to receive the holy donation. The elephant trumpeted joyfully, "and as if sprinkled with ambrosia the monarch was full of joy." and great was the thanksgiving of the people.

With the Theras, and soldiers, and beating of tom-toms they returned to the city and to the Thuparama, which was completely covered with flowering kadamba-plants and adari-creepers, appearing one huge bouquet ; the relics were deposited in the shrine, accompanied by marvellous phenomenon, filling the multitude with amazement, and five hundred young men were converted to the faith, and together with the king's younger brother received (Pabbajja).

Following the example of Queen Anita and the thousand women of the royal harem, many women joined them in clamouring to receive the 'Pabbajja,' and thus be entitled to enter into the splendid vihara the king had ordered to be built for the nuns and lay-sisters.

The king consulted the Thera Mahinda, who advised that

an envoy be sent to India to invite his sister, the Theri Sanghamitta, to come to Ceylon, as only at the hands of a dignitary of their own sex could the Pabbajja be administered. This sister, Princess Sanghamitta, was prioress of a Buddhist nunnery at Patalipura. Thither the king's minister, Arittha, was sent to urge the Theri to proceed at once to Ceylon to initiate the women of the Island. He also bore a petition to King Asoka to beg of him a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree to glorify Lanka.

This program was wonderfully carried into effect : not only did the Theri consent to go to the women of Ceylon in their need, but she took with her eleven other nuns to help in her work, and she joyously bore to King Tissa's court, a branch of the sacred tree under which Lord Buddha had sat for seven times seven days until he attained perfection.

The story of the transit and advent of the famous Bo-tree, is delightfully told in the Mahavamsa, and we have no reason to disbelieve it, in the face of other miraculous stories from all the Bibles of all religions.

This Bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) belongs to the family of the fig-tree, the leaves of which have always been sacredly symbolic of the oldest religion in the world, and has been celebrated in song and story adown the centuries.

Following the counsel of his ministers and the community of bhikkus, King Asoka decided that the fair south-branch of the Bodhi-tree should be donated to the Island of Lanka. He at once gave the order that a beautiful gold vase be made to contain it, and gave command that the road leading from the city to the sacred tree be most gorgeously decorated with flags, garlands, and scattered flowers in honour of the occasion.

In the Mahavamsa we read, "When the king had received the beautiful vase measuring nine cubits around, five cubits depth, and three cubits across, being of a thickness of eight inches, having the upper edge the size of a young elephant's trunk, and being in radiancy equal to the morning sun"

the monarch went forth attended by four hosts of his military, by musicians, priests, and a vast multitude, all led by the blast of trumpets and the beat of drums ; they repaired to the Bodhi-tree, which was decorated by strings of flashing jewels, floating banners and masses of fragrant flowers, being in splendour worthy of the Lord Buddha. Beside the tree was a golden seat adorned with many gems upon which the golden vase was placed.

Having bowed down with uplifted hands in eight places the king, himself, stood upon the seat so as to reach the selected bough, and he uttered this solemn declaration :—“ So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the Isle of Lanka, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm in the doctrine of Buddha, shall this fair south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden vase.”

Grasping in his hand a pencil of red arsenic, with a golden handle, he drew around the bough a line, and lo, where the line was drawn the limb severed itself and floated above the precious vase, filled with fragrant earth, and it miraculously sent downward many roots, and planted itself firmly in the vase.

Great was the wonder and rejoicing of the people, salutations came from the devas, and the music of many instruments resounded, as rays of six colours went forth from the Bodhi-tree making the whole world to shine !

A ship was prepared for the transport of the Princess Sanghamitta with her eleven nuns, many nobles and attendants, who were to convey the splendid vase with the Bodhi-tree to Ceylon. It is written that lotus flowers of the five colours blossomed around the ship, and music burst forth upon the air, as they sailed down the Ganges to the sea.

After a passage attended by many marvels and wonders, they arrived in Ceylon to be met by King Tissa, the Thera Mahinda with many priests, and a vast concourse of people, all rejoicing and crying, “*Sadhu ! Sadhu !*”

The highway was richly decorated and a wonderful car waited to bear the sacred tree to Anuradhapura, the royal city.

After fourteen days they reached the Mahamegha garden, and the king himself assisted in depositing the vase in its appointed place.

Space forbids our recounting the miracles attending the planting of the Bodhi-tree. The chief Thera, Mahinda, and the Theri Sanghamitta, with their retinues, as well as King Tissa and his suite, with many visiting nobles, and the entire population of Lanka held a great festival, and made offerings in honour of the sacred tree.

After more than twenty centuries, "This Bo-tree, monarch of the forest, endowed with miraculous powers, has stood for ages in the Mahamegha garden in Lanka, promoting the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants, and propagation of the true religion."

Wonderful as it seems, this tree, that came from a branch of Buddha's own Bo-tree, is still living and yearly putting forth new leaves, and is revered and adored by millions of souls to-day, and it is said to be the most ancient tree in existence.

Whilst there are traditions of the Lord Buddha's having visited Ceylon three times, there is no historic proof that he ever set foot upon the island. It is recorded that on his third visit, "When Buddha came to this country wishing to transform the wicked nagas by his supernatural powers, he planted one foot at the north of the royal city (Anuradhapura), and the other on the top of Adam's Peak." Strange to say, there is an impress of a gigantic foot, about five feet in length, a lotus flower carved on the sole, on the top of the lofty Peak, which is worshipped by Buddhists to-day, while the Hindoos claim that it is the print of god Siva's sacred foot, and the devout Mahomedans aver that it is the foot-print of the father of the human race, Adam. So the followers of three great religions, over eight-hundred-million souls, venerate this mysterious

foot-print, and yearly, great bands of pilgrims risk life and limbs in that perilous ascent to do it reverence. Before a pilgrim can ascend the mountain, he must bathe in the sacred pool Sitaganga. This ascent is a most dangerous undertaking, and there is now an iron ladder affixed to the perpendicular wall which renders it safer than formerly; and near the top of the Peak are some old mis-shapen rings of brass and iron riveted to the rocks, which are a source of great controversies.

This worn chain is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and of it there exists a queer legend:—It is believed by the true followers of the Prophet, that the chain was wrought by Adam himself, for, says the legend, when he was hurled from the Garden of Eden he fell upon the peak of Mount Sumana (afterwards re-named Adam's Peak), where he remained standing upon one foot until he had expiated his sin of disobedience to the Most High God; while his temptress, poor Eve, is believed to have fallen near Mecca. They were separated for two hundred years, after which, when their repentance was complete they were reunited by the Angel Gabriel in Ceylon, as being in perfection and beauty next to their lost Paradise.

Ashruf, a Persian poet, affirms that the mysterious chain was affixed to the mountain by Alexander the Great, who voyaged to Ceylon about 330 B.C., so that he and his friends could climb to the peak of Mt. Sumana to enjoy the wonderful view. Others claim that in the 13th century, Marco Polo visited the island and had the chain riveted to the mountain-side, which he daringly wished to ascend.

It is an unsolved riddle as to how the chain was ever fastened to that perilous mountain top, and it is altogether a mysterious and fascinating Peak.

Owing to the queer lights and shadows, a strange phenomenon takes place there on every clear morning: the sun arising over the eastern horizon seems to pause and make obeisance three times to the regal mountain, ere going forward

upon his daily march across the heavens. Science can perhaps explain the phenomenon.

Another strange and beautiful phenomenon I, myself, witnessed during the afternoon of the full moon in the month of June this year; it was the exodus of the butterflies, which, I believe, occurs annually at this time. I stood in Hakgala gardens enjoying the wonderful view across the hills, from the look-out house, when great clouds of butterflies swept by; there must have been tens-of-thousands of them,—white, yellow, and some orange-winged, all going steadily in the same direction. It is said that they are the spirits of the dead revisiting old scenes, and that they all go to Adam's Peak, where they dash themselves against a certain rock and die.

Whether the worship should be to Siva, Adam or Buddha, or to the Supreme God, that set-apart, lofty Peak demands veneration, as indeed do all mountains, as Nature's temples to the Great Eternal One.

To follow the adventurous peregrinations of the famous tooth-relic would fill a book! However, in the ninth year of the reign of King Kitsiri Maiwani, A.D. 311, the sacred relic was first brought to this island by a princess, Hemamala, who in the time of warfare fled from India to Ceylon, accompanied by her brother, Prince Danta, who was disguised as a Brahmin; for safety the precious tooth of the great Sage was hidden in the coils of the princess's hair.

In the "Annals of the Tooth-Relic," by Dr. Andreas Nell, we read,—“When the king of Lanka was informed of the great news that the sacred Tooth-relic had arrived in the island, intoxicated with joy and thinking of his own unworthiness, the king became unconscious, being fanned by sorrowful servants with the wind of Yak-tails, he got back to consciousness, received the relic, and made great worship with gems, etc.,” “He carrying the relic on his head, standing under a white umbrella which was well spread, entered the city of Anuradhapura, abode of the Goddess of Fortune, in a beautifully decorated

chariot drawn by a pair of white horses." And he decreed that the relic should be taken round the city once a year in the spring, that it might bless the people, and honour the Buddha.

The first Delada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth), was erected for its reception within the Thuparama enclosure and there it was enshrined with great rejoicing, and on festival occasions, it was borne forth on the back of a white elephant, kept for that purpose, most splendidly attended, and reverently followed.

During the invasion of the Malabas, the temple was destroyed, but the sacred relic had been hastily removed, and was saved. However, it was at a later date seized and carried back to India ; but the Singhalese king, Parakrama Bahu III, successfully negotiated its ransom and brought it back to Ceylon. He built for it a magnificent temple in Polonnaruwa, at that time the royal city. It is said of this temple in the Mahavamsa : " It was like unto the palace of the goddess of beauty, and shone with a lustre so great that all that was delightful on earth seemed to have been gathered together and brought into one place." But alas, this wonderful Delada Maligawa was also looted and destroyed by the vandals of war ; and now, the, *so-called*, Tooth-relic is safely deposited in its own temple in Kandy, encased in silver and gold caskets, and in an inner-casket of precious jewels, and it is enshrined and guarded in reverence by the devotees of Lord Buddha.

The origin of the Perahera festival, still held in Kandy annually, dates from the erection of the first Delada Maligawa in Ceylon.

It is commonly believed that this very interesting festival is of Buddhistic origin, but it is really a very ancient ceremony in commemoration of the birth of god Vishnu. It begins on the day of the new moon, in the month of Esala (July-August), which is supposed to be the natal-day of the god, and it lasts until the day of the full moon of Esala. On this night alone, the treasured Tooth-relic is brought forth from its shrine, and

borne on the back of the state elephant, under a rich canopy, and in its golden casket, at the head of the wonderful procession. The great tasked-elephant seems really to realize the honour conferred upon him as, he steps majestically and slowly upon the carpet spread for his august feet. He is followed by the headman of the temple, who, richly dressed, walks as majestically as the lordly elephant; by musicians; by the Kandian chiefs, seated on elephants; by dancers, looking as though they had just sprung from the "Arabian Nights;" by fire-bearers; by men—robed in red and gold, their bare brown skin shining like satin—carrying flowers on their heads in brass jars; by tumblers, and lance-bearers, by near a hundred elephants, with rich howdahs and draperies on their backs; by tom-tom-beaters and flutists, and by the enthusiastic, worshipful multitude—it is indeed, a most impressive and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle.

Also on this last night of the Perahera, a most interesting custom is observed, known as, "the cutting of the water." The procession marches to the banks of the Mahawileganga river, where a decorated boat is found in readiness for the four Kapuralas of the dewalas, attended by four other men, carrying with them silver swords and the water pitchers of the goddess. They go some distance up the river, and at the break of day, the Kapuralas suddenly strike the water with the swords, and at the same time the four other men discharge from the pitchers the water taken from the river the year previous, filling them afresh at the exact place the swords had passed through. The procession then returns cityward, and the pitchers are deposited in their respective temples, the water to be used in ceremonies until the next Esala festival.

For seven days after the ceremony, the *Wali-yakun*, or devil-dances, are given in the four dewalas by people belonging to the caste of tom-tom-beaters. These dances are symbolic, as well as diabolic, but are doubtless enjoyed by the participants.

In Kandy, with its beautiful hills, and trees, will be seen

many priests of the yellow robe, coloured like the heart of the sacred lotus flower ; they pass back and forth around the picturesque lake, to their sacred Delada Maligawa, over which countless prayer-flags flutter in the breeze. Within the temple are many statues of the Buddha in the three favourite positions : standing, as the law-giver ; sitting in deep meditation ; or reclining in peaceful, eternal rest. Doubtless these devout Theras are each seeking to tread the noble Eight-fold Path, and follow the precepts of Gautama, the Buddha. But could the divine Master return from his state of blissful Nirvana, he would hardly recognize, to-day, his simple pure teachings of self-abnegation.

Many are the wrong versions, many are the myths and superstitions that have been interpolated into the teachings of the Compassionate Siddhartha,

“ Who wept with all his brothers’ tears,
Whose heart was broken by a whole world’s woe.”

“ Never shall yearnings torture him, nor sins
Stain him, nor ache of earthly joy and woes
Invade his safe, eternal peace ; nor deaths
Nor lives recur. He goes
Unto Nirvana. He is one with Life,
Yet lives not. He is blest ceasing to be.
Om, mani, padme, Om ! the Dew-drop slips
Into the shining Sea.”

TERESA STRICKLA

AN INDIAN IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

One of the earliest instances of an Indian visiting England is furnished by the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1781 to whom were severally referred the various petitions against the alleged unauthorised assumption of jurisdiction by the Supreme Court of Judicature. In course of their investigations the Committee thought it necessary to be in possession of some authoritative information regarding the usages and customs of the native inhabitants of India because one of their problems was to report on the advisability of the introduction of English law and naturally they were only too glad to record the evidence of a Brahmin who was then in England, 'judging it to be the most authentic source of information.' The man in question was one Hanumant Row¹ who had been sent to England by Raghunath Row with letters to the King and the East India Company.

Unfortunately for us, Hanumant Row or those who framed the questions for him to answer, had no notion that their proceedings would be of abounding interest to posterity a century and a half afterwards, and high hopes are raised at almost every point of the narrative only to be disappointed again and again. Many questions are introduced on which we would be only too glad to get more copious details but suddenly the drift of the questions alters and we unexpectedly come upon a new topic altogether. A more tantalising document it is difficult to find.

Thus at the very outset we are introduced to the very interesting and important question of Raghunath Row's mission to England of which we know practically nothing but we meet with an almost immediate and complete disappointment,

¹ In the Report the name is spelt as "Honwontrow." Evidently it should be read Hanumant Row.

for all that can be gleaned from the record is that Hanumant Row was the agent of Raghunath Row and that *possibly* he was accompanied by a Parsee of unknown name. Hanumant Row is next questioned about the obligations of caste in some detail. The really interesting point in this connection comes when he is asked as to whether he had not suffered great difficulties in the journey from his own country to England. Hanumant Row's answer is as follows : "Yes, very great ; that from Bombay to Mocha, though the voyage lasted 27 days, he never ate anything but what he brought with him, such as sweet-meats and preserved fruits, and pumpkins and vegetables, and drank the water he brought with him, and never tasted any food dressed on board the ship—That when he arrived at Judda, the Governor, who is a Mahomedan, examined his baggage, ordered him into confinement in the same house with the Parsees; that the Governor sent him victuals two or three times every day; for two whole days he neither ate nor drank anything; that they were surprised at his not eating, when they had sent him so good a dinner; that after some difficulty he made them understand, by means of a boy, who spoke his language, that being a Brahmin, he could not eat their victuals; that when he instructed them what his customs required, they furnished him with a tent, and other necessary conveniences for dressing his victuals; which he then did with his own hand." But this very interesting narrative is broken by a sudden question on the mode of confinement of a debtor prevalent in Hanumant Row's country and we are left quite in the dark as to the rest of Hanumant Row's adventurous journey to England and the evidently painful methods by which he preserved his caste-purity in the way and during his residence in England. Still what little we have is interesting enough. It gives us some idea of the difficulties of travel in those days when we learn that from Bombay it required twenty-seven days to reach Mocha, a port on the south-western extremity of Arabia and no less important is the fact that even at

Jedda¹ Hanumant Row could find a boy who spoke his language. It also seems probable that from Mocha Hanumant Row took the land route but such conjectures are better left alone.

The rest of Hanumant Row's evidence is concerned mainly with questions of caste usages and, to some extent, with customs regarding recovery of debt and punishment of debtors. Hanumant Row says that it is not usual to confine the debtors but if the person proved refractory perhaps a guard would be placed upon his house. If his debts amounted to more than his effects, distribution would be ordered but the images and ornaments of the place of worship, or of the apartments of the women and children, and the furniture of the house would not be touched. The charges for recovering debt are a fourth part, which makes part of the public revenues. And as regards female debtors Hanumant Row adds that though among the Marathas the *parda* is not so strict as among the Rajputs and the people of Bengal, still a woman-debtor is never compelled to attend the cause in a public court. If she disobeys the preliminary order to satisfy the creditor, the magistrate may send for her, provided she is a woman of character. She is then carried in a covered carriage and received by the magistrate's women and if the magistrate wants to speak to her, there will always be a curtain between them.

Hanumant Row's remarks about caste rules are of a general nature and are therefore too well-known to be repeated here. It also appears that some of his statements in this connection were proving rather troublesome for the interpreter and on that account as well we would better leave them alone.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

¹ Judda of the Report.

PLATO AND THE BHAGABAD-GITA

(A Correction)

To

THE EDITOR,

Calcutta Review

SIR,

In his article on Plato and the Bhagabad-Gita, Prof. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharyya says: "This comparison is instituted only to show that there is an aspect of Plato's philosophy *which European expositors of his system have never recognised*" (*vide* p. 155 of the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1927). This statement is not quite correct. For, Prof. Urwick, in his book "Message of Plato" published about five or six years ago, has pointed out the remarkable analogy that exists between Hindu and Platonic thought.

Yours truly,

S. C. RAY.

Reviews

The Revolt of Asia: The End of the White Man's World Dominance; by Upton Close: New York, 1927; G. P. Putnam's Sons. 325 pp.

Few books are as timely as "The Revolt of Asia." Clearly and convincingly surveying the future course of events in Asia, this volume, seeming so prophetic, is not. Rather it is a keen inspection of *present* signs and conditions, clarifying the view for less discerning eyes.

How often as we read in the newspapers the report of a political event overseas, do we find ourselves surprised at occurrences for which we might have easily been forewarned and prepared. Yet before we notice them they are accomplished facts. Reading Mr. Close's book one has a deep feeling of appreciation for an author who brings back from the Orient, in concise, intelligible form, a political analysis whose later realization might otherwise unpleasantly surprise us.

Upton Close is in a position to write authoritatively. Born in the State of Washington, his interests have led him into adventures across the Pacific and travels throughout the Orient.

The White man's dominance in Asia, we read, is already past. "All Asia has flared into revolt against.....his political rule, the imposition of his culture and religion, and most deep-seated of all, his arrogant assumption of social superiority." Mr. Close takes us across Asia from Japan to Palestine, and beyond. Gandhi in India expounds his theories of Swaraj (self-rule) and of mass civil disobedience which "in all history has never failed. Witness the victory of the Christian Church over the Roman Empire."

In China Eugene Chen declares:

"China, this time, does not fear foreign arms. When the foreign nations approach us for negotiations they must completely separate themselves from the old conception that China is a pacific nation, and therefore subject to either cajolery or bullying. Negotiations will never be entered upon unless they first agree that they never had any right in our country, and that what interests they have were acquired through duress; while we, on our part, will recognize the equity they hold by virtue of the concessions granted by our pusillanimous or helpless forefathers. Liquidation of his equity can then take place in justice."

Mr. Close traces the early history of westerners in China from the time of Marco Polo; their conquests and acquisitions. Later we see the high tide of Western infiltration, the struggle with Russia and Asia thrown together, and the beginning of the ebb. Particularly interesting is the story of Russo-British rivalry.

"The congress at Baku in 1922 laid the foundation of Russia's Asiatic policy, when Zinoviev stated to the members that their Asiatic policy should be an awakening of nationalism in that part of the world in order to free them from the English yoke. Russia has followed up this policy with remarkable consistency, and the present events in China are nothing but a consequence of that policy. Agents have been spreading propaganda throughout the country and frequently have pointed out to the Chinese leaders that determined efforts against the British will be as successful as Mustpha Kemal's."

China, it appears, is the keystone of the entire situation, and on her course depends the course of all Asia. A peaceable settlement of the vexing question of "foreign rights" will have a favourable reaction in the rest of Asia. A military settlement will have a correspondingly unfavourable reaction. That the West is no longer dealing with a yielding, disjointed, China is brought out by recent events, and particularly the apparent backing-down in British policy. According to T. V. Soong, prominent American-educated financial administrator of the Cantonese party, "foreigners are quite wrong in affecting to consider how much of China's rights they can afford to restore. The question is, now that China has proved she can be mistress in her own house any moment she wishes, how much shall she generously allow the foreigners to retain of the privileges illegally assumed here in the past?"

To sum up, Mr. Close's conclusions are eightfold:—

- "First, Western control of Asia for profit, political or commercial, is discredited and in collapse.
- "Second, the general and conscious demand of Asian peoples for control of their own destiny nullifies the white man's responsibility for their welfare.
- "Third, legitimate Western interests and properties and lives of individuals stand a fair chance of protection under the native sovereignties in prospect.
- "Fourth, the Asian nations have lost their fear of the white man and are carrying forward their programme resolutely.

- "Fifth, the Western Powers, with the sole exception of America, frankly lack the ability to resist Asia's revolt. They may accede either as "good losers" or in sullenness, but they must accede.
- "Sixth, America is the only power that may make resistance of the white race to the ending of its world domination possible.
- "Seventh, attempts to check the Asian movements by military demonstrations work the opposite result.
- "Eighth, Asia's movement thus far is entirely directed against the Westerner on Asian shores. There is not the bud, thus far, of an offensive against the white man in his own countries. It would be decades before a new Yellow Peril could be born, even in thought."

H. M. BRATTER

Anthroposophy in India, by Hans Köster, published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1927.

This little book by Dr. Köster we regard as symptomatic of the present age. We are passing at the present day through a reaction against the excessive rationalism of the nineteenth century. The post-Kantian school of German idealism, as well as the English neo-Hegelians, by their over-emphasis of the rational element in the universe, led to a revolt against the measured gait and perfect equipoise of classical thinking. The result is the superabundant crop of anti-intellectualistic theories which is such a characteristic feature of the philosophy of the present day. The growth of pragmatism and voluntarism and the hold which the philosophy of Bergson has upon men's minds clearly show that a need is felt for the assertion of the artistic or romantic phase of life.

Anthroposophy is one such assertion. As our author puts it, "anthroposophy affirms that there are in man hidden and dormant forces that can be awakened." Anthroposophy does not discard Reason but only shows it its due place. Anthroposophy maintains that the logically precise and mathematically trained mind is a possession worth preserving, since it embodies a technique which enables the thinker to become conscious of his own Self." What Anthroposophy in fact aims at is a perfectly well-balanced mind. Thus, Dr. Rudolf Steiner, the founder of Anthroposophy, points out as the three great dangers which a man must avoid, "exuberant violence of will, sentimental emotionalism and cold loveless struggle for wisdom."

Anthroposophy thus, unlike other forms of mysticism does not want to do away with Reason. Herein lies its essential unity with Indian mysticism, for Indian mysticism does not know the distinction between Reason and Feeling upon which Western mysticism is based. The verse

✓ अत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तदयोगैरपि गम्यते ।

एकं सांख्यञ्च योगञ्च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥

expresses exactly the attitude of Indian mysticism. This is where Indian mysticism shows its superiority over Western mysticism. Western mysticism lives, as it were, in a glass house. The least touch of Reason destroys it. Indian mysticism is made of a much sterner stuff and it has nothing to fear from Reason.

The author believes that "the hoary knowledge of the East may yet show the way to the West" and that Anthroposophy will be able to meet the present crisis in the thought of the West as well as of the East. We may not find it easy to accept the latter part of this statement but that the first part of the statement conveys a real truth we fully believe.

Likewise it is a deep insight into the real nature of the problem of the East and the West which makes the author say, "The problem does not face simple man, but it addresses man in man, the creative understanding man, Ardhanārīṣwara within him." "To understand, to penetrate the great questions that concern the two main trends of human civilization, it is insufficient to justify the one in view of the other, to force the one upon the other, or to arrive at a meaningless compromise. It must be understood that this vital question in order to be answered—and answered it must be—addresses the deep Man in man...."

The author is to be congratulated upon the success with which he has presented the main ideas of Anthroposophy, the new mystical movement started by Dr. Rudolf Steiner, and especially, upon the deep insight which the book reveals into the inner meaning of Indian mysticism.

S. K. MAITRA

Nirvana, By G. C. Ghosh, C.I.E., Darsana-Sastri, Kavyaratna,
Honorary Fellow, Calcutta University.

In this book we find a new exposition of an old belief. The author is a deeply religious man and an earnest seeker after truth. *Nirvana* was the cherished goal of the *Rishis* of old, and its true meaning and nature are here presented in an admirable form. *Nirvana* is not annihilation, for

the soul has neither beginning nor end. It is not the extinction of self but rather "the finding of the real self" by becoming one with the Eternal Spirit. It is that state of ecstasy in which the soul enjoys perfect peace,

" When the lover and the Beloved,
The redeemed and the Redeemer,
Become united once again,
Enter into everlasting joy."

The seeker after *Nirvana* does not shun the world, but lives

" The life which is life indeed,
Deeply entrenched in Divinity,
Bursting out in good deed."

The truly religious man devotes himself to "the service of man and the love of God." He practises, at one and the same time, "Karma-yoga and Sanyasa both." He realises that

" To know the Father as love
Is to love as He loves."

The author's religious zeal is equalled by his breadth of vision. He has no faith in "the tattered creeds of the world" which hold the soul in bondage. With him religion is

" But the product of the heart let free,
That loves truth, goodness, and infinity."

Not theology, but piety, is his aim. To a real devotee, Brahman, Jehovah, God, Allah, Ahur Mazda and Zeus are the same.

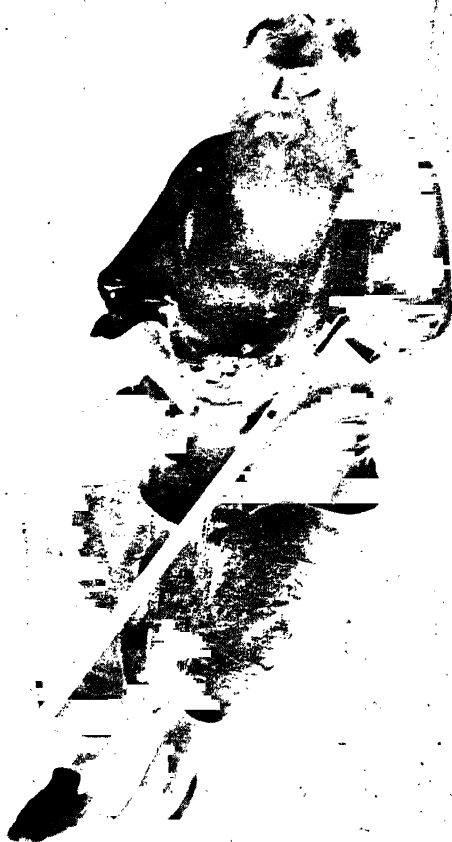
This little work produces an ennobling and elevating effect on the mind, and we trust it will be widely read.

P. N. B.

Ourselves

THE LATE PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

In the death of Professor Henry Stephen on the 1st September, 1927, Bengal has lost the services of one of her truest of adopted sons, the University has lost the services of a scholarly administrator, the students in the Departments of English and Philosophy have lost a great and an acknowledged master and the student community of Bengal has lost a philanthropist whose secret charities have enabled many a scholar to reach his desired goal. Born in 1848, in a tiny little Scotch village, Henry Stephen dedicated his whole life to the cause of education in Bengal. Professor in the Duff College in 1884, a professor in the amalgamated Scottish Churches College in 1907, a University Professor of English Language and Literature in 1914, Henry Stephen preferred all along the quiet dignity of a teacher and never aspired after executive honours, not even the Principalship of institutions to which he gave thirty years of his life. Doctor Stephen's knowledge of philosophy was great. His knowledge of classical language and literature was greater. He combined in his person the scientific interest of a botanist with the delight of an astronomer and he felt equally at ease in expounding the problems of life here below and in the great hereafter. In January, 1922, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had the proud privilege of conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University; his recommendation for a Knighthood still adorns the Record Room of an unimaginative bureaucracy. Dr. Stephen enjoyed the affection and reverence of four generations of students in Bengal. He claimed the allegiance of the *Calcutta Review* as its first Editor-in-chief. He enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues and he knew how to honour them with his confidence. The Professorship vacated by him will be filled



ADHARCHANDRA MUKHERJEE

(Born July 18, 1857 : Died August 13, 1927)

up soon. His much-accustomed Fellowship in the University will go to some fortunate recipient but his death has created a void which, we fear, will never be filled.

THE LATE MR. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE.

Death has claimed yet another toll from the ranks of our veteran educationists in Bengal, in the person of Adharchandra Mookerjee. Born in 1857, Adharchandra Mookerjee entered the fascinating domain of education as a Professor of History and Logic in the General Assembly's Institution in 1884. He rendered devoted and faithful service to the institutions that the cultural mission and the religious fervour of Scotland endowed in Calcutta. Adharchandra Mookerjee was elected an Ordinary Fellow of this University by its graduates in 1897 and maintained his position in the election of 1904 and continued to enjoy his Fellowship till his death on the 13th August, 1927—a span of thirty long years. Adharchandra Mookerjee's regularity in the attendance of the meetings of the Senate and the Faculty of Arts, his work in various capacities as a member of various Boards of Studies, as one of the Paper-Setters and Head-Examiners in History have received official recognition, but the greatest service which he rendered to this University was his gift of twenty thousand rupees to the cause of original research—a legacy which years of toil and husbandry enabled him to dedicate to his *alma mater*. His "Short History of the Indian People," prescribed for the Matriculation Examination of this University for the last quarter of a century, may lie buried with the author but Adharchandra Mookerjee, we are sure, will find a niche yet in the pleasant recollection of generations of students and his name as a historian will be handed down from sire to son.

THE LATE MR. UMESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

We deeply regret to inscribe one more name on the roll of our illustrious dead. Umeshchandra Ghosh died on the 10th August, 1927, in his Calcutta residence. He started life as Principal of the Victoria College, Narail, and served the University Law College for about a dozen years in the capacity of a Professor. The seductions of an attractive professional career at the Bar could not allure him away from the domain of education and Mr. Ghosh remained an educationist till his death. Our respectful condolences to his eldest son Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and his brothers.

SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

A special Convocation was held at the Senate House on the 27th July, 1927, to confer degrees on our graduates going abroad. The number of graduates attending the Convocation was eight. We print here below the speech of the Vice-Chancellor :

“ Gentlemen, this being a special Convocation intended for the benefit of those of our graduates who want to proceed abroad for further study, I shall address my words solely to these young members of our University.

You are getting better chances in life than your comrades but at the same time you are undertaking heavier responsibilities than those who are staying at home. In foreign parts you will be rightly regarded as the representatives of this ancient seat of learning. You have not, therefore, the private individual's freedom to live the life that he pleases. Your speech and behaviour, your intellectual progress and moral character will determine in the eyes of the foreigners among whom you will live, the high or low repute in which this University will be held by them. In your persons your country, your race, your former teachers, will be on their trial before foreign judges. There will

be many products of other Universities, European and American, among whom you will be thrown and with whom you will inevitably stand a comparison day after day. I know that it is a very heavy responsibility for young shoulders to bear. But I am confident that you will rise to the height of this appeal of your country, and will never consent to shame your fatherland in your persons. Let the wisdom of the Calcutta University be justified of her children.

But it is not only that you are gaining fresh opportunities of life by being sent abroad for study. It is not merely that you are going to stand forth as our intellectual representatives in foreign lands. Your country has a greater claim on you. It is your duty to acquire those arts, those processes and those branches of human knowledge, which are not taught in India, or cannot at present be taught here to such a high standard as in Europe or America. You will thus be like the daring explorers and merchant adventurers of 16th-century England who opened new trade relations with far-off lands and brought back rich cargoes of hitherto unknown foreign products to their native land. In this way you will have to enrich and invigorate the intellectual life of India and connect her with the ever-moving, ever-progressing, outer world of thought and invention. If our young graduates go to foreign countries inspired by such a spirit and try to live up to this ideal, they will be only paying back to the land of their birth a part of the debt they owe to her. Their foreign travels, when devoted to such an aim, will not only benefit them personally but advance their country also. It is only by means of a constant succession of young, ardent, and patriotic scholars sent abroad that we can save India's life and thought from being locked up in the placid backwaters of a stationary civilisation.

If India is to take her rightful place among the creators of human thought she must constantly know what the other great nations are doing and how they are doing it. She must know in what respects she can become a creditor nation in the modern world. Her sons trained abroad will bring this message to her on their return; they will naturally be the chief agents of her intellectual advance on these modern lines.

I pray that your hearts may be supported and strengthened in the midst of the trials and temptations, the hardships and dangers

inevitable in foreign lands by a reflection on the high mission that is for you in the near future. In that mission you have our hearty wishes for your success."

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MR. JADUNATH SARKAR AT BOMBAY.

Our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, was invited to deliver his Convocation Address before the Bombay University in August last. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society honoured Mr. Sarkar by conferring the Campbell Memorial Medal on him. He is the eighth recipient of this distinction which, we understand, was conferred also on Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University before. In the language of Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Bombay, the Address was encouraging and enlightened. We quote here below the Address :

" This year the University of Bombay completes the seventieth year since its foundation. It is, therefore, a point at which we can conveniently pause and examine the record of the University's work during one compact epoch, covering the full term of a man's life.

Forty years after the old order in Maharastra had perished amidst the clash of arms, the foundations of a more glorious and enduring order were laid by the creation of the University of Bombay. The grandsons of those who had conquered at Kirkee and Koregaon, Ashta and Mahidpur, threw open to the losing side the treasury of the arts and sciences of the victors and thus laid the foundation of a truer empire than arms can achieve,—an empire built upon cultural affinity, intellectual co-operation, and commonness of ideals.

II

If it is true that knowledge is power, then we are bound also to admit that the creators of new knowledge, the makers of original research, must become the masters of those who are mere borrowers

of knowledge. So long as our Universities were content with merely importing to India and diffusing among our people knowledge of various kinds which had originated in Europe,—we were intellectually a debtor nation; our best writers were mere imitators or translators. Therefore, if we wish to be self-reliant in art and science, if we wish to be independent in things of the mind, we must qualify ourselves to be givers and not merely takers; we must create and not merely import; we must aspire to be a creditor nation and not eternal intellectual beggars.

If the ever-flowing fountain of research and invention be confined to the European countries and never brought to India, then India will always remain the slave of Europe. In every generation we shall lag behind Europe; we shall be always using the arts and the arms which Europe discarded fifty years ago and holding theories which were proved obsolete there two or three generations earlier. Not only a state of war, but even a temporary obstruction of transport, or the natural desire of foreign inventors to reserve the first fruits of their research to people who can give something in return, may stop the supply of the newest knowledge and the newest appliances of civilisation from Europe to us, and then India will remain helpless and weak.

From such a degrading, such a servile condition we can raise ourselves only if we can create an independent spring-head of knowledge and art in our midst and thus enable our countrymen to become the peers of the Europeans in research and discovery.

III

Research, or the original investigation of truth in any branch of art or science, is not a luxury or superfluous decoration in the educational world. It is the indispensable condition of the best type of University teaching and of the highest development of the human intellect.

I have been all my life a college teacher, and for the last thirty years I have ceaselessly tried to do my little in the investigation of Indian history. You will permit me to appeal to this twofold experience in impressing upon you the importance of original research not only for the sake of maintaining India's self-respect in the assembly

of nations, but also for ensuring the best quality of teaching to our ordinary students.

Nobody who has not investigated truth for himself, nobody who has not gone through the patient and arduous discipline of original research, can critically judge the information contained in the text-books and understand its real significance; still less can he become a source of inspiration and guidance to his pupils. The mere transmitter of other people's knowledge, the lecturer who simply repeats the text-books, is an intellectual parasite; his mind has no discriminating power, no vitality of its own. Every printed word is to him equally authoritative. On the other hand, the research scholar is an explorer of a new realm of thought. He has grappled with unknown difficulties and overcome them. He has personally handled the raw materials out of which truth is deduced. Thus his mind has acquired a higher discipline and he has gained a more intimate vision of truth than is possible for ordinary men. The secrets of science and philosophy are to him living realities, not catch-words borrowed from others and mechanically repeated. He can instinctively distinguish between the true and the false and correctly estimate the comparative value of different kinds of evidence. No University can discharge its functions properly unless it has this highest type of teachers among its agents.

IV

In support of this view, I cite the testimony of a Lord Chancellor of England who also distinguished himself as one of her most successful military organisers. Lord Haldane, in the final Report of the Royal Commission on the London University, truly observes:

"It is in the best interests of the University that the most distinguished of its professors should take part in the teaching of the undergraduates. It is the personal influence of the man doing original work in his subject which inspires belief in it, awakens enthusiasm, gains disciples. All honest students gain inestimably from association with teachers who show them something of the working of the thought of independent and original minds. As Helmholtz says, 'Any one who has once come into contact with one or more men of the first rank, must have had his whole mental standard altered for the

rest of his life'...University teaching aims, not so much at filling the mind of the student with facts and theories as at stimulating him to mental effort. He gains an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried out. He is able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticise argument and put his own value on authorities."

V

I may also point out that original research of the right type has an ennobling influence on character. He who has gained a vision of the secrets of nature and of the human mind, by his own efforts, is fearless in accepting truth; he cannot be content with popular superstitions, social conventions and political catch-words. Research workers form a brotherhood of truth-seekers all over the world, who rise above national jealousies, racial prejudices, and communal differences. The pure stream of truth discovered in her loftiest original source like the heaven-descended Ganges of Hindu mythology, washes away all impurities of the human mind.

In this quest of truth, there must be constant progress; there is no finality, no pause even. But this fact should not deter us from it. If eternal vigilance be the price of political liberty, it is no less truly the price of national efficiency, and that price we must be prepared to pay.

Such is the imperative need of original research in the modern world. And in the promotion of research a University can do what no private individual, however rich or industrious, can accomplish. The University must build up a library of the best books and most learned journals in all related branches of study, and a laboratory complete in scientific apparatus. It must assemble under its roof the master-workers in as many branches of study as it can and ensure their frequent meeting together and co-operation, each scholar supplying from his own branch the needs of the others, for no specialist can be the master of more than a few subjects, but requires light to be thrown on his special branch of study from all points of view. Therefore, the most fruitful and valuable research work has been done by those Universities where the professors regard themselves as a brotherhood of seekers after truth, working in concert and hold-

ing frequent consultation with one another. A place where each teacher comes only in his appointed hour, addresses his particular class of students and then goes away, is a lecture institute and not a University in any sense of the term.

It is only a central authority like a University that can prevent waste through the overlapping of efforts by two or more private persons carrying on the same line of research in isolation from one another. It can supply the most expert guidance and full bibliographies so as to put the workers on the right track from the very outset, instead of leaving them to blunder on to truth. And it can put libraries and laboratories to the most economical use by a wise and far-sighted division of resources. The lack of cohesion has often nullified our private efforts in the past. The organised public pursuit of research will yield better fruit.

• These are the necessary conditions of research, and though they cannot be a substitute for individual genius in the worker, they can help genius to produce the best results.

In this appeal I have drawn on my life's experience in the original investigation of history. But let me assure you that scientific research needs organisation and co-operative effort in the same degree as historical inquiry. It is even more important to us from the economic point of view. The immense natural resources of our country are running to waste for want of the scientific exploration and utilisation of them on modern lines. Scientific research, if carried on here as wisely and as strenuously as in Germany, would immensely increase the wealth of our country and amply repay the expenditure of State funds.

Research is not an impossibility in India, it need not be a sham here. There are two men still in our midst who have proved that India can give to Europe in science and philosophy truths of the highest value to mankind. What a Jagadis Chandra Bose or Rabindra Nath Tagore has done, their fellow-countrymen can do if they get the necessary opportunity.

VI

It is for that opportunity, it is for the organisation and endowment of research at the University of Bombay, that I plead with your

Government and the leading men of your Presidency. If the plans are laid in advance with care and forethought and modified from time to time, in the light of experience, then there is no reason why the pursuit of research should be a very costly undertaking or that it should exhaust the financial resources required for other branches of education. In this Presidency you have races of people not inferior to any other in India in intelligence, industry and devotion to ideals. You have a large number of sound scholars of the old type and even some research students working on a small scale and in isolation from one another. In the wealth and variety of historical, linguistic and ethnological materials of all kinds,—as well as in the natural resources on which the scientist must work,—you are surpassed by no province in India and equalled by few. The first thing needed now is your full admission of the truth that your University will stagnate if you do not henceforth embark on the new policy of the advancement of human knowledge by direct research. The second thing needful is the organisation of that research.

For this latter work, the wisest guidance must be sought, regardless of its cost. It is cheaper in the long run to consult the best experts than to launch on a scheme framed by amateurs and arm-chair theorists. Above all, you require a devoted and sagacious leader to give unity to your activities, overcome the initial difficulties as they arise from day to day, and pursue the ideal with unceasing vigour. Your Legislature must be convinced that the endowment of research is a national duty and it will be easy to persuade the Legislature if your enlightened public set an example by private benefactions to the University of Bombay, as the public have done to Calcutta and Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh. The State grants to these Universities are very large, and Bombay's case for a similar generous treatment by the State is equally strong.

The public may rest assured that with so many shrewd business men among the leaders of your society and strict public watch over the University's affairs, it will be impossible in Bombay at least for any fraud to be practised in the name of high research, or that full value in the form of work done will not be secured in return for the money that you may spend on original investigation by your students and teachers. I know that there is a prevailing distrust

about the genuineness and real value of much that passes for research in India. But it will disappear if your University is wise enough to maintain a reasonable proportion in the distribution of its energies and finances, so that a sound general education is enforced in its colleges and at the same time original research is promoted at the centre of the University on a few branches which are chosen with careful reference to your men and money power. Do not attempt too many things at the same time, do not attempt what is beyond your means, and above all do not neglect and ruin the foundations of your educational system in the attempt to gild and beautify its roof and dome.

VII

The intellectual resurrection of India is the supreme ideal of the Indian nationalist. And in realising this ideal, our Universities must play the leading part. This is a duty which they cannot any longer ignore without failing to justify their existence in the changed world of to-day. They must no longer be glorified schools, mere workshops for turning out clerks and school masters, mechanics and overseers, translators and copyists. They must in future add to the world's stock of knowledge. They must achieve intellectual Swadeshi, instead of clothing our people's mind with garments imported from Europe. Is political Swaraj possible, can Swaraj last if given by others, in a country which eternally looks up to foreign lands for all additions to human knowledge, for all new discoveries in medicine and science, for all new inventions in the mechanical arts and the accessories of civilised life, and for every leap forward of the human mind in its quest of truth ?

Your beautiful city is rightly called the Gate of India. May it establish its claim to be remembered as the gate through which new light dawns on India, nay more, passes beyond our shores to illuminate and vivify the world outside! Such is the true Indian patriot's vision. Let the Bombay public make it a reality.

To the new graduates of this University, I have only a short message to deliver: never forget your rich inheritance, never be unworthy of the glorious opportunity which the teaching and traditions of this University have given to you. Remember that your

names are inscribed as the latest recruits in the same golden book which enshrines the names of Telang and Ranade, Bhandarkar and Rajwade, and see that your life and conduct are worthy of such a noble brotherhood. By the education you have received, the treasuries of Eastern and Western wisdom have been freely opened to you. Consider your past life as only a preparation for further self-improvement and the achievement of a higher destiny for your individual selves and your countrymen in general. The world of action seldom gives its highest prizes to the most gifted in intellect or the purest in character. But that need not make us repine, that need not make us give up the struggle. The heroic soul seeks only opportunities for exerting itself, for daring, and for making its endeavour, and does not look for the material fruits of that endeavour. Let the graduates of the University arm themselves against the world with this eternal lesson of the Bhagabat Gita."

KAMALA LECTURES.

The Senate of the Calcutta University appointed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu Kamala Lecturer for the year 1927. The subject of the lectures would be "Ideals of Indian Womanhood."

RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY LAW EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,349 of whom 364 passed, 597 failed, one was expelled and 387 were absent. Of the successful candidates 15 were placed in Class I. In this connection the following tabular statement may prove interesting :

Year.	No. of candidates appeared.	No. of candidates passed.
1926	2,315	908
1925	2,228	886
1924	1,929	774
1923	1,569	624
1922	1,404	711
1921	1,616	779
1920	1,933	733

DATES OF DIFFERENT EXAMINATIONS.

We give here below the dates for the various University Examinations :

Law :

Preliminary—Tuesday, the 3rd January, 1928.

Intermediate—Monday, the 9th January, 1928.

Final—Monday, the 16th January, 1928.

Medical :

Preliminary Scientific M.B. and Final M.B.—Thursday, the 10th November, 1927.

First M.B.—Monday, the 21st November, 1927.

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PROFESSOR S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

We are glad to note that Professor S. Radhakrishnan, President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, has been invited by Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, to deliver the first Convocation Address of the Andhra University in December, 1927.

GURUPRASANNA GHOSE SCHOLARSHIP.

The Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship for the year 1927 has been awarded to Mr. Harendranath Ray, M.Sc., a lecturer in the Department of Zoology in the Calcutta University.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1927

TRUSTS AND RATIONALIZATION : ASPECTS OF THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE LIMITS OF ECONOMIC LEGISLATION.

India, passing as she has been through some of the humbler phases of industrialization, is at present encountering a tremendous conflict with the adult industrial powers. In order to withstand the competition successfully Indian economists and statesmen are as a rule used to looking to the government for help, first, in regard to the tariff policy, and secondly, in regard to the rate of foreign exchange such as might be favourable to the industries at home. These questions of economic legislation are important enough to demand the serious attention of the businessman. But it is no less worth his while to attend carefully to the technical and organizational aspects of contemporary industry and trade. For, it is neither the tariff alone, nor the currency policy alone, that, if at all, is adversely affecting India's position in the competition with the foreign industrial powers. These latter have been incessantly improving their methods of production and marketing. To-day they are so well knit that it is hardly possible for the modern Indian industries to stand by the side of their enterprises. We may recall that

on account, among other reasons, of almost similar circumstances it was once impossible for the cottage industries of India to withstand the shock of machine-made goods and machineries.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

A new industrial revolution is on before our eyes in Europe and America. And although India to-day is but experiencing in the main the earlier throes of the economic transformation which by the latest Eur-American standard may aptly be described as the old industrial revolution it would not be inappropriate to attempt forming an estimate of the advances that the go-ahead world has been scoring upon us at the present moment.

The new industrial revolution like the old is manifest in two directions. First, there is the recent series of technical improvements, both engineering and chemical, embodied as much in the machineries as in the "power" organization and manipulation of raw materials, which are swiftly re-creating the foundations of production and the processes of transportation and circulation of wealth.

In the second place, there has been proceeding *pari passu* a rapid reorganization of the forms of economic life. The types of business organization to which the world is getting used belong to phases of economic morphology for which the parallels or duplicates are hardly to be found in the world of even a generation ago. We are speaking of the cartels and trusts and their present-day developments.

JAPANESE STEEL CARTEL

In 1926 some representatives of Japanese iron and steel works were on tour in Germany studying the organization of the same industry in that country. In May 1927 they have established a cartel on the German model which is to last for

the present for three years. The cartel comprises both the state and the private concerns.

There are two important objects of the Japanese steel-cartel. In the first place, the relations of the state works with the private works have been precisely laid down. Secondly, the cartel has sought to emphasize the importance of iron and steel products for private industrial establishments. It has clearly defined the amount of iron and steel that each of the state and private works is to reserve for private industry.

In regard to manufacture, the cartel has followed the principle of specialisation and division of labour very closely. Certain qualities of steel are to be produced exclusively by the state works and certain others exclusively by the private works. In regard to other qualities there is a proportion to be observed by each class.

A committee has been set up to supervise and control the programme of production according to these ideas. It consists of members representing all the works. One sen (nearly one pice) per ton of production is the contribution of each work to the cartel for its expenses of administration.

The cartel is likely soon to develop into a syndicate that will control both price and market. The tendency is already manifest in the establishment of a marketing-union by three of the cartel's biggest works. It is through this union that the total production of the cartel is being placed on the market.

THE ITALGAS OF TURIN.

In 1923 the Società Italiana per il Gas was established at Turin with a capital of 10,000,000 lire.¹ It began by superseding some of the smaller, poorer municipal gas works located in the second grade Italian cities, whose capital was too inadequate for the requirements of modernization and improved

¹ *La Journée Industrielle* (Paris), 23 August, 1926; chapters on coal and iron in Italy in Mortara's *Prospettive Economiche 1927* (Milan, 1927).

technique. At Florence and Venice two French companies had been enjoying the privilege of furnishing the people with gas. The Societa bought off these privileges and emancipated two of Italy's great cities from dependence on foreign enterprise. In other big cities such as Turin and Milan where the gas companies were Italian, the Societa took care to assure itself of the majority of the shares. The same tactic was followed in regard to other cities such as Livourne, Trieste, Savone. Altogether the gas-supply of some 30 cities in northern Italy came within the sphere of the Societa's activity.

The next step in the evolution of the Societa consisted in the series of participations in the chemical industries with special reference to dyes. In 1925 it bought the French explosive works of Turin and established the Societa Esplodenti Cengio with a capital of 30,000,000 lires. This explosive factory is now well known in the world as Italian works for caustic alkali.

The establishment of works in Liguria for the treatment of iron pyrite has been one of the important ventures of the Societa following upon that of the explosive factory. Finally the control of the group of chemical concerns known as the Azogene as well as of the important coke works has passed into the hands of the Societa.

The capital of the Italgas trust is to-day 150,000,000 lires. In 1926 it obtained a loan of 5,000,000 dollars from Blair & Co., the financiers of New York. The heavy products controlled by it comprise the bye-products of coal, the powerful acids, the alkalis and derivatives of chlorine and synthetic ammonia compounds. The finished products range from military and industrial explosives to the colours and varnishes of all sorts.

There are some 50 companies within the sweep of the Italgas and it controls in each case at least 50 per cent. of the capital. This is the first example of a great vertical trust in Italian industry, commanding as it does the manufacture of goods in different stages of finishing from that of raw material

upwards through several series of factories. The institutions controlled by it may be divided into nine different groups.

According to functions the nine groups are the following :—

(1) The production of gas and coke and the supply of gas to 30 municipal areas as well as the recovery of bye-product are undertaken by the *Societa Torinese Industria Gas Elettrica*, abbreviated as the *Stige*.

(2) The production of metallurgical coke is undertaken by three companies. Of these the *Societa Camussi Gas* of Milan furnishes coke to the foundries of Lombardy. The *Societa Forni Coke* of Vado Ligure furnishes its products to the foundries of the *Monteponi Co.* Then there is the *Societa Italiana Coke* of Mestre in Venetia.

(3) The remnants (tar) of the gas and coke factories are distilled in the works of Turin, Vado Ligure, Marghera and Catrame. The hydrogen produced in the works of Vado Ligure is utilized by the *Azogene Co.* for the manufacture of ammonia compounds.

(4) The heavy and light oils arising out of the distillations are disposed of as such in the public market or in the state railway-system. A part of these oils is also absorbed by chemical companies interested in the recovery of oil, extraction of naphthalene and manufacture of explosives.

(5) The works located at Cengio prepare the intermediates for the manufacture of organic dyes and explosives. To this group of products belong aniline salts, chlorine derivatives, naphthalene, ammonia compounds, benzol compounds, electrolytic sodium, synthetic hydrochloric acid, azotic acid, picric acid, sodium sulphate, nitroglycerine, etc.

(6) The colours and dye-stuffs constitute the speciality of three companies, the *Societa Italica* of Rho, the *Unione Colori* of Milan and the *Schiaparelli Co.*, of Turin.

(7) The medical and pharmaceutical products are prepared at Turin by the *Schiaparelli Co.*, and at Milan by the *Societa Sottoprodotti Farmaceutici*.

(8) The explosives are manufactured by three companies, the Societa Esplodenti of Cengio, and the Societa Esplodenti e Munizioni and Unione Esplodenti of Rome.

(9) The production of artificial silk is undertaken by the works of the Bonelli Dye Co., which has joined the Italgas Trust in 1926 in order to strengthen Italy's anilin industry.

LARGE, MIDDLING AND SMALL TRUSTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The official statistics of Soviet Russia for the year 1926 recognise 357 trusts in big industry.¹ This may be classified as follows :—

1. " Large " trusts numbered at	...	...	36
2. " Middling " trusts	...	...	63
3. " Small " trusts	...	...	258

The distinction between the large and the small trusts as well as the average strength of each trust in the two groups may be understood from the numerical importance of the working men employed in the different categories. The 36 large trusts account for 1,067,876, the average being 29,663. The number of working men employed by the 258 small trusts is 199,417, thus giving an average of 753 per trust.

Now the total strength of labor in the " big industry " of Soviet Russia is estimated at 1,661,800. It is apparent, therefore, that not more than 12% of this force finds employment in the works belonging to the 258 " small " trusts. The remaining 88 per cent. is employed under the 99 large and middling categories.

The position of the middling trusts in Russian economy is clear. The total strength of working men employed therein is 394,507 and they are distributed over 63 trusts. The average

* *Verein Deutscher Ingenieure Nachrichten*, Berlin, January 1927 ; *U.R.S.S., Annuaire Politique et Economique pour l'annee, 1925-26* (Moscow, 1926).

per trust thus works out at 6,262. So far as the labor force is concerned the three types of trusts may then be defined as follows :—

- | | |
|---|--------|
| 1. Large, i.e. those with an average employment of | 29,663 |
| 2. Middling, ,, ,, ,, | 6,262 |
| 3. Small, ,, ,, ,, | 753 |

The classification of Russian trusts according to the kind of industry shows interesting results. Of the 99 belonging to the first two groups, the textile industry alone is responsible for 29. The movement towards concentration is quite active, and in the course of the present year the six textile trusts of the Moscow region are going to be transformed into 3. The formation of large trusts and the extinction of smaller ones constitute the current tendency in the business organization of Soviet Russia.

There are 11 trusts of the first two denominations in stone industry. The timber industry is represented by 5 trusts all of the middling type. Coal mining, especially in the field of anthracite, accounts for 1 large and 3 middling trusts. In the mining of ores, likewise, the economic morphology of Soviet Russia exhibits 1 large and 3 middling trusts.

1. *The Sugar Trust of Russia.*

The entire sugar industry of Russia is governed by one industrial combine known as the Sacharo Trust, Moscow. It works at a capital of 348,000,000 tch-rubles (1 tch. ruble=25 pence). It possesses (1) 197 beet sugar factories, (2) nationalized lands measuring 1,000,000 dessiatins, (3) 33 sugar refining works, (4) 15 seed selection stations. There are 17 regional offices and 142 sales-agencies in its administration.

In 1924 -25 the employment was as follows :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------|
| 1. Sugar factories— | 84,965 | hands |
| 2. Refining mills— | 26,137 | ,, |

Total 111,102

2. *Trust of Machine-Builders.*

The Maschins Trust of Moscow has amalgamated the following machine-building concerns :—

(1) Parostroi, (2) Krasny Proletaris, (3) Krasnaia Presnia, (4) Serpi Molot, (5) Kotloapparat, (6) Melnitchno-Tkatskoe Oborudovanie, (7) Press, (8) Boretz, (9) Hydrophil, (10) Pirwitz, (11) Krasny Stampovstchik, (12) Klimovsk.

In 1924-25 the total output of the trust amounted to 30,000,000 tch-rubles. And it comprised combustion engines, Diesel engines, steam-boilers, water-turbines, centrifugal pumps, fire engines, machines for textile industry, rail-road bridge girders, installations for oil, starch and molasses factories, refrigerators, enamelled and tin goods, steel and brass castings, etc.

3. *State-Trusts in Metallurgy, Leather and Wood-work.*

A metallurgical amalgamation is known as the Tremass of Leningrad. It is a state-trust combining four works, namely :—

1. Mechanical and Stamping Works.
2. Gudravlika.
3. Copper Works Tchasovoi Revolutsii.
4. Wassiliostrovsk Wire-nail Works.

All these were formerly private factories of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) but have been nationalized in 1922. The trust manufactures and sells hardware for general use as well as produces technical goods for sanitary and hygienic purposes. The average employment for the first half of 1924-25 was about 997, and the value of goods issued during the same period 3,096,000 tch-rubles. The capital is worth 5,695,584 rubles .

The Leningrad-koshtrust is a state leather-trust with headquarters at Leningrad. It was established in November 1921. Its manufactures constitute 20% of the leather products and 35 per cent. of the shoes produced in Russia.

The trust comprises the following eight concerns: (1) "Skorohod" tannery and leather-factory, (2) "Proletarskaja Pobeda" shoe-factory, (3) "Iljitcheff" shoe-factory, (4) "Radischtscheff" tannery, (5) "Marxist" leather-factory, (6) "Komintern" leather factory, (7) "Bebel" works for the manufacture of leather bags and trunks, (8) "Oktjabrskaja Revoluziā" works for the manufacture of nails. The names of the factories bear revolutionary associations. All the eight works, however, have been coming down from Czarist times and were named differently previous to the establishment of the "October regime."

The tanneries "Radischtscheff" and "Marxist" manufacture also big leather straps and other kinds of finished leather goods for technical and factory purposes. Saddles, and other outfit for horses, harness, etc., are moreover manufactured in these works.

The trusts commands an employment of some 8,000 working-men and other employees. The total capital is 14,308,000 tcherwonetz rubles. One tcherwonetz is equal to £1-1s.-1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., nearly 254 pence. And since 1 tch=10 tch-rubles, 1 tch-ruble=nearly 25 pence. In English money the value of the Russian leather-trust is £1,490,416.

The wood working mills of Leningrad and its environs have been unified by the Drevtrust. The organisation supplies (1) beams, roughly sawn timber, etc., (2) planed timber, grooves, plants, girders, door-lining, etc., (3) window-frames, doors, cases, (4) boxes, and trunks, (5) office-furniture, tables, desks, chairs, book-cases, shelves, (6) furniture for hospitals, sanitariums, schools, etc., (7) cheap house-hold furniture of all kinds. Seventeen mills are members of the trust, which is a state institution.

4. *The Electro-technical and Coloured Metal
Trusts of Moscow.*

A state-trust with headquarters at Moscow and agencies in all important towns has concentrated the electro-technical industry of Russia. The amalgamation consists of the following groups of members :—

1. Electro-mechanical works in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkoff and the Oural.

2. Kablesworks in Moscow and Leningrad.

3. Lamp-works in Moscow and Leningrad.

4. Glass-works in Moscow and Leningrad.

5. Insulator works in Moscow, Leningrad, and Werbilki (North Railway).

6. Light carbon works in Koudinovo (Nijni Novogorod Railway).

7. Glowlamp fitting works in Moscow.

The coloured metal industry represented by six factories has been unified in the Gospromptsvetmet. It is a state-trust with headquarters at Moscow operating at a capital of 50,664,808 tch-rubles.

The following works have been amalgamated into this trust :—

1. Coloured Metal works at Koltchougin.

2. Copper Works Krasny Vyborjets in Leningrad.

3. Metal-lamp Works in Moscow.

4. Electrolytic Refining Works in Moscow.

5. Refining Works at Podolsk.

6. Alaghir Works.

The production represents (1) household articles such as samovars (tea-boiling machines), primus cookers, aluminium jugs, copper weights, etc., (2) electro-technical goods, such as wire, trolley cables, telephone bronze cables, aluminium arcs for street cars, lighting and telephone cords, etc., (3) industrial and

railway goods such as sheets, circles, pipes, rivets, electrolytic copper, locomotives, fire boxes, etc.

In 1924-25 the trust produced 26,925,000 kilograms of copper, bronze, aluminium, German silver, brass and other "coloured metal" stuff. The worth was 43,000,000 tch-rubles.

5. *Two Flax-trusts.*

The flax-trust known as the Kostroma-Jaroslav United Flax-factories was established in 1921 with headquarters at Moscow. The works belonging to this union may be classified as follows:—8 flax-spinning and weaving factories, 1 cotton-spinning and weaving factory, and 1 cotton-weaving factory. These ten factories offer employment to 30,930 working men of all grades.

The manufactures for 1924-25 comprise the following items:—

Flax-yarn—716,000 poods (1 pood=32·8 lbs.).

Cotton-yarn—115,000 poods.

Textile fabric—40,445,000 square metres.

Fire-pipes—319,000 length metres.

Wick and ribbon—11,100,000 length metres.

This production embodies 37% of the total flax-industry of Russia. The total capital is estimated at about 57,000,000 tch-rubles (1 tch-ruble=25 pence).

There is another flax-trust, the Viasniki-Mourom Unified Flax-factories. It was established after the one just described and is known as the "second flax-administration." Its headquarters are likewise located at Moscow.

It comprises 10 spinning and weaving factories, 4 flax-spinning factories and 6 flax-weaving factories. These twenty works have a combined employment roll of 19,087 hands and command capital to the value 31,000,000 tch-rubles.

In 1924-25 this second flax-administration was responsible for the following amounts of manufacture :—

Flax-yarn—810,200 poods (1 pood=32·8 lb.).

Textile fabrics—38,119,000 sq. metres.

Bags—15,787,000 sq. metres.

This constituted about 27% of the total flax-production of the year.

6. Trusts with Industrial and Commercial Functions.

The Centrobumtrust of Moscow is the central trust of cellulose and paper industry. Imports constitute one of its functions and comprise compressed paper, card board, lignine, cellulose, brimstone, aniline dyes, nets and cloth paper mills as well as the accessories of paper and cellulose-industry. The more important function consists in the manufacture of paper and card board of diverse kinds, cellulose, lignine, etc.

The members of the trust, belonging as they do to different districts, are as follows :—

1. Okoulovo Paper Mills (Novogorod).
2. Kammenski Paper Mills (Tver).
3. Troitsko-Kondroffski Paper Mills (Kalouga).
4. Poloniana-Savodski Paper Mills (Kalouga).
5. Sokol (Vologda).
6. Sukhonoffski Cellulose Work (Vologda).
7. Penza Factory (Penza).
8. Volga Factories (N. Novogorod).

The Maltcombinat is a state-trust with both industrial and commercial functions. It was established in 1923, but many of the works belong to the pre-Revolution days. In 1924-25 on the industrial side the trust manufactured goods worth 7,538,920 tch-rubles, and on the commercial side its transactions were valued at 15,801,447 tch-rubles.

The industrial side of the trust represents five different lines of activity. These may be grouped in the following order :—

I. Foundries and Engineering Works ;

1. Ludidoff Machine-works and iron foundry with annexed saw-yard. Manufactures : cars, radiators, tubes, kettles for central heating, meteor-stoves, canalization tubes, enamelled household implements, etc.

2. Pessotochin Iron foundry : enamelled ware, iron ware, cast stoves, etc.

3. Soucrimil Iron foundry : iron ware, cast stoves, etc.

4. Radetski Waggon-works.

5. Cement-factory with annexed saw-yards : Portland cement, Pouzzoulan-cement.

6. Briansk Factory : slate and asbestos veneering planks.

II. Glass and Pottery Works :

1. Bitasheff Glass-works with annexed saw-yard : half-white glass.

2. Tcherniatine Glass-works : half-white glass and glass for photographic purposes.

3. Ivortski Glass-works : thick window-glass.

4. Pessotchin Fayence-works : household crockery, sanitary porcelain.

5. Diadkov Crystall-works : household and industrial crystal.

III. Light Railways between Briansk and Paliki with a series of branches leading to different factories : 300 versts.

IV. Mining Works : coal, iron, clay, sand and chalk-pits.

V. Houses and trading offices.

7. *Commercial Trusts for Textiles and Metals.*

A commercial as distinguished from an industrial trust is the Textile Syndicate of the U. R. S. S. with head quarters at Moscow. It functions (1) as the central trading organization

of the Russian textile factories, and (2) as the supplier of raw materials, chemicals and machineries, etc., to the members.

There are altogether 342 factories belonging to the Syndicate and their total employment is registered at 562,400. The works may be classified as follows :—

146 cotton mills	...	410,600 workmen
86 woollen „	...	59,800 „
56 linen „	...	67,800 „
20 silk „	...	3,000 „
23 hemp „	...	12,000 „
11 knitting „	...	9,200 „

In 1924-25 the turnover of the Syndicate amounted to 549,300,000 tch-rubles (1 tch-ruble=25 pence). It has 146 centres in Russia and is represented by agencies at Riga, Berlin, Paris, London and New York.

Like the Textile Syndicate, the Metal Syndicate also is a purely commercial organization. Its capital is worth 5,000,000 rubles and its business growth is indicated below :—

1922-23	6,000,000 tch-rubles
1923-24	19,000,000 „
1924-25	67,000,000 „

The Syndicate is the sales-bureau of 17 metal trusts commanding factories in Central and North-western Russia. It handles the marketing of machinery and equipment, hardware goods and black metal through 64 warehouses located in different parts of the country. 60 per cent. of its sales went to the state concerns, 20 per cent. to the co-operative organizations and 4 per cent. to private dealers, the rest being disposed of in retail at the Syndicate's stores.

Another commercial trust is the Gomsy of Moscow. It is a state institution and is the central organization for the sale of

tools and machines constructed in the locomotive, car and ship-building works as well as mechanical and metallurgical mills of the state. The following works are its members :—(1) Krasnoye Sormovo, (2) Kolomennky, (3) Profintern, (4) Tverskoi, (5) Instrumentany, (6) Pervomaiski, (7) Prioksky Mining Mills, (8) Moscow Brake Works and (9) Jaroslavsky Mill.

THE CHEMICAL COMBINES OF FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

In the first quarter of the present year a Syndicate known as the Union Chimique has been established in France.¹ This may be described as a chemical trust which brings together under one organization all the leading French enterprises in the chemical line.

Among the more prominent concerns belonging to this Union may be mentioned the following six. First in point of financial strength is the Pechiney Co. with 208,000,000 francs as share capital. The second in importance is the Etablissement Kuhlmann commanding a capital of 190,000,000 francs. The Saint Gobian Co. possesses 161,000,000 francs as capital. The capital power of Societe d' Electrochimie is represented by 80,000,000 francs. The next two are known as Air Liquide Co. and Pouleme Freres each with 60,000,000 francs as capital. The combined share capital of all the industries in the Union Chimique is valued at 976,500,000 francs. At the rate of nearly 125 francs to the £ in February 1927, the total financial strength of the French chemical trust is worth some £7,810,000.

The chief object of the Union is to present a united front in regard to all foreign transactions. No sales or purchases abroad and no contracts with any party in a foreign country are to be undertaken by any of the members independently. But otherwise each is to possess perfect freedom. The Union

¹ *Der deutsche Oekonomist* (Berlin), 24 March, 1927.

is to exercise no control over the internal administration, technical or organisational, of any of the companies. Thus considered, the syndicate is to be regarded more as a loose federation or community of interests in regard to certain specified purposes than as a trust in the strictest sense of the term. It should be more appropriately placed in the class of cartels.

The Union Chimique is but a pocket syndicate compared to the huge organization in the chemical line recently established in Great Britain. It is called the "Imperial Chemical Industries." This combine comprises four of the greatest British chemical firms, each of which is, besides, a syndicate of firms. These four are (1) Brunner Mond & Co., (2) Nobel Industries, (3) British Dyestuffs Corporation and (4) United Alkali Co.

The total financial strength of this British trust is estimated at £65,000,000, *i.e.*, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ times the capital of the French Institution. It may be of interest to note in India that Lord Reading is one of the thirteen directors governing the Imperial Chemical Industries.

NO BRITISH TRUSTS IN COAL, STEEL AND SHIPBUILDING.

The coal industry of Great Britain is not yet centralized. Production on a large scale is not unknown in coal-mining but competition between the concerns is still the ruling factor in price-politics. Monopolistic trustification seems for the present to be unthinkable. But the official coal-commission has not failed to make it clear that amalgamations and vertical unifications should take place in the industry as soon as possible.

In the iron and steel industry also Great Britain has indeed very many big concerns. These are powerful enough in certain markets and for certain qualities of production. But real trust-like organizations of the American and German types are yet to come. It is still possible for single foundries such as buy their ores in the open market or from abroad to compete with

large enterprises, individual or combined, and preserve their existence. And this is perhaps one reason why the English steel industry is not yet in a position to join the continental cartel.

The shipbuilding industry of Great Britain is likewise free from monopolistic control. The name of docks and dockyards is legion and they flourish alongside of one another in almost unrestricted competition.

BRITISH TRUSTS OLD AND NEW.

Then, again, British economic theory is, in general, more or less anti-trust. The leading economists fight as a rule shy of the word trust and choose to employ the terms, amalgamation, combination, constructive co-operation, etc., instead. On the question of "individualism" vs. the so-called "restraint of trade" they are used to casting their votes in favour of the former and believing that monopolies lead to the heightening of prices. In the estimation of the *Review of Barclay's Bank Ltd.* (November 1926) combinations are almost identical in effect with the protective tariff and similar limitations. And they are said to reduce the volume of transactions in the long run.

From all these circumstances, practical and speculative, one might be led to believe that trusts as monopolistic forms of business economy have failed to strike their roots in British industry and commerce. But such a notion would be thoroughly misleading.

The Inversek Paper Company is a British institution, at once manufacturing and commercial, the like of which, so far as the extent of its vertical concentration is concerned, is hardly to be found even in the United States of America and Germany.¹ Its report for 1925-1926 published in the

¹ *Der Deutsche Volkswirt*, Berlin, 4 Feb., 1927.

Economist of 23rd October, 1926, describes how the company has recently swallowed up a host of similar concerns. It has established a combine known as the "Illustrated Newspaper Ltd.," in which have merged some of the most influential and successful illustrated journals and magazines of Great Britain. Some of the chemical factories and cellulose works have been bought out by the company. The Koholyt Gesellschaft of Germany is one of them. To-day it ranks as the world's foremost trust of paper-manufacturers and publishers.

Take next the Imperial Tobacco Company. It is a powerful trust comparable only to its American competitors with which it has succeeded in entering into a pool as regards the spheres of influence and control in the world-market. It possesses its own plantations in Kentucky in the U. S. A. and controls a large percentage of the tobacco and cigarette stores in the English-speaking world. The monopoly enjoyed by the company is almost dictatorial in regard to the prices. And its financial strength may be gauged from the fact that in 1925 there was a net income of £888,000,000, and this yielded a dividend of 24 per cent. on the share-capital.

Then there is the huge Whisky Trust. Its origins are to be found in the Distillers Company, a trust established in 1877 out of seven Scottish firms. The process of concentration and amalgamation has been going on for half a century. And in 1926 the three great whisky-concerns, Dewar, Buchanan and Walker, have been fused with the Distillers Co.

In 1890 the United Alkali Co. was established as the result of the fusion of 48 soda-works. The Brunner Mond & Co., is another trust of long standing. These two together with the British Dyestuffs Corporation and the Nobel Co., each of which is, besides, a combination of several firms, have recently been amalgamated, as noted above, into the mighty Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. (1926).

The British textile industry can exhibit several trusts of world-wide reputation. The most well-known perhaps are (1)

the Coats Co., famous for its yarns and (2) Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers. The bleaching and dyeing works are similarly organized into several powerful combinations. The Calico Printers' trusts are likewise firmly established. It need be observed, however, that ordinary spinners and weavers, whether in the cotton or in the woollen industry, have not succeeded in forming any trusts as yet.

These are all old concerns, *i.e.*, pre-war by all means and may sometimes be traced back to the nineteenth century, during which the beginnings of trustification are to be found in America as in Germany. In other words, trusts are as good English phenomena as Continental and American.

To the same type of monopolistic business organisation belong (1) the salt union, (2) the carpet trust, (3) the cable union, (4) the portland cement, (5) the match industry, (6) the bottle industry, and (7) the Lever soap works, etc. The Petroleum Companies have likewise been trustified. Like the Standard Oil Company of New York the British concerns, *e.g.*, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, have been monopolizing not only the markets for the consumption of oil but also the establishment of refineries as well as the manufacture of oil tanks and supply of oil-transports.

One of the latest British trusts,—and this a very successful one,—is to be found in the artificial silk industry. The Courtauld Co., was established before the war but has since then bought the patents of the British Rayon Manufacturing Co., and has grown into the most powerful firm in Great Britain. In 1925 with a production of 30,000,000 lbs. England was only second to the U. S. in the manufacture of artificial silk. The Courtauld Trust possesses the lion's share in this British industry.

It is clear that monopolies or semi-monopolistic organizations of the trust or cartel type are very marked features of business economy in England. Indeed the Report of the Committee on Trusts, published in 1924, leaves no doubt on the point.

We are told that there are at least 500 mighty combinations that influence not only the character of the business but the price-levels as well. The Report says further that the tendency to form amalgamations and fusions is steadily on the increase.

GERMAN BUSINESS PSYCHOLOGY TO-DAY.

In Germany's economic life the concentration or amalgamation movement has been proceeding apace. Reports about "fusion," combination or constructive co-operation of some sort or other form the special features of the industrial and commercial news coming from Germany. To-day the fusion is reported from the "heavy industry" (iron and steel works), to-morrow from the field of chemical works. Even hotels and restaurants are coming within the sweep of attempts at or achievements in trustification. The dimensions of this German amalgamation movement would be stupefying not only to us in India but to many of the less advanced nations in Europe and America as well. To the Germans themselves, however, huge cartels or trusts have become almost natural or normal phenomena in business organization. But even in Germany a few years ago, say, previous to the world war,¹ giant industrial or commercial formations such as are coming into prominence to-day would have appeared almost monstrous aberrations. Trustification, so novel as it is, has been passing through different stages.

In those days the freedom of one enterprise from control by others was regarded as the ideal form of economic activity. Any combinations, whether industrial or commercial, were likely to be treated as out of the way, as rather contrary to the spirit of self-sufficiency and *swaraj*. But in the course of a generation or so German business psychology has been settling down

¹ Cf. "The Stinnes Complex in German Industry" in the present author's *Economic Development* (1926).

to the notion that such absorptions, aggregations or conglomerations represent but the "next stage" in the evolution of economic morphology.

This idea that trustification or cartellization is but an inevitable, a natural and necessary phase of structural development in industrial and commercial life is no mere item in the doctrine of economic determinism such as inspires the writings of a class of theorists. The new mentality has got firmly entrenched in the various occupational groups and practical business circles of Germany. The Stock Exchanges are already solid embodiments of this idea in so far as they make it a point to propagate and popularise the trust-formations and attempts at fusion by sympathetic heightening of the share-values. The company-promoters and entrepreneurs may be described as being almost infatuated with amalgamations and are the staunchest apostles of the trust-idea. They are prepared to carry it to almost any length without waiting to inquire whether the size of giant structures is limited ultimately by the personal element in economic ventures. Curiously enough, even the workingmen have grown into powerful advocates of the amalgamation movement, although it is self-evident that every trustification is almost invariably attended with the discharge of hands and hence unemployment.

RATIONALIZATION IN MANUFACTURE.

The reasons for the wide popularity of trusts are not far to seek. In Germany since the war there is one idea that has been governing the thoughts of almost every economic theorist and the activities of nearly every business man.¹ And that is *Rationalisierung*, i.e., rationalization of the processes of production, transportation and transfer of goods. Now this rationalization of economic life can be achieved only under conditions of

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct.-Dec., 1926; Berlin.

fusion, amalgamation, or trustification. No trusts, no rationalization,—trusts constitute the very precondition and basis of every rationalizing attempt in industry and trade. This is the slogan that prevails in the German economic world.

How do trustification and rationalization go hand in hand? The explanation is simple. In the first place, no rationalization is possible in any sphere of economic activity, say, manufacture of goods, unless there is a unified plan in regard to the entire branch of production concerned. It is only when the whole branch of manufacture, *i.e.*, the entire line of particular commodities is controlled by a single organization of brain, brawn and bullion, that we can speak of a uniformity in the administration of production. This implies automatically that all the different firms engaged in the manufacture of the goods in question belong to one single management. And this is nothing but industrial combination or trustification.

The rationalization such as can be accomplished by trusts makes itself felt in two ways: First, in so far as the production of different types or kinds of goods is an absolute necessity, the trust is in a position to distribute the work among the several factories in its sweep. Each one of these firms is not then compelled to attempt producing all the different types but may be allowed to devote itself to the manufacture of just those types to which it is specially adapted.

Secondly, under the conditions of a trust supervising and controlling the production of numerous factories it is possible to reduce the very number of types or kinds of goods. As long as every factory is independent and tries to compete with other factories in the same line of manufacture, the market is overburdened with a superfluous and unnecessary multiplicity of types between which the difference is hardly noticeable. The “freedom” generates plenty of economic wastes, whereas, on the contrary, it is the function of an all-commanding trust to avoid and prevent those wastes due to competition and emancipate the market from the tyranny of unnecessarily diverse types.

RATIONALIZATION IN BANKING AND WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE.

Rationalization has the same end in view in the administration of banks¹ as in that of industry. The fundamental object is to remove the superfluous and simplify the most essential requirements in order that the expenses may be reduced to a minimum. And as in the case of industry, in the case of banks also the net result that one seeks to achieve is the supply of goods, in the present instance, money, to the customers, *i.e.*, credit-seekers at as cheap a rate as possible.

The introduction of machines in the routine work of banks is a technical item calculated automatically to reduce the numerical strength of the office apparatus. Similarly, much of the duplication or multiplication of forms necessary in bank business can be avoided if a number of banks decide to amalgamate themselves into a single institution. But the personal element in bank-administration is so important that the amalgamation movement encounters a natural check.

While banking admits of a great degree of rationalization such as is most prominent in industry, the possibilities of commercial undertakings in this direction, even although they be of large dimensions, are rather limited. The chief improvements in the field of wholesale business lie in the direction of a better organization of human labour. Another direction in which big commerce can advance consists in the establishment of common purchasing organizations. The importance of large storages and warehouses has been making itself prominent among all wholesalers.

Ordinary, *i.e.*, retail store-keeping also admits of a great deal of rationalization and this is apparent in buying, warehousing and selling. The most important innovation of recent times

¹ *Industrie-und-Handelszeitung*, Berlin, January, 1927; *Technik und Wirtschaft*, Dec., 1926 (article on *Neue Handelsformen im Auslande*) and January, 1927 (article on *Normung im Einzelhandel*).

consists in the placing of standardized goods on the market. To-day, nobody as purchaser is compelled to possess a knowledge of hundreds of goods or of the varied conditions regarding quality, price, etc., obtaining in the market. Comparatively unskilled hands can likewise be entrusted with the storing and selling of goods.

There has besides been a movement towards the concentration of warehouses and the union of purchasers in specialized fields. The result is embodied in a better organization of the buying process.

Warehousing has become simplified on account of the changes in industrial methods. The factories are now turning out a smaller number of typical commodities than before. Ordinary stores are not therefore compelled to carry widely varied lines of goods of the same sort. The branch offices of retail stores in different parts of the city or district are some of the new phenomena in the trading world. They serve to expand the business of the company without in any way considerably adding to the cost of warehousing. They are therefore playing a part in the rationalization process.

In the field of sales, rationalization has been manifesting itself in the establishment of stores which offer goods at some fixed price-units, *e.g.*, the 5 cents, 10 cents stores of the U. S. The Woolworth Stores of New York have been winning imitations on the continent. The Tietz stores of Cologne are introducing American methods of retailing in Germany.

TRUSTS AND CRISES.

In the second place, the intimate connection between trustification and rationalization is brought home to us in the problems connected with crisis and the so-called economic cycles. Let us begin with the "slump" phenomena. Suppose that in a certain line of goods the market conditions happen to be so bad that all the factories interested in its production are compelled

to work half-time or quarter-time. When the factories are independent of, and are at liberty to compete with, one another the result of such a depression can but be uniformly bad to all of them. But should all the factories engaged in the manufacture of this particular kind of goods happen to be governed by one and the same industrial organization, it might be deemed expedient and "rational" to close one or two works down and work the rest full time. The supply might then be brought down to the reduced requirements of the market, and the trust being a powerful institution, it might shoulder the losses, should there be any on account of the closing down, without much difficulty.

Let us now take the other side, the "boom" aspects of an economic crisis. Under conditions of atomistic individualism and uncontrolled freedom of enterprise each one of the firms in a particular line of production would consider itself justified in recklessly going in for schemes of expansion. The capitalists, the engineers and the merchants,—all would vie with one another each in his own sphere, to take advantage of the upward swing. They would be virtually ignorant of one another's plans and would hardly wait to consider whether the market is wide enough for the ambitious projects of so many competitors. Legion of companies would be floated and factories would spring up like mushrooms,—all leading cumulatively to overproduction. Similar conditions have not been unknown even in India in our recent experience.

The supply of goods in abnormal proportions much higher than the market can absorb is likely to be a natural phenomenon when the competition is unbridled and limited solely by the independent ambitions of self-determined firms. If this phenomenon is to be curbed at all, or at any rate harnessed within narrow bounds, it can be accomplished mainly under such rational methods as a trust can introduce by curtailing the freedom of its members and commanding them to exercise self-control in regard to the amount of production. •

WORKING MEN AND TRUSTS.

What, then, are the motives of workingmen in actively sympathizing with trustifications and rationalization? It is necessary to remember, at the outset, that the working men of Germany as in other advanced countries of the West are more or less well read in socialistic literature. Socialism of one form or another is the very atmosphere in which they live, move and have their being. The inspiration and guidance for all their political and other public activities they derive from such newspapers and books as represent in the main the views of thinkers who, if not registered socialists, are at any rate theorists with socialist bias.

Now the socialistic economics and political theories of the last two generations have succeeded in establishing an ideological tradition among the masses. The content of that tradition is peculiarly adapted to lead the working men to believe, as a matter of course, that the forms of economic organization succeed one another in an historical series. If to-day giant structures are in evidence swallowing up the smaller and middling formations and dictating terms to each one of their members, it is but a process in the natural evolution of things. Trusts, in other words, are inevitable. The working men, true to their socialistic inspiration and world-view, are therefore by their psychological associations naturally prepared to accept the growing trust-organizations as but the latest embodiments of the human spirit in economic endeavour.

The working men are, however, not blind to the realities of the situation, their historic determinism and their socialistic interpretation of economic evolution notwithstanding. They are painfully observing how trustification and unemployment have been going together. In their estimation rationalization is but a synonym for the discharge of hands. But yet they are educated enough to believe that this discharge of hands is but a temporary phenomenon. And they are inclined to hope that as

soon as the trusts have been able to accomplish the necessary rationalization the disadvantage at present experienced by labour will disappear, nay, that the wages will tend to rise.

FINANCIAL NECESSITY AS MOTHER OF TRUSTS.

The doctrine of the "inevitableness" of trusts such as is taught by socialist economics belongs no longer to the region of mere abstract speculations. The conjuncture of circumstances in the social and economic life of Germany to-day has furnished a surprisingly strong verification of the hypothesis which speculative theory in the field of economic history attempted to bring forward. Trusts have actually become "inevitable" on account of, among other things, the financial conditions of the post-war world. It is sheer necessity, the pressing need of the hour, that as in the case of other inventions and improvisations has compelled trusts also to make their appearance on a huge scale and all along the line.

The recent trusts of Germany are mostly the offsprings of financial necessity. Firms have been forced to renounce their freedom and self-determination and seek the assistance and co-operation of their rivals simply because they felt that absolute independence would mean a wholesale ruin to their interests. Unless they were prepared to sacrifice their freedom and merge their existence in the life of an all-powerful combination they would have to choose the only other alternative, namely, a disgraceful retreat from the economic arena.

It is mainly the problem of working capital which explains the urge behind the trustification involved in the steel-complex, the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*. The great combine of Upper Silesia, the *Montan-trust*, owes its recent amalgamation to the same necessity. The *Photofusion* built up in the chemical industries connected with photography has to thank the financial need for its present structural growth. Of late the smaller chemical works had been to a dangerous extent cornered by the big dye

industry association. In order to meet this danger they have found it necessary to club their capital and other resources and place themselves under the common surveillance of a great chemical union. In the wagon industry, likewise, it is the absence of sufficient capital in single firms that has been inducing them to attempt pooling their interests and organize an almighty trust to look after them all.

These are instances of absolutely independent concerns that because of financial weakness have seen their way to seek safety and prosperity in combinations. Financial necessity has been the mother of trusts in other ways as well. In Germany as in other adult industrial countries, for some long time, there have been in operation certain types of business combination which may be described not as full-fledged trusts but as half-way houses, so to say, to trusts. To these "intermediate" forms of combinational economy belongs the system of different firms buying one another's shares. Then there are many concerns which co-operate with one another in certain technical questions. To this extent there is an amalgamation, but it does not go far enough. There is a third class of combinations which do not exceed the rather modest limits of a general *Interessengemeinschaft* (community of interests). It is the pressure of financial considerations that has prevailed upon such quarter-trusts or half-trusts to move towards a 100 per cent. fusion, *i.e.*, amalgamation of the full trust type. The aniline concerns have, owing to these conditions, found it paying to deliberately leave the "intermediate stage" behind and rise up to the highest known type of combination in business morphology. Another group of semi-trusts which have been forced by considerations of capital to adopt complete trustification is to be found in the linoleum industry.

TRUSTS AND FOREIGN CAPITAL.

The financial necessity has assumed an exceptional character in Germany in recent years. And this has contributed its

quota in no small measure to the transformation of the organizational forms in business enterprise. Some of the most prominent German concerns have to depend for capital on loans in the international money-market.

This dependence on foreign capital may to a certain extent indicate the economic weakness of Germany. But, on the other hand, the very fact that an enterprise is not compelled to look solely to the home-market for its finance but is free to exploit the entire world for the supply of working capital indicates on the other hand at least two things. First, it is an evidence of the credit not only of the concern itself but of Germany's government and people abroad as well. In the second place, the possibility of getting loans in foreign countries serves almost as a regular and constant assurance of expansion which the enterprise can expect in a reasonable manner.

Now international finance can be approached only for big figures. It is only when one is out tapping the loan market for millions of dollars that American "individual bankers" are likely to get interested in the "deals." Naturally, therefore, as a preparation for floating loans on the world-market German concerns have found it a business-like proposition to merge their individualities in a mammoth enterprise of dimensions such as are likely to be respected by creditors. Loan-hunting in foreign countries has thus been a fruitful source of concentration in industrial enterprise at home.

PRESSURE FROM THE HOME MONEY MARKET.

The exigencies of foreign capital have not, however, been the sole financial forces in the urge behind trustification in Germany. The internal money market also has no less directly contributed a great deal to the recent amalgamation movements in industry. German banks do not proceed to accommodate a concern simply because it is German *swadeshi*. They make distinctions between larger and smaller enterprises. The word

“larger” implies automatically those concerns which have command over considerable amounts of capital and are therefore likely to be successful enough in the struggle for existence. And in the estimation of banks the smaller enterprises stand as a rule for weaker institutions with necessarily lower power of resistance. The prejudices of banks against smaller enterprises have induced amongst these latter, as a measure of self-defence, a tendency to develop their vital force by combinations.

The impact of Stock Exchange operations on the form of business organization has likewise tended in the same direction. The chances for the sale of shares are very limited when smaller enterprises are in question. The market rejects almost spontaneously those shares which are issued by anything but big concerns. The discount charged in these instances in order to place the shares on the market is rather heavy. And it so happens that even when the dividends and chances of dividends are identical, no matter whether the company be large or small, it is the larger that commands a higher share-value on the exchange. The “fittest to survive” under such conditions of the money-market are then the companies that are the biggest in dimensions or command the control over a large number of concerns.

CARTELS *vs.* TRUSTS IN PRICE-POLICY.

Trusts may have been inevitable as a natural phase in the evolution of economic morphology. But the dangers of trustification to the community are none the less natural. As would already have been clear, the formation of trusts is from one standpoint but a synonym for the annihilation of competition. And economically speaking, the extinction of competition is identical with the establishment of monopolies, whether under private auspices or under state or municipal control. The fundamental identity between trusts and monopolies ushers into existence a number of economic phenomena to which both the masses and the classes have equally to remain alive.

The most important of these phenomena belong to the region of prices and price-policies. But here it is necessary to make a distinction between the 100% trusts and the semi-trusts, quarter-trusts or half-way houses to trusts, which have been referred to above in another connection. These semi-trusts are known as cartels.

A cartel is a type of business organization in which the different member-concerns maintain their individuality and separate existence almost as the states in a federal union. But in a trust the different members do not enjoy the least autonomy or self-direction but become so many districts, so to say, of a centralized nation-state. A cartel is therefore invariably a more or less loose conglomeration of several concerns possessing different degrees of capital power, technical skill and mechanical up-to-dateness. Some of the partners are perhaps quite fit, but the others are heavy drags upon the federation. The manufactures of all these different institutions are naturally being produced under different conditions of industrial efficiency, in other words, varying levels of cost. This is tantamount to saying that the goods can be offered for sale at different prices by the different members of the "federation." But in so far as the cartel poses as a unified institution in regard to the market for goods it will have to offer them at one and the same price, no matter how different be the cost-levels.

What, then, is likely to be the natural price-policy of a cartel? It must attempt to protect the "least fit" member of the federation, *i.e.*, take into consideration the most expensive cost-level in the entire organization while coming out to the market with its terms of sale. The more fit and efficient members cannot be allowed to have their lower cost-levels determine the price for the whole organization, because in that case there would be no meaning in the establishment of the cartel. It is the "weakest link in the chain" that would influence the character of the system. It is clear, therefore, that every cartel, in so far as it kills competition between the fit and the unfit and

compels the more efficient to be satisfied with the conditions imposed by the less efficient, is prejudicial to the interests of the community. The price-levels at which cartels can function are bound to be higher than under conditions of free competition.

The price-policy of a trust tends to follow altogether another contrary direction. Here the diversity of conditions prevailing within the federation of a cartel is unknown. The organization is uniformly governed in a trust by one centralized system of ideas. The trust does not tolerate the existence of weaker members by the side of the more powerful ones. It abolishes the "less paying" and the more expensive concerns and concentrates its energy solely on those that show signs of a vigorous existence. A homogeneous level of industrial efficiency regulating the conditions of production in the entire system of workshops and factories is the A. B. C. of a trust's business policy. Naturally, therefore, it is the best equipped, the most favourably placed, the strongest and the fittest, whose cost-levels determine the price at which the trust is in a *position* to offer the goods on sale.

The prices of trust-commodities tend consequently to be much lower than those of cartel-commodities. But all the same the danger from a monopoly such as a trust in reality is cannot be ignored. For, in spite of the natural possibility of offering goods at a comparatively low price-level a trust may choose to pursue an anti-social and despotic policy.

FEARS REGARDING THE NEXT STAGE.

The annihilation of competition in the industrial world such as is engendered by trusts has another social consequence on which the opponents of trusts in Germany as in Great Britain and America are never tired of harping. That is the problem of the next stage in economic evolution,—especially in regard to the question of appropriate technical personnel in the country and financial leadership among the people.

To-day, indeed, the very ambition of establishing a giant organization acts as a powerful spur on the ambitious youths who are entering the industrial world. The leaders of to-day have been proving themselves quite up to the heightened demands of engineering, chemistry and finance. But what about the next generation?

The social situation created by monopolistic giant-organizations known as trusts is leaving no chance for young ambitions to start a career of sturdy independence in the business world. The best talents are forced to find themselves as but so many hands or screws in a huge mechanism. To the men who are pioneering the mammoth concerns all the rising youths are but clerks and second fiddles. In all trust-lands, therefore, the anxiety of statesmen and social economists is finding expression in the movement to promote by every means all those cultural and technical agencies by which giant undertakings can become a second nature, so to say, to the growing heads and hands of the society. This is an aspect of futurism in applied sociology to which the advanced countries of the world are being forced to devote their scientific attention and patriotic imagination on account of the appearance of trusts. India's problems of the "next stage" lie, however, on a much lower and more modest level.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE CONCEPTION OF DIVINE PERSONALITY IN THE SĀṆKHYA PHILOSOPHY

The essential characteristics of personality may be said to be two, or, rather, one, expressible in two forms; and they are : (1) Self-consciousness or consciousness of a centre of reference, and (2) a self-conscious centre of activity or effort, otherwise called Will. These are the general characteristics of all forms of personality. But self-consciousness is not a simple or undifferentiated unity of an essence or substance, but a complex or differentiated unity of a 'system' or 'world'—a unity-in-multiplicity; and such a unity is not perfect everywhere, it is so only in God. Thus, God being a perfect unity of self-consciousness, He may properly be called *super-personal*. When, on the other hand, we say that God is a perfectly unified centre of all activity or effort, we mean the same thing, only expressed in a different form. Or, in short, God is a perfect intellect and a perfect will. If these characteristics constitute the personality of God, does the Sāṅkhya attribute the same characteristics to Him? If the answer is in the affirmative, then the Sāṅkhya must be held to regard God as personal; and if, on the other hand, the answer is in the negative, then the Sāṅkhya must be held to regard God as impersonal. Let us consider which one of these two views it really maintains as its own.

The Sāṅkhya defines Purusa *in a general way*. We should consider the definition very carefully. The Sāṅkhya Kārikā defines Purusa in this way: "The Manifested is caused, non-eternal, limited, changeful, multiform, dependent, attributive, conjunct (and) subordinate. The Unmanifested is the reverse" (Verse 10). "The Manifested has three constituents, and is indiscriminative, objective, generic, irrational and productive. So also is Nature. Soul is the reverse in these respects as in those" (Verse 11). From these two verses we

may gather the attributes of Purusa : He is *uncaused, eternal, all-pervading, unchanging, one, independent, irresolvable, uncombined, and self-governed*. In these respects he resembles Nature (Prakriti), but he has other attributes in which he differs from her. These adjectives are : *destitute of the three gunas or constitutive factors, discriminative, subjective, specific or individual, rational, and unprolific*. We should also read another verse along with these two, which is : “And from that contrariety (before specified) Soul is proved to be a *witness, eternally free, neutral, perceiving, and inactive*” (*ibid.*, Verse 19). If we turn to the Sāṅkhya Sūtram we find the following attributes affirmed of Purusa : He is *eternal, all-pervading* (chap. 1, aph. 12), *free from all association* (*ibid.*, aph. 15), *eternally pure or unchangeable, eternally enlightened, and eternally released* (*ibid.*, aph. 19). The other treatises on the Sāṅkhya do not differ, even slightly, from the Sāṅkhya Kārikā with regard to the attributes of Purusa. We may, therefore, accept the list of attributes given by the latter as final.

Let us now examine carefully the above attributes. Purusa (the Absolute Self) is *rational, intelligent, eternally enlightened*: He is therefore a *Self-conscious Being*. But self-consciousness is not a bare unity, but a system or whole, or what is called a unity-in-multiplicity. Is Purusa a bare unity—a unity of a substance or the unity of a system? We should notice two other attributes; Purusa is called *subject* and Prakriti, *object*. Thus, Purusa is a self-conscious subject who has Prakriti as object. But this alone does not make Purusa a unity-in-multiplicity—a system or a world; Prakriti may be entirely distinct from, and outside of, Purusa : in that case, even though Purusa may know her, yet He will not have her included in His contents. Thus, Purusa will be bereft of all contents, Prakriti including, according to the Sāṅkhya, all the contents which He may know, and reduced to be a bare unity. Therefore, to make Purusa a system, Prakriti must somehow be included in His contents. For that purpose the Sāṅkhya adds another adjective, *namely,*

all-pervasive. Purusa is not only a Self-conscious Subject, but an *all-pervading consciousness* or *subject*, that is, He *includes Prakriti in His nature*. Thus, the real concrete Purusa is an *all-pervading self-conscious system* or *world* of which Prakriti is an element. He is, in other words, an *organic synthesis* of the Subject and the Object, of the Self and the Not-Self, or in short, a *Subject-Object*. Prakriti also is called all-pervading, but she is an *all-pervading Object or Not-Self*. If there be an all-pervading Subject, there must be also an all-pervading Object as its correlate. And the concrete Absolute is, thus, an *organic synthesis*. What would be the logical consequences of this conclusion we shall see in the sequel.

In the meantime we should clear up some difficulties. Purusa is also called *free from all attachment or association*, and *eternally released*. If Prakriti be included in the contents of Purusa, then how can these adjectives be applicable to Him? The answer is, that they are applicable, because they express only the *particular aspect*, not the whole nature of Purusa. Purusa is not only immanent in Prakriti, but also transcendent over her; a self-conscious subject not only includes its object, but also knows itself as distinct from and unexhausted in respect of its contents by, the latter, just, for instance, as our self includes all our ideas, feelings, willings, etc., and yet has not its contents exhausted by them : the former fact makes the subject immanent in, and the latter, transcendent over, the object. In so far as Purusa is transcendent, He is *eternally released*, *i.e.* not under the influence of Prakriti or the not-self, and also free from all attachment or association with her. It is only in the sense that the Absolute Purusa or Brahman is spoken of in the Sruti as eternally released and free from all attachment with Prakriti. We should always bear in mind that the Sāṅkhya definition of Purusa differs very little from that given in the Sruti, and those who are conversant with the latter know well that according to Nimvārka and Rāmānuja those attributes express only the *transcendent* aspect of Brahman or the Absolute Purusa. There

are other attributes of a similar nature, to wit, *inactive*, *unchangeable*, *unprolific*, and *specific* or *individual*, all of which express the *transcendent* aspect of Purusa. But in so far as the Absolute Purusa is *immanent* in Prakriti, He must possess also attributes of *activity*, *changefulness*, *productivity* and *individuality*, these being the attributes of the latter in so far as she is manifested. Thus, the Absolute Purusa, in *His wholeness*, has two sets of attributes apparently opposite to each other, one set expressing His transcendent aspect, and the other, His immanent aspect. Or, we may express the whole fact in another way: As a whole or system, the Absolute Purusa is *eternally free*, because there is nothing outside Him which can bind Him; no doubt, He is bound by His contents (including Prakriti), but in that case, He is bound by what lie *within* Himself, by what is His *own*, that is to say, *by Himself*; but 'self-bound' is another name for 'free.' He is *free from all attachment or association*, for, there is nothing outside Him to be associated with. *Inactive*, because, being self-complete, He has no want or purpose to be fulfilled, or no end to be realised, therefore He has no desire or volition which is implied in all activity called voluntary and human. *Unchangeable*, because, there is nothing outside Him which can change His nature, so that as a whole, He is eternally unchanged. *Unprolific*, because all production implies change, but He is eternally complete. *Specific* or *Individual*, because a systematic whole is the true individual. But as the parts (*i.e.*, all things and beings in the universe) are His own individualisations or differentiations, specific centres of His own activity, He possesses also the attributes of them. This fact is indicated by the phrase "Purusa is also analogous to the manifested in all those respects." We may say that the Absolute is not only a perfect intellect, but also a perfect will, understanding by the latter *a perfect spontaneity* or *a perfectly spontaneous active principle*. In this sense the Absolute Purusa is *active*, but His activity does not imply any want, purpose, desire or volition; it is perfectly spontaneous. There are

other evidences in the Sāṅkhya itself which points to the fact that though Purusa and Prakriti are distinct, they are yet *inseparable* elements of One Absolute whole, or they are *correlative* aspects of a Higher Synthesis. Consider the following :

(a) "The bondage of Purusa is not due to Prakriti, for she herself is under His control" (Sāṅkhya Sūtram, Chap. I, 18). Here it is positively affirmed that Prakriti is *not independent* of Purusa, but entirely under His control. This assertion clearly shows that Purusa and Prakriti are not two independent realities, but the latter is an element of the former, for, of two things wholly independent and unrelated one cannot be entirely under the control of another..

(b) "Without the conjunction of Prakriti (there can be) no conjunction of bondage in Purusa, who is, by nature, eternally pure, enlightened and unconfined" (*ibid*, 19). In the preceding aphorism it is asserted that Prakriti is not the *direct cause* of bondage; here it is said that the *direct cause* is her *conjunction* with Purusa. Now a question naturally suggests itself here: What is the cause of this conjunction between Purusa and Prakriti? Prakriti cannot be the cause of it, because, then, she will be the real cause of the bondage, which will be inconsistent with the previous assertion of her non-causality in this respect. Purusa also cannot be the cause, because, He being eternally free, cannot bind Himself. The Sāṅkhya says the real cause is non-discrimination (*aviveka*) or the absence of any knowledge on the part of Purusa about his distinction from Prakriti. But this answer is absurd, because *aviveka* cannot pertain to him who is eternally enlightened. The true answer is, that *the conjunction is eternal*, and being eternal, it is *eternally uncaused* for what is eternal cannot have any cause. The conjunction is *an ultimate fact*, because Purusa and Prakriti are the inseparable elements of one whole, and co-exist from eternity; and therefore no question about its origin may arise. Thus, the conjunction being eternal, the bondage is also *eternal*, i.e., the

Absolute Purusa is eternally bound up with Prakriti. What is, then, release? As the bondage is the result of the *identification* of the Absolute Purusa with Prakriti, so is the release the result of the knowledge of the *distinction* between them. Release does not mean *absolute separation* between them, because that is impossible. The Sāṅkhya does not entertain that view. Thus, the Absolute Purusa is *both eternally bound up and eternally released*. But he is bound up, not by anything *external*, but by what is *internal*, by His own elements, *i.e.*, in so far as He is *immanent* in His elements, He identifies Himself with them: He is released in so far as He *transcends* the elements, *i.e.*, knows Himself to be *distinct* from and unexhausted in respect of His contents by the elements. Therefore, the bondage and release of the Absolute Purusa are *eternal*—*eternal correlative* aspects of his nature. Or, in other words, His bondage is His freedom or release, because it is due to His own elements, and therefore, to His own Self. But bondage and release have a different meaning for the individual Purusas or men.

(c) "The agency or causality or Prakriti is due to her proximity to Isvara, as in the case of a loadstone" (*ibid*, 96). Examine this aphorism carefully. As a piece of iron derives its power of attraction by virtue of its proximity to a loadstone, so Prakriti derives her power of evolution by virtue of her proximity to Isvara. Here proximity is described as an essential condition of acquiring such a power. But the analogy is inadequate and misleading. Proximity is a kind of space-relation, which can subsist between a loadstone and iron, both of them being in space. But how can it subsist between Isvara and Prakriti? In the first place, proximity implies an interval, however small, between two things; but there cannot be any interval or distance between Isvara and Prakriti, both of them being all-pervading and included in each other. In the second place, proximity is possible between things which are in space; but Isvara is admittedly above space (*cf.* aph. 13). Though, thus

the analogy is inappropriate, it contains one important truth : a piece of iron derives its power of attraction from a loadstone which must itself possess such a power before it can transfer it to the iron; similarly, Prakriti derives her power of evolution from Isvara who must Himself possess the power before it is transferred to Prakriti. This aphorism, thus, admits that the Absolute Purusa possesses the power of evolution, but instead of exercising it Himself He transfers it to Prakriti. A similar analogy is given in aphorism 99, which runs thus : "The actual causality is that of the Antah-karana, because it is lighted up by the Absolute Purusa, as in the case with the iron." Here, too, the point of the analogy is that Antah-karana (which is an evolute of Prakriti) derives its power of causation from Isvara, as the iron derives its power of burning from fire, and that, therefore, Isvara possesses the power of causality, as the fire does the power of burning. If the fire did not possess such a power, the iron also could not derive its power; similarly, if Isvara did not possess the power of causality, Antah-karana too could not derive its power of evolution. Consider also aphorism 164. Here, too, it is stated that the causality of Prakriti is derived from the influence or affection of Purusa, which is, again, due to her proximity to the self-conscious Principle. In Aphorism 51 of Chap. III, Prakriti is described as a *born-slave* to Purusa. There are numerous other aphorisms which point to the same fact, and need not be cited here.

Sometimes the word 'samyoga,' *i.e.*, union or conjunction is used to express the relation between Purusa and Prakriti, by virtue of which the latter derives her power of evolution from Purusa. Thus, in the Sāṅkhya Kārikā we have the following : "In order that soul may contemplate Prakriti and be released, the union of the two, like that of the lame and the blind, takes place; (and) thence creation springs." (Verse 21.) It is curious that the Sāṅkhya Kārikā exclusively uses the word 'samyoga,' *i.e.*, union, and the Sāṅkhya Pravachana Sūtram, the word 'sāṅnīdhya,' *i.e.*, proximity, to indicate the relation.

But the former seems to be more appropriate than the latter for reasons stated above. However, we should notice one significant assertion in the verse cited above. Purusa is likened to a lame and Prakriti to a blind man, each of whom is altogether helpless without the other, for the purposes of evolution. But according to the Sāṅkhya the evolution is *eternal*, and therefore, the union of Purusa and Prakriti is also *eternal*; that is to say, Purusa and Prakriti are *eternally united*, and are, therefore, two eternally correlated aspects of a Higher Synthesis of one Absolute Whole. This point we have already proved from a different standpoint.

Before we conclude we should consider two attributes which are affirmed of both Purusa and Prakriti : they are 'independent' and 'self-governed.' (*Vide Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, vers. 10 and 11.) If Prakriti be independent and self-governed, how can she be inseparably related to Purusa? But we have, on the contrary, proved by citing numerous texts that they are inseparably related and two eternally correlated aspects of a higher Synthesis. How can we then reconcile these two seemingly contradictory assertions? If we think about the matter more closely we find that there is really no inconsistency. We can view the nature of Prakriti from two standpoints : Prakriti possesses some attributes in common with Purusa, and also possesses some other attributes in respect of which she differs from Him. Thus there are both *identity* and *distinction* between them. In as far as they are *identical*, they are inseparably related and therefore mutually supported or *dependent*; in so far as they are *distinct* and *opposite*, they are *unrelated*, and, therefore, mutually *unsupported* or *independent*. Thus, Prakriti is *independent* of Purusa from a *particular standpoint*, i.e., she is *relatively* independent, absolute independence being out of the question, for if she had really such an independence, she would fall *outside* Purusa, and thus limiting Him would make Him limited or finite. Two things absolutely independent and yet analogous and all-pervading, is a self-contradictory assertion. Prakriti

should, therefore, be called *relatively independent*. Again, Prakriti is also called *self-governed*; but 'self-governed' is the same as 'independent.' Thus Prakriti is only *relatively self-governed*. This disposes of the remaining difficulties.

It is no doubt true that the whole tenor of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is to maximise the distinction or opposition, and to minimise the relation, between Purusa and Prakriti. To a less careful and intelligent reader the Sāṅkhya will appear to be a rigorously pluralistic system; but to a more careful and intelligent one it would appear that the Sāṅkhya *as a whole* is *relatively pluralistic*, teaching in many places, though less prominently, the unity of an Absolute Principle underlying the plurality.

Let us now turn to the Yoga Sutram, which is also called a Sāṅkhya Philosophy, to see what view it entertains with regard to the personality of God or Isvara. In Aphorisms 23-26 of the Samādhi Pāda, Patanjali has mainly discussed the nature of Isvara. We have mentioned before two essential characteristics which constitute the personality of Isvara, to wit, (a) perfect self-consciousness or a centre of reference of all objects, and (b) perfect will or a centre of activity, which is directly or indirectly the source of all activities in the world. Or, in other words, the personality of Isvara consists in a *perfect intellect* and a *perfect spontaneity*. I shall show that these two characteristics are to be described in the above aphorisms. In Aphorism 25 it is said that the seeds of omniscience has reached its acme in Isvara, that is to say, He is described to be a perfect Intellect or a perfect Self-conscious Being. This inference is further confirmed by Aphorism 26, where Isvara is described to be the Original Preceptor of all other first-born preceptors, such as Brahmā, etc. The meaning of this is that Isvara is the original or ultimate source of all knowledge and truth. All these conclusively show that Isvara is a *perfect self-conscious Being* who is 'all-knowing and the ultimate source of all knowledge and truth. From this all-knowing character of Isvara follows His *eternity* and *infinity*, in as much as an all-knowing Being

cannot be limited in time and space ; if He were so limited, He could not know all ; He could not know what was outside and beyond the limit, and thus, could not be all-knower. Is He also a *perfect will*? In Aphorism 24 Isvara is described to be a particular Purusa, eternally free from pains, actions, fruits of actions, and desires arising from them. Here He is described as *destitute of actions and desires, i.e., of will* as ordinarily understood. Let us quote *in extenso* the comments made by Vyāsa on this aphorism : “ Klesha (pains) are avidya (ignorance) and the rest ; karmas (actions) are vices and virtues ; vipāka is the fruits of actions ; āsaya are desires following therefrom. Though they are qualities of the *manah*, yet, they are called the qualities of Purusa, because He is the enjoyer or knower of their fruits or consequences, just as the victory or defeat, which really belongs to the actual fighters, is usually ascribed to their master. That *particular* Purusa, who is free from the enjoyment of those fruits or consequences, is called Isvara. But there are many other Purusas called *kevali* who have also attained liberation called *kaivalya* ; they have attained *kaivalya* by freeing themselves from three kinds of bondage. Isvara had no connexion with those three kinds of bondage in the past, nor will have any in the future : as by the liberation is understood innumerable previous bondages, so is not the case with Isvara. Or, as it will be possible for the absorbed into the Prakriti to have innumerable future bondages, so will not be the case with Isvara ; for He is eternally free and eternally Isvara.” Now, it is evident from the above that Isvara is *eternally free* from all vicious and virtuous actions, as well as from all desires arising from them : actions also imply desires as their *motives* ; but desires and actions are essential characteristics of will : it therefore follows that Isvara has no *will*. But this is not the real inference for the following reasons : (a) In the Aphorism 25 it is positively asserted that Isvara shows kindness to the yogins by enabling them to attain *samādhi* and its fruits in a shorter time. Let us examine Vyāsa's* comments

on it : “ When a yogin worships Isvara with a special kind of devotion He *does kind deeds* to him at the moment of his meditation, and on account of that meditation the yogin’s attainment of samādhi and its fruits becomes instantaneous.” Consider then the Aphorism 26. In this aphorism it is clearly asserted that Isvara is the *original preceptor* of all the first-born preceptors, such as Brahmā and the rest, because He is above time, while they were born in time and had a limited longevity. It is manifest from this that Isvara is not absolutely *inactive*, for He is the ultimate instructor of all knowledge and truth. This fact is made more explicit and emphatic in the commentary of Vyāsa on the Aphorism 25. Vyāsa says : “ Even though He (*i.e.*, Isvara) has no want so far as He Himself is concerned, yet He has want in the shape of doing good to the jivas : the latter want is this : I shall liberate the entangled Purusas during the Kalpapralaya and the Mahāpralaya by means of instruction about knowledge and religion. It is likewise said : ‘ The prime-seer, (incarnated) through the medium of an artificial mind, (as) the mighty divine sage (Kapila), out of compassion (towards all entangled Purusas), revealed the (Sāṅkhya) doctrine, in a systematic way, to Āsuri, who desired to know them.’” From this it is conclusively proved that Isvara is not conceived by the Yoga Sūtram as absolutely *inactive*.

How, then, is this last assertion to be reconciled with the previous one? In Aphorism 24 it is said that Isvara is eternally free from actions and their consequent desires : in other aphorisms, to wit, 23, 25 and 27, it is held that He is not wholly inactive and destitute of desires : He does some acts and has some desires. How can we reconcile them? The reconciliation is, I think, easy. When Isvara is said to be eternally free from actions and desires, these actions are *good* or *bad*, *virtuous* or *vicious* actions ; and the desires are those which arise out of them. Now, those actions and desires are possible for man only : the epithets, ‘ good ’ or ‘ bad,’ ‘ virtuous ’ or ‘ vicious,’ are not applicable to the actions of Isvara, for He

is above duties and virtues. The sense of duty is the sense of the conflict between Reason and Inclinations—between the higher or rational Self in man and his lower or passional Self; and the virtue is nothing but a habit of doing duty. In Isvara no such struggle is possible, because He has no such passions and desires which resemble those which arise from the physical wants and appetites of man: Isvara is *perfectly rational* and *perfectly realised*, so that His actions cannot be called good or bad, virtuous or vicious in the same sense in which human actions are called so: or, more appropriately, those epithets are wholly inapplicable to His actions. This proves that Isvara is not inactive, but He acts and His acts should not be called good or bad, virtuous or vicious, and therefore, He is eternally free only from those actions to which those epithets are applicable. Again, Divine actions, as we have found, are not prompted by desire, purpose, end or motive, as ordinarily understood, because such a desire, etc., arise out of human conditions which are absent in Isvara: His actions are *perfectly spontaneous*. The same is true of desires: Isvara has, no doubt, desires, but these desires are not determined by or follow from the good or bad actions, because He is eternally free from such actions. Like His activities, His desires also are *perfectly spontaneous* and are not determined by any wants. In short, the activities, desires, etc., of Isvara are of a quite different order and nature, the most imperfect resemblance of which is found in the most highly developed life, such as the life of a saint or a prophet. Thus we find that the two apparently inconsistent assertions are not really inconsistent; they are both true so far as they go. We, therefore, conclude that according to the Yoga Sūtram Isvara is a *perfect will*. We have already proved that according to the Yoga Sūtram Isvara is a *perfect self-consciousness or intellect*; He is, therefore, both a perfect Intellect and a perfect will. Thus, He is a *person*, or rather, *super-person*.

There are several verses in the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata which go to confirm the above conclusion, e.g.,

“ When the time comes for Universal Dissolution all existent objects and *gunas* are withdrawn by the Supreme Soul which then exists alone like the Sun withdrawing at evening all his rays ; and when the time comes for creation He once more creates and spreads them out like the Sun shedding his rays when the morning comes. Thus the Supreme Soul, for the sake of sports, repeatedly considers Himself invested with all these conditions, which are his own forms and *gunas* infinite in number and agreeable to Himself. It is thus that the Supreme Soul, though really above the *gunas*, becomes attached to the path of acts and creates, by modification, Nature invested with the conditons of birth and death, and at once with all acts and conditions which are characterised by the three *gunas*.” Again: “Although the Supreme Soul is not subject to changes of any kind, and is the active principle that sets Nature (*Prakriti*) in motion, yet entering a body which is united with the senses of knowledge and actions, He considers all the acts of those senses as His own ” (*ibid*, verse 43). “The Supreme Soul is said to be that who is above the attribute of Ignorance or Error, who is Unmanifest and beyond all *gunas*, who is called the Supreme, who *ordains* all things, who is Eternal and Immutable, and overrules Nature and all *her gunas*.” (Chap. 305, 32.) Still again : “ O best of kings, this is the manner in which the creation and the Destruction of Nature takes place : the Supreme Being is all that remains when Universal Destruction takes place, and it is He who assumes various forms when Creation begins. This is even so, O king, as ascertained by men of knowledge. It is Nature that causes the Over-presiding Soul to thus assume diversity and revert back to unity. Nature also herself has the same marks. One fully conversant with the nature of the categories knows that Nature also assumes the same sort of diversity and unity, for when destruction comes she reverts into unity and when creation takes place she assumes diversity of form. The Soul makes Nature which contains

the principles of production or growth and assumes various forms. Nature is called Kshetra (soil). Above the twenty-four categories or principles is the Soul which is Great. It presides over that Nature or Kshetra. Hence, O great king, the foremost yatis say that the Soul is the Presider. Indeed we have heard that on account of the soul's presiding over all Kshetras, He is called the Presider. And because He knows that Unmanifest Kshetra, He is, therefore also called Kshetra-jña. And because also the Soul enters into Unmanifest Kshetra, He is called Purusa." (Chap. 306, 33-37.)

The same fact is declared in a more emphatic way by Yājñavalkya in his conversation with Janaka: "The Unmanifest Isvara transforms His supersensible Self by Himself into hundreds and thousands and millions and millions of forms." (Chap. 314, 2.) Again, "On account of the Supreme Soul's supremacy over the categories, He is said to partake of their nature; on account also of His agency in the matter of creation, He is said to possess the quality of creation. On account of His agency in the matter of yoga, He is said to possess the quality of yoga. For His supremacy over those particular principles known by the name of nature, He is said to possess the character of Nature. For His agency in the matter of creating the seeds, He is said to partake of the nature of those seeds. And because He causes the several principles or *gunas* to come into being, He is said to be subject to decay and destruction." (Chap. 315, 7-9.)

One point should be made clear in this connection. Although in the above verses it is definitely and distinctly asserted that Isvara or the Supreme Soul is the *real cause* of the manifested world, yet, in some other verses the opposite view seems to be entertained. For instance, consider the following verses: "That which is shorn of the *gunas*, O dear, is incapable of being made to be possessing the *gunas*. Listen, however, to me as I explain to you what is endued with the *gunas* and what is not. Great Munis conversant with the truth about

principles say that when Soul seizes the *gunas* like a crystal catching the reflexion of a red flower, He is said to be possessed of the *gunas* ; but when freed from them like the crystal freed from reflexion, He is seen in His real nature which is above all *gunas*." (Chap. 315, 1-2.) Again, "On account, again, of His being the witness of everything, and on account, also, of there being nothing else than He, as also for His consciousness of oneness with Nature (Prakriti) yatis endued with ascetic success, conversant with the spiritual science, and freed from fever of every sort, consider Him as existing by Himself without a second " (*ibid*, 9). But if we examine those verses carefully we find no inconsistent assertion made in them. The Sāṅkhya philosophy has, as we have said, all along entertained two apparently opposite views with regard to the Soul (Purusa); the Soul, it maintains, has two aspects or sides—*transcendent* and *immanent*. In so far as the Soul is immanent in the manifested world He is called *saguna*, or invested with three *gunas*, that is, assuming numberless finite forms ; and in so far as He is transcendent over the manifested world, He is called *nirguna*, or divested of the three *gunas*, that is, existing in His own pure essential form. We have already discussed, at considerable length, the reasonableness of such a distinction and found that there is no inconsistency involved in it.

If we now come to the Bhagabatgītā we meet with similar assertions. Sometimes the Supreme Soul is spoken of as *nirguna* and sometimes as *saguna*. Consider, for instance, the following : " That is, the Supreme Soul, though devoid of all the senses, appears to be occupied in their functions ; though unattached to any thing, He is all-sustaining, and though devoid of all the *gunas*, He is the experiencer of them all. Though Himself whole and undivided, He exists in all things as if He were divided ; He should be regarded as the *creator*, the sustainer and the destroyer of all things. Prakriti (Nature) is said to be the cause of the body and the senses, while Purusa is said to be the cause of the experience of

happiness and misery. O Bharatarsava, know the union between the Kshetra (Prakriti) and the Kshetrajna (Purusa) to be the real cause of all the animate and inanimate things. He sees truly who considers the activities done everywhere as due to Prakriti, and that Purusa is inactive or non-agent. The Individual Purusa attains the status of the Brahman when he beholds all the distinct creatures to be existent in one and the same Soul, and understands the origination of the universe to be due to that one Supreme Soul." (Chap. 13, verses 14, 20, 28, 29, 30.)

Turning to Srimad Bhāgabata we find similar assertions. Examine, for instance, the following: "That is, in this way identifying Himself with Prakriti, Purusa thinks himself as the agent of the actions really performed by her *gunas*. For that reason, His migration, bondage and subjection are due to that identification, although He Himself is non-agent, lord, witness and full of bliss. Know Prakriti to be the cause of the body and the senses, and Purusa, who is above and beyond Prakriti, to be the cause of the experience of happiness and misery. On account of being unchangeable, inactive, and devoid of the *gunas*, like the reflexion of the sun in water, Purusa, though residing in Prakriti, remains unstained by the *gunas*. But when that Purusa becomes attached to them, He gets stupefied by self-consciousness and thinks Himself to be the agent. O women, He is Isvara, called Kala, who prompts Prakriti, when her *gunas* attains the state of equilibrium, to the act of creation. When the Supreme Soul or Isvara threw his semen (in the form of consciousness) into the womb of Prakriti agitated by the influence of the previous actions of the *jivas* she gave birth to the category of *Mahat* (consciousness or intelligence) prolific of multifarious manifestations. When the category of *Mahat*, thus generated from the semen of the Supreme Soul, underwent changes, it gave birth to the three kinds of self-consciousness (*Ahamkāra*) characterised by the power of activity." (Skanda 3, Chap. 26, 6-8 ; *ibid*, Chap. 27, 1; *ibid*, Chap. 26, 16, 18, and 22.)

Let us now turn to the Brahma Sutram where some assertions are made, which seem to go against our contention that Isvara and Prakriti are interdependent and mutually inclusive. Examine the following aphorisms : (1) “ Prakriti being dependent on Isvara is capable of acting to realise an end, *i.e.*, of creation. (Chap. I, pāda 4, aph. 3.) Nimbārka comments on this in this way : “ Pradhāna or Prakriti as described in the Upanishads, being dependent on the Supreme Cause (*i.e.* Isvara), is capable of purposive action, *i.e.*, creation, whereas Pradhāna as described in the Sāṅkhya, being independent of Him, cannot be so : such is the difference.” Here it is distinctly stated that Prakriti is, according to the Sāṅkhya, *independent* of Isvara. I fail to understand wherefrom that conclusion is drawn. I have conclusively proved by citing numerous texts that Isvara and Prakriti are, according to the Sāṅkhya, *mutually inclusive* and *eternally united* ; Prakriti is nothing but an element or power of Isvara as much according to the Sāṅkhya as according to the Upanishads. This is, therefore, no doubt, a strange misunderstanding. (2) “ There is nothing beside Prakriti which can prompt her to action ; Purusa is eternally unattached to anything ” (Chap. II, pāda 2, aph. 4). Nimbārka comments on this thus : “ Pradhāna cannot be the cause of the world, because it is not guided by the conscious Purusa : Why ? Pradhāna being independent, it has no other assistant than itself. Here, too, it is supposed that Pradhāna is *independent* of Isvara according to the Sāṅkhya ; but that the supposition is mistaken has been satisfactorily proved before. It is curious that Vyāsa, as the author of the Brahma Sutram, declares that Pradhāna or Prakriti is, according to the Sāṅkhya, *independent* of Isvara, while, as the commentator of the Yoga Sutram writes that Prakriti and Purusa are not *wholly distinct*, that the Brahman resides in concealed form in the chitta, *i.e.*, the mind which is nothing but a compound of three evolutes of Prakriti, and that the knowledge of the world attained by the Buddhi-sattva (the pure intellect) is *identical* with that of Purusa. (*Vide* the

commentaries on Aphorism 20 of the Sādhana Pāda, Aph. 4 of Samādhi Pāda, and Aphs. 22 and 23 of the Kaivalya Pāda).

Now, Vyāsa has evidently derived his view from the Upanishads ; therefore it is necessary to examine carefully the texts referred to above. In several Upanishads Prakriti and her evolutes are mentioned in various connexions ; but it is in the Svetashvatara Upanishad in particular that the relation between Isvara and Prakriti is more explicitly described. The texts are as follows : “ Pradhāna or Prakriti is changeful, but Isvara is unchangeful and immortal ; that One (Isvara), manifesting Himself, regulates the aforesaid changeful Pradhāna and all jivas. The jivas liberate themselves from the world-illusion by means of constant meditation upon Him and thinking Him as one with themselves.” (Chap. I, aph. 10.) “ If one knows Him, all his connexions with the world are severed ; so that all the pains of that wise one arising out of non-discriminative knowledge (avidyā) are destroyed and he becomes released from repeated birth and death. By meditation upon Him that wise Purusa, after the destruction of the body, attains that third essential form of Isvara which is unmanifested in, and above the world, and thereby becomes the possessor of all worldly grandeur, as well as becomes entirely self-contented and divested of the three gunas.” (*Ibid*, aph. 11.) “ This self-existent Brahman is the only thing worthy to be known, there being nothing else fit to be thought of : this Brahman is the enjoying jivas, the enjoyable world, and Isvara (lord), their guide and ruler. He has these three forms, and should be meditated upon in this way only.” (*Ibid*, aph. 12.)

“ Eternal One (*i.e.*, the individual Soul), enjoying another (*i.e.* Prakriti), which is equally eternal, and is red, white and black, *i.e.*, possessing three gunas called Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, and procreatrix of various objects like herself, remains attached to her ; another eternal one (*i.e.* Isvara) exists without being attached to Prakriti which supplies the materials of enjoyment to the Individual Purusa.” (Chap. 4, aph. 5.)

“Two friendly birds live together on one tree (*i.e.* the body), one of which, called the Individual Soul, tastes the fruits of that tree, thinking them palatable, while the other (*i.e.* Isvara) does not taste them, but remains a mere spectator.” (*Ibid*, aph. 6.) “On the same tree one bird called *jīva* lives and gets entangled with it, and being impotent to liberate itself, goes on lamenting : when, then, it comes to know the greatness of the other bird called Isvara it gets released.” (*Ibid*, aph. 7.) “Prakriti, which possesses the three *gunas*, and is the material cause of the world, should be known to be a power of Brahman called *Māyā*, and Brahman should be known as the possessor or source of that power. The world is pervaded by the numerous different evolutes of that power called *Māyā*.” (*Ibid*, aph. 10.)

In the above verses the nature of the Infinite Soul, the Finite Soul and Prakriti, as well as their mutual relations are clearly stated. What we are especially concerned with here is the precise relation between the Infinite Soul (Brahman) and Prakriti : this relation has been expressed by saying that Prakriti is nothing but a *power* or *element* of Brahman, and therefore, is not anything independent of Him. The Sāṅkhya, as ordinarily interpreted, seems to declare Prakriti's independence of Brahman. For this reason the Sāṅkhya is carefully distinguished from the Vedānta. Some go even so far as to assert that though the Sāṅkhya nomenclature occurs in many places of the Upanishads, it signifies different things, and has never been derived from the Sāṅkhya System : some even suspect that the Sāṅkhya has rather borrowed its nomenclature from the Upanishads and used it for its own special purpose and in its own special sense. It is curious that the name of Kapila also is mentioned in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. (*Vide* chap. V, aph. 2.) It is true that it is not easy to settle by conclusive historical evidence whether the Upanishads derived the nomenclature from the Sāṅkhya, or the Sāṅkhya from the Upanishad. The real difficulty in this connexion evidently arises from the apparently opposite interpretations given to the

relation between Purusa and Prakriti. But I have conclusively proved before that the Sāṅkhya does not declare Prakriti as entirely independent of Purusa ; it has rather definitely affirmed that Prakriti is an *integral element* of Purusa. Moreover, we find some significant verses in the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata which distinctly and emphatically declare that whatever knowledge we find in the Vedas has been derived from the Sāṅkhya. (*Ibid*, chap. 301.) It is there explicitly maintained that the Sāṅkhya is the only source of all true and high knowledge, and that every other branch of knowledge including even the Vedas has derived its knowledge from the Sāṅkhya. This is further confirmed by verses embodying the sayings of the great sage Yājñavalkya. (*Vide* chap. 316, 2 ; chap. 301, 100 & 101.) The Bhagabatgītā also bears the same testimony. (*Vide* chap. 5, vers. 4 & 5.) These are undoubtedly good and clear testimonies which go to show that there is no real inconsistency between the Upanishads and the Sāṅkhya with regard to the relation between Purusa, whether Absolute or Individual, and Prakriti. It is surprising that Vyāsa, who, as the writer of the Mahābhārata, is quite aware of these facts, has still written to say that the Prakriti of the Upanishads is wholly different from that of the Sāṅkhya. He has, as I have pointed out before, also contradicted himself when he has explained the relation between Prakriti and Isvara in his commentary on the Yoga Sūtram.

We may conclude, then, by saying that the Sāṅkhya teaches that there is One Absolute Purusa—One Absolute self-conscious Soul or Isvara, who includes Prakriti as one of His constituent elements and uses her as the means to differentiate or embody Himself into numberless objects which constitute the world ; and that He being, thus, a self-conscious ‘ system ’ or ‘ world,’ and also the ultimate source of all activity or effort, He may be properly called a *Person* : but He being a *perfect Unity*, He should more appropriately be called *Super-Personal*.

LOVE MISUNDERSTOOD

Ah! she loves him and he loves her
But one to other they never tell.
Within shines sweetest paradise,
Without dark devil of blackest hell.
While he for her rejoicing means
She thinks it torture dire,
His hand outstretched with whitest peace
She fears to kiss as ire.
She runs to hug forgetful cold
And there feels love's bright fire.
Back she turns on path she'd trod,
Finds she's soul and He her God!

II

The glorious sun is hid by cloud,
He's there unseen by me;
His love is ever sweetness pure
For loving heart to see.

III

Ah, when I call Thee Love, O Love,
I forget that unlove Thou,
And when I call Thee Mercy, Lord,
Then whence unmercy—how?

a matter of deep concern to Mysore, to specially consider this problem in relation to banking in Mysore. For after all in matters economic, Mysore must sink or swim along with her neighbours. True that the Mysore Bank and its branches, as they are now, might continue to capture whatever banking business there is or might be in the different parts of our State, but in the equally if not more important sphere of foreign trade financing, the banking system of Mysore has to meet with the severe competition of the Imperial Bank which, partly divested of its present Government obligations, will run on strictly commercial and competitive principles. Mysore cannot be said to be immune from the activities of the Imperial Bank as it has cut its wedge into the state by having a branch of its own in Bangalore which for all practical purposes may be considered the heart of economic Mysore.

Here is a turning point in the history of Banking in India and Mysore must move with the times. Mysore should not only feel satisfied with the present position of its banking but must take a bold step and, as they do in all matters which appear beneficial, follow the foot-steps of the Government of Simla. The leading bank, the Mysore Bank, must be placed under statutory obligation to establish every year a number of branches like the Imperial Bank of India at present. The long delayed transference of duties now performed by independent Government treasuries might with advantage be given to the Mysore bank, which has now established a name for solidarity. The loss to the bank in establishing branches under statutory compulsion in places of doubtful profit will be more than compensated for by the Government leaving its cash balances with the Bank and its branches. The administration of the country would then be relieved of the worries of maintaining cash balances and any defalcations or mishandlings of the Government's balances will be borne by the Bank's shareholders instead of individuals being tackled as under the present system with all its nauseating troubles and anxieties. The Government will be

able to hold a corporate body responsible for its finances. Thus relieved of one of the important duties at present devolving and exercising the energies of Government servants, the Government can turn its attention in a greater measure to the other departments of work like economic development, education, etc. In the meanwhile, this additional strength afforded by Government cash balances being in the hands of the bank, will enable the bank to give increased facilities to Mysore trade and commerce, which are at present suffering from lack of sufficient capital.

Supported thus substantially, the Mysore bank can launch upon a forward policy of encouraging exports and imports of the State. It will be enabled to come down as a helper to the Co-operative societies and other joint-stock banks which may be formed. The question of Land Mortgage Banks will be an easier proposition as the central bank with its resources can aid land-mortgaging business through co-operative societies in a better and more efficient manner than any agency of Government could do. The Bank would be in a better position to popularise the cheque system through its different branches, thus saving the need for the State to use so much of British India currency and in a sense establishes, to a very limited extent no doubt, an independent currency regulated by the ups and downs of its own trade. The Government will benefit by making use of the cheque system and in all matters financial will have the ready assistance and advice of the keen foresight of the shrewd bankers.

The Mysore Bank and the Mysore Chamber of Commerce have with one voice recommended the proposal of the transfer of Government finance to the Mysore Bank as it would facilitate trade in a greater measure than at present. But apart from this the advantages to the State and the public are so evident that the transfer will be most welcomed by all parties concerned. In short, a partial application of the English Charter Act of 1844 and the recent recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission might prove both beneficial as being

THE BODY IS PASSING AWAY

While swift hues gather in the flower and the tree,
And the bliss of happy life is a breath heavenly sweet,
With the cloud that roams wildly joy is set free,—
Rain joins in the sport with the patter of many feet.
There's a chain of bright life from the sun down to earth,
In which time never lost a single moment's worth,
When the stars commence their vigil to keep,
All the world's wonder into the eyes doth leap.

For the sky is still gloriously blue,
And the lily is still handsome and gay,
And while fresh is the morn and cool is the dew,
The body is passing away.

There's a soft beauty mantling the infant's fair cheek,
Where quick laughter gathers and rolls along and slips,
To it Life its large language of joy doth speak
In the sparkle of its eyes and the rhythm of its lips.
By the light of its hope earth trims her own lamp,
By the measure of its feet the moon times her own tramp,
By the sun of its smile we count all our gains,
And its love is a cure for our cares and pains.

And thus as we re-fashion the earth,
And still broaden the bounds of the day
With the lingering echoes of happiness and mirth—
The body is passing away.

While dawns a new sun a sparkle's lost from the eye,
And with the first breath of the returning year,
When roses waft their smell to the pearl-tinted sky,
The dull heavy tread of mortality we hear.
While of our busy days the fruit honest we reap,
And of our short-lived joys a pious memory keep,
When laughter from the face of deep thought tears the veil,
The self-sufficient years grow startled and pale.
While we talk with our friends as of old,
We miss the old manner free and gay,
For quenched is our cheer, few the hopes all told—
The body is passing away.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

AWAKENED ASIA AND GERMANY IN WORLD POLITICS

I

Asia is the cradle of Humanity. In the past it has played the most notable part in human affairs. In short, it may be said that the major part of the history of civilizations is the history of Asian expansion and the contact of other peoples with Asia.

Without going into the pre-historic ages, we may say that the most important parts of the cultural and political history of Greece, which is the foundation of western civilization and political life, are the cultural contacts, commercial relations, political associations as well as political conflicts between Greece and the Asian states. The most outstanding feature of the history of the middle ages, which is often minimised by the historians of to-day, is the predominance of the Asian states and peoples in all fields of human activities. On the one hand, the commerce and wealth of Asia attracted the attention of the traders of the west, and on the other hand the march of the Mongols from the heart of Asia to the very heart of Europe, is probably more important than the Crusades.

Let us not forget that the invention of gun-powder, the mariner's compass and printing press, all of which, with greater developments, have revolutionised the history of human civilization, are the contributions of the people of Asia. It was the efficiency of the Mongol warriors (who ruled a vast portion of Europe) in the field of organized warfare, that made the western nations conscious of the necessity of improving their arts of warfare. It was the stories of splendour and wealth of the Orient narrated by Marco Polo and others who travelled in the Orient that spurred the adventurers of the West to seek

the sea-routes to Asia, which led to the discovery of the New World as well as improved methods of navigation and commerce.

The modern cultural and political history of Europe begins with the history of commercial and political expansion of the western nations and their assimilation and improvements of some of the contributions of the peoples of the Orient. At first, commerce and religious activities formed the principal factors in European activities in Asia; the political motive of the conquest of Asia by Europe later on became the dominant note in European expansion in Asia. This may be regarded as the repetition of what the Greeks of the days of Alexander tried to accomplish—the conquest of Asia by Europe. In this connection it may be said that the real cultural history of the world is not merely the contribution of the West in the field of science and industry, but the assimilation of these contributions by the people of the Orient, and at the same time their (the people of the Orient) original contribution to the same. Western scholars, particularly German scholars, have done incalculable service by their efforts to understand and interpret oriental life and thought of the past and the time has come when the spirit and influence of the awakened Orient should be considered by the most serious-minded people of the West.

II

The political history of the last century and a quarter, on broad lines, covers three phases of the one and the same struggle. They are: (1) Extra-European expansion of the western nations by subjugating other peoples, (2) rivalry and conflicts among the European aggressors, because they could not agree to the division of their booty in the Orient and other parts of the world, and (3) the rise of the opposition of the awakened East against the domination of the Orient by the western powers, and the beginning of the struggle for the recovery of the sovereignty of the peoples of the Orient.

We may say that all the important European conflicts of the nineteenth century had their Asian backgrounds, which are far more important than the over-emphasised immediate causes in Europe. Great Britain's determination for the destruction of Napoleon was due more to Franco-British rivalry in India than any other factor. The traditional enmity between Britain and Russia, which has again flared up in the recent Anglo-Russian conflict, has its roots in the conflict between Russian expansion in Asia and British opposition and apprehension. The Crimean War, the Congress of Berlin, the Russo-Japanese War and the formation of the Triple Entente against Germany and Austria, have their Asiatic backgrounds. The Anglo-French rivalry of the nineteenth century was primarily due to the questions of colonies in Asia as well as Africa. It must not be forgotten that France's acknowledgment of British supremacy in Egypt, the gateway to the Orient, and British recognition of French rights in Morocco and Eastern Asia bordering Siam, were important factors in bringing about the Anglo-French understanding against Germany. Partition of Persia between England and Russia, absorption of Tibet and Afghanistan by England, and Mongolia by Russia, were the most alluring inducements for the Anglo-Russian entente against Germany. To British statesmen, particularly the late Lord Lansdowne, Earl Grey and others who planned and worked for the encirclement of Germany and her destruction as a rival, Germany's commercial expansion in the Orient and the Berlin-Bagdad railway was a greater crime than the growing strength of the German navy.

Asia was the determining factor in the World War. Without using the man-power, economic resources and strategic positions of India, it would not have been possible for the Entente Powers to defeat Turkey. Without an Arab revolution, Britain could not have secured a foothold in Turkey. Without Japan's entry into the World War, on the side of the Entente Powers, it would not have been possible for

Russia, at the very outset of the War, to use all the Russian forces, even those from Siberia, against the Central Powers. Furthermore, had Japan remained neutral, the Entente Powers, particularly the British navy, could not have brought about such a complete blockade of Germany. America's entry into the World War against Germany was undoubtedly the decisive blow which brought about the defeat of the Central Powers. It is certain that if Japan were not already a party to the World War against Germany and bound by the Treaty of London, not to make a separate peace, there was no possibility of America's entering the War.

It is an undisputed fact that rivalry among the western nations in Asia, was one of the primary causes of the World War; and it was Asian support that determined the final issue of the War. Since the conclusion of the World War, Asia is looming larger and larger in world politics. The Treaty of Versailles did not bring about real peace. Turkey kept up her fight for independence and she won the fight. The then prevailing Anglo-French rivalry in Asia Minor and the Anglo-Russian hostility in all parts of Asia, made it possible for the Turks to secure aid from France and Russia in her struggle against Greece aided by Britain. After the World War, British policy was to make Persia a virtual protectorate, but this programme was upset because through Russian support, Persia regained her sovereignty and to-day has an efficient government, which is trying to assert its position in world politics. Similarly, Afghanistan has secured her complete independence and is busy in organizing a military force which is causing serious apprehension among the British officials in India and London. Siam has completely recovered her full sovereignty through recent treaty negotiations. In China and India, the two largest and oldest nations in the world, far-reaching nationalist movements are passing through the stage of trials. In China the nationalists are demanding the abolition of all unequal treaties, extra-territorial jurisdiction, concessions and foreign financial and

judicial interference, infringing upon Chinese sovereignty. The Chinese nationalists, while fighting a civil war, have certainly inflicted a serious blow to the political prestige and economic supremacy of Great Britain in the Far East. One thing is discernable by all impartial observers, that Asia of to-day is not the Asia of a quarter-century ago, when the Western powers were quite confident of their perpetual control of Asia and even planning the partition of China.

III

Reassertion of the awakened Asia is the most significant phenomenon in world politics of to-day. This is characterised by some Western scholars as the "Revolt of Asia" against Western domination ; and it is on the road to success.¹ In this revolt there are three aspects : (1) revolt against the political domination, (2) revolt against supposed cultural inferiority and (3) the revolt against racial and social discrimination. Nations of Asia may have different interests; but they are all revolting against the limitations imposed upon their rights as human beings ; and the leadership of the movement is now in the hands of Japan in the Far East and Turkey in the Far West (Near East), whereas India and China are going to be the determining factors.

To-day the Anglo-Russian conflict in world politics is tending to bring about a re-alignment of Powers all over the world. In this conflict, Asia is the bone of contention. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, in a speech delivered at Leicester on June 4, 1927, declared that the principal reason for the recent severance of Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations, is that the Soviet authorities have been plotting against Great Britain all over the world, particularly in Asia. The present ascendancy of Soviet Russian influence in Asia, is due not to the spread of the Communistic doctrine

¹ *The Revolt of Asia*, by Upton Close, published by G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York and London, 1927.

in Asia ; because the philosophy of communism has no hold among the actual leaders of nationalist movements in Asian countries. The Russian programme is to increase her influence in Asia, not by territorial expansion but by securing Asian support and friendship by establishing treaties of neutrality and friendship. Russia has concluded such treaties with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan and is not unmindful of securing Chinese and Japanese friendship. This policy has brought about a revolution in world politics and it is full of possibilities.

During the coming twenty-five years, all the outstanding world problems will be solved through Asia, with the aid of Asia ; and no political calculations of first magnitude can be made without asking the question “ *Where will be the support of Asia in such circumstances ?* ” It can be safely asserted that Asian nations will be inclined to support those western powers which will not oppose their political independence and aspirations. It is being asked by many Asian statesmen : “ *Which of the western nations might be genuinely interested in the cause of emancipation of Asia, including the programme of racial equality for the Asian peoples ?* ” The western powers which wish to maintain their Asian colonies and dependencies by force and against the will of the people, can never enjoy full confidence of the Asian peoples ; on the contrary, their professions of friendship will be looked upon with suspicion. Thus Great Britain, France, the United States and Holland, unless they give up their precious possessions in the Orient should not expect Asian support in the new order of world politics.

Of all the peoples of the West, the Germans, chafing under the army of occupation in the Rhineland, and dispossessed of their sovereign rights, should fully appreciate the moral and spiritual significance of the nationalist movements in Asian lands. Germany, as the outcome of her defeat in the World War, has been dispossessed of her colonies in the Orient ; her geographical position, internal and external conditions, are such

as makes it impossible for her to start on a new anti-Asian imperialism. Germany's past anti-Asianism such as the "Yellow Peril" of the German Kaiser, originated in the desire of currying favour with Czarist Russia, bent on extending its territories in the Far East and also to please the British who were anxious to keep Asia under perpetual subjection. Under the new condition of things, with the exception of those Germans who believe that Germany in all circumstances should follow the lead of Great Britain and America, the German people are opposed to any policy which will bring about hostility of awakened Asia and Russia. They realise the full significance of what is happening in China, where, the Germans having no extra-territorial rights, are not molested by the Chinese nationalists, on the contrary, they are being befriended in their commercial enterprises. Anglo-phil Germans and British propagandists are actively preaching the idea in Germany that to sympathise with the awakened Orient's aspirations and to remain neutral in the Anglo-Russian conflict, is not for the best interests of the German nation ; but it is very significant that all the far-sighted German statesmen are interested in promoting friendly relations with all the nations of the East and the West. It may be that Germany by her international, cultural and political policies, will bring about better understanding between the East and West, on the basis of justice, equality and liberty.

TARAKNATH DAS

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY¹

CHAPTER III.

Sevagy returns to Concao and what he did there.

With the Fortress of Rayaguer in his possession Sevagy considered himself more powerful than Idalcao himself, and, to recover what it had cost him, he set out, as was his custom, to plunder, and realising that in (28) the open country his spoils might cost him dear, he went through woods and bushes which he found convenient, for his men were brought up in forests. He entered into the Concao and commenced his operations with the Decaes who inhabited it, viz. Lacomosanto, Queissoa naraque, Queisoaporum and Raulosinay. The Decaes are what the Princes of Italy were when they paid tribute to the Emperor, for in the same manner do they all pay to the King Idalcao. All the above mentioned (Decaes) were neighbours to the city of Goa. Each one of them lived with great arrogance in small principalities and, as all the four combined did not possess a territory more than eight leagues in length and three in breadth, they made war against each other, till they confided in the mediation of the Subedar of Idalcao for the settlement of their disputes. The Subedar is, we may say, what the Vicar of the Empire was at the time referred to in Italy. He was commonly called there Visrey. This office was sold at the Court to him who gave most, and he did in his district what could be expected from this principle. They robbed, not according to law at all but without any, and when the complaints mournfully crossed the air (29) to the Court, the office was put to auction anew without any consideration whether its term had or had not terminated. Another (governor) came, and it was sometimes necessary to take arms against the first to get possession. And if victorious, he also mis-used his victory

¹ The first two chapters appeared in the April (1927) issue.

with tyranny and robbery, for when the King robs what can the subjects and the robbed do? When Sevagy arrived at these places, the first thing he did was to style himself as the Subedar not of the King but of his own. He made a long residence there and thus dealt out great justice, for the greatest [act of justice] was to rob these barbarians whom he plundered, and of restitution he ignored even the name. They then surrendered the lands. Who knows why they suffered such insults. He sacked Vingorla, a place where the Dutch had a factory. The factory was not raided for the Sevagis did not make their grimaces at the muskets. Then he attacked Banda that belonged to Lacomosanto who resisted for a while but soon retired in the great forest that saved his life, and Sevagy robbed Lacomosanto of his wealth that he did not take with him. He presently entered into the district of Quissonarqu (30) and Quessoparna. They offered great resistance, I think because they were more poor, for wealth seems to have an understanding with valour that where one presided the other should not stay. Sevagy suffered some loss of men but at last put them to flight, and here in the city of Goa we find them as miserable refugees. Raulosinay met with the same fate and made the same journey, and in Goa they all resided till Sevagy left for his own territories after sacking their lands and Manodlin, Uguris, Bicholim and Ponda. In the northern parts he was already obeyed by all, and after these enterprises he was everywhere received with triumph. Only Rayapur where the English had a factory refused to yield. The English, however, confided in the protection that the Governor of the province had promised them, and the Governor thinking that Sevagy would fly from the English muskets at Rayapur as he had fled from the muskets of the Dutch at Vingorla, had not been much disturbed in his sleep (had not been overwatchful) when Sevagy appeared and destroyed all, killed the Governor, and captured the English of whom the Factor and the partners (31) were suffering long imprisonment in the hill of Rayapur. Many of them died there, for water in English stomach on

Cacherin de lentinhas is the sure forerunner of death. Sevagy felt pity, and, as he thought that lack of exercise would kill them, he directed the governor of the hill to allow them more liberty so that they might walk about the hill within the sight of the fortress. They did so, sometimes they returned early and sometimes late until one day they fled ; but not knowing the intricate roads of those confused woods they lost themselves, and when they thought they were far from the fortress they laid themselves down to sleep, and as they were tired they slept so heavily that the next day they woke very late and found themselves very near the fortress. They excused themselves (by saying) that borne down with the affliction of the prison and by oversight which was due to such long imprisonment, they had slept in that fashion. These explanations were generally credited, for there was no change in their treatment, nor were their outings prohibited, and they observed the forests better for their second flight. In this they had better (31) success, for knowing that Idalcao had for the second time armed himself against Sevagy and the army was within the territories of Rayapur, they boldly went out, and once out of the hill, they found the encampment at a little distance where they were welcomed and sheltered for the sake of the information about Sevagy which they supplied. From here they went to Chaul during the regime of Captain Antonio Galvao de Sa and thence to Bombaim after ten years of imprisonment, but they had the pleasure of depriving Sevagy of three hundred thousands pagodes that he had demanded for their ransom. Pagodes are coins of gold equivalent to five rupias and each rupia is approximately equal to a cruzado.

CHAPTER IV.

Sevagy continues his conquests, entering the territories of the great Mogol who sends his uncle Sexthagan with eighty thousand horse against him.

Sevagy became arrogant with his success against Idalcao from whom he had conquered so many provinces (33) and

fortresses. For his security in that kingdom he possessed the impregnable fortress of Rayaguer which had in it excellent water and was so abundantly provided with food that he had nothing to fear. He turned his thoughts to make himself so great (being already much feared), that he would have none to respect in the whole of Industan. As the greatest power in this region was the Great Mogol, he now desired to carry his arms against him, for the other kings would be undeceived (*para que se desenganassem*) when they saw that he slighted the greatest. He entered into his territories and conquered what belonged to the Great Mogol in that part as far as Upper Chaul, half a league distant from Lower Chaul, a Portuguese city. Upper Chaul was a great place inhabited by Mouros and Gentious, all rich merchants, and there were many weavers with the most curious merchandise. All worked hard and its great commerce made the land very prosperous. It was, however, an open place, for with the Portuguese as neighbours with whom there was a lasting peace, and as (34) the Idalcao owed allegiance to its king, it had no more enemies to fear. That Sevagy should dare to molest its king was not even thought of until he entered into the houses of the city and robbed all in their thousands. He immediately laid siege to a castle (with a redoubt) where resided the Governor of the province who surrendered in a few days. Sevagy ordered that all Mouros who would not acknowledge his sovereignty should be put to death, and all who would should be pardoned. He at once ordered the construction of a Fortress in the place of the redoubt and provided for better defence of the country under him. The poor inhabitants, not having been assured of security, fled mostly to the city of the Portuguese of whom they begged shelter, but as they were so numerous and the place was not big (enough) they were permitted to live outside the ditch in the bare fields and the houses were so built that they could not serve as a signal if in any case fire was set to them. A great settlement called Camarahando was thus made where they lived from 1652 to 1667 in which year Sevagy

restored to the Great Mogul twenty (33) fortresses as we shall relate later on.

From here Sevagy passed to Biundim and Galiana, fourteen leagues to the north, all the way through the territories of the Great Mogul, destroying everything till he reached the above mentioned cities. He suddenly appeared in Galiana and robbed an immense amount of wealth for it was the home of great merchants. At the same time when Galiana was sacked he ordered an attack on Biundim three leagues from the other city where he repaired in person when there was nothing more to be got at Galiana. He remained longer in Biundim to work some wonders. He not only robbed what the inhabitants possessed but (also) great treasures of which they were ignorant. They were reasonably surprised that a stranger should dig from earth of which the oldest of them knew nothing even by tradition. The city subdued and sacked, Sevagy set to walk through the streets accompanied by many people who carried by his orders levers, pickaxes and many other instruments. Sevagy would stop at this or that house and pointing by hand, would order that certain parts of the walls should be dug and a few blows discovered big copper cauldrons full of gold both in coins and bullions. In this manner great treasures that were hidden and totally unknown were openly removed. Such burial of treasures is common in the Orient. I think the reason underlying this barbarous custom is due to the Pythagorean theory of transmigration of soul that leaves some hope that even after death they will enjoy their treasures.

Satiated with wealth, if cupidity can be satiated, Sevagy left for the Gate called Juner, only three leagues distant from Biundim but six leagues if the highest part is to be reached. The road by the (hillside) slope is so steep and so narrow that more than one person cannot go up and if anybody happens to come from above there is no other alternative but for one of them to lie down on the ground with his head upwards (this has been done) on a road full of stones or trees that hurt him much

while the other passes above. He has not only to climb on foot but has to take great care and caution, for if he slips or falls he will be reduced to a thousand pieces before reaching the bottom. None of these difficulties (37) prevented Sevagy from going to sack the city of Janer (it is from this city that the place takes its name) for he had sent from Biundim some men to take posts so that none may climb and carry news of his presence in the neighbourhood. Climbing the Gate with the difficulties that an army would naturally suffer, he ordered them to take the road of the city of Juner two leagues away and so adjusted (*como tempo medido*) the time that the entries and exits of the city (which was also open not only because of the security of the place but also by the King's orders) might be scoured before dawn. This duty was taken up by the cavalry, and Sevagy set out with the infantry to reach at daybreak, and when he arrived at the city it was already his. But as he did not find the treasures he expected Sevagy thought that they were buried and hidden and he subjected the inhabitants to much tortures that yielded him many thousands. The Avaldar, the Governor of the province, was, in particular, much tormented, and he delivered to him a very considerable sum consisting of his as well as of his master's money. And it is well understood why. (38) It should be known that the salary that the Mogul gives his nobles for their service and for the maintenance of a number of horse which they are obliged to keep always ready, and to serve with them whenever ordered, consists of entire kingdoms and sometimes more than one. Kingdoms, provinces, cities with their rights (*termos*) whatever they may be, their general name is Jaguir. Big Jaguir and small Jaguir is the difference they make and appointment is made for a Jaguir of so many horses. The big Jaguirholders are like kings in their Jaguirs and they place in their Jaguirs Governors who are invariably their servants. This Avaldar was the servant of a great Umbrão (the *grandees* are called so). Cubatghan was his name and the city of Janer was the metropolis of his Jaguir where

all the revenue was collected to be sent annually by the Governor to his master. This Jaguir yielded thirty laques of pagodes per year. Each laque is equal to hundred thousand and (thirty laques) make three millions of pagodes, each pagode is equivalent to five cruzados. These Avaldars could not risk this money without the order of their masters, and Cubatghan (39) who had other considerable incomes, had not for two years sent any order for any money and all had been kept, but for Sevagy who took it all. He left Juner (Puner in the original must be a misprint, the context is clear) for another great place five leagues away but belonging to the same Jaguir, to which he dealt the same treatment (where he did the same). This place was defended by the great mountain of Panadar, almost as spacious, as lofty and as impregnable as his esteemed (prevada or beloved) Rayaguer. In its envirens (suburbs) there were many houses, gardens and tanks and he often lived there. And when he was detained at this or similar other places he observed a rule, which shows how careful and cautious he was. All along the roads were posted the most faithful spies, and his guards had the order to inform him whenever anybody wants to see him whatever the hour might be. This order was punctually executed and he always remained dressed and he got up at all hours and spoke to all that came, and if it was anything concerning his service, the man was immediately rewarded and if it was the mail or some other information, he noted down the date it was written and the time of its despatch (40) and rewarded them according to their diligence so that all liked to serve him and ceaselessly worked to please him. All these accomplished, he went to add new treasures to those of Rayaguer.

The Avaldar of Janer informed his master Cubatghan of the loss, ruins and the lamentable pillage that his Jaguir had suffered from the tyranny of Sevagy. The master was at the Court of Dely where the most powerful Umbraos ordinarily resided, not merely to dignify the court but also to free it from fear. When Cubatghan received the letter he carried it to the

King Oranzebe, the Great Mogol, who has been reigning for many years and still reigns to-day the 28th of August, 1695. After delivering the letter he asked his permission to go to relieve his lands that had been destroyed. Oranzeb gave him the permission but as it would cause so much anxiety if he failed to do anything, the Emperor ordered a powerful army to be sent with him. He nominated for its Saradar or Sarlescarim, which is the same as the General, his uncle Sextaghan, brother of his mother, with eighty thousand horse (41) to which was added the seven thousand of Cubatghan and the twelve thousand of the General. The custom of these people is when they are appointed General for some enterprise to carry to the field a small tent, which is called Cuche (signifies march) with its gate towards the place of their destination. Immediately behind it is fitted the tent of the General which is followed by those of other officers and in the shortest time there rises a great city. The horses also are in the following manner posted in tents ranged with intervening roads. A big iron peg is driven into the earth with an iron ring on its top, and in front of it, another is in the same manner fixed, leaving space for a rope, and from ring to ring goes a rope held and stretched securely and to this the horses are fastened with their halters in a sufficient space, all very well covered and without any confusion before being equipped. Almost always they pass their time in this fashion for almost always they are in the field. There they are cleaned twice a day with such minuteness and care that it is a great offence to see an unclean horse in any part of the camp. If the men also were so clean there would remain nothing to be desired. There is no captain who does not possess elephants. The least of them has ten and the greatest fifty. Of camels, the captain of the poorest Jaguir has eight hundred to carry his baggage. These are not quartered in the army, for they always pass through fields where there is nothing to fear, but when there is an enemy they are quartered in the army in the same way as the horses. Each captain also brings with him

many merchants with everything necessary for human life, and they lend them money to help them in their enterprise. These merchants give to the soldiers of that company whatever they want and on the day of the new moon which is the day of payment and profusion, deduct what had been taken. In short each army is a populous city and so abundantly provided with everything that what cannot be obtained in cities is sought in the camp. With the Umbraos, who were to accompany him, the General then set out for the Decan with eighty thousand horse. Cubatghan wished for wings but as (43) Janer was more than six hundred leagues from the capital, and armies with so much baggage march but slowly, five months were spent on the way though they made a great hurry. This was also due to the roundabout way they had to take in order to lodge near the rivers, an essential and unavoidable necessity, for only rivers can supply the drink of so many troops. And for this reason there are some days of two leagues and some days of eight leagues according to the order of the Mirmanzel who is the Aposentador or Quarter Master, and who has absolute control in this matter. He not only knows the position of the rivers but also the roads where there is enough grass for the innumerable beasts that serve an army. Some rebels or chieftains therefore save themselves for a long time by burning the fields as big armies are then unable to seek them, and they are strong enough for small forces. Generally an expedition (march) is made in the winter for the grass is then green and wet. The grandeur with which Sextaghan marched will be discredited in Europe but it is necessary that we should speak about it, (44) though most people refuse to believe everything outside their country and out of their sight. This proud Mouro had with him two field tents, each carried by three hundred elephants. When he set out from the first, the other was fitted in the place where he would stop that day. Each tent contained houses for him; the tent in which he used to give audience was sixty feet in length and thirty in breadth and its covering was supported on strings of iron fifteen

feet in height. This was followed by bed chambers, private rooms, gardens full of flowers, conveyed in millions of vases, and so delicious that one who saw them would doubt whether they were natural. All the houses were so neat, and furnished with such beautiful and rich furniture that even the court had nothing better. Immediately behind were houses for the ladies, for maidservants, for many eunuchs and innumerable servants; there were other houses for pantry, for plates and different kitchens. Outside there were houses for the revenue office, for the criminal and civil courts and many other departments. In the front of the tent there was a courtyard so big and capacious that (45) the military exercises with all its combats and defences were performed here. All this fabric was surrounded by a wall made of thick doubled cloth, twenty feet in height supported by several iron cylinders with spurs fixed in the ground. Each one of the Umbraos, who are all nobles and very rich, convey themselves in this manner. The only difference is that their baggage is carried by camels for none of them could possess elephants like Sextaghan. Does anybody know how this army looks? The servants are required to raise the tent of the General at the same time that the other is fitted for the following Mangel (station). The Mirmanzel goes every night to report to the General about the events of the day and to consult him about the following march, and when he finds the army tired, he represents to the General that it will be good to rest that day and the General gives him the permission. Immediately an official goes out and loudly proclaims in the above mentioned courtyard—Sabbaa Moghamo Oga. Sabbaa—to-morrow, Moghamo—rest, Oga—we will have (46). The proclamation is followed by innumerable instruments that all should announce it either by sound of instruments or by voice. The instruments of all the captains immediately respond and the whole army is informed in an instant. The same thing is done on the night before the march when the proclaimer says—Sabbaa cucheoga: to-morrow we will march, and while they march let us turn to Sevagy. .

Reviews

Pavanadūtam of Dhoyī—edited with critical and historical introduction, Sanskrit notes, variants, etc., by Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A., Kāvya-tīrtha.

This little book forms the thirteenth issue of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat publications. This book of 104 verses (the main portion of the work consisting of 100 verses only), is the only extant work of Dhoyī and was first published in the J. B. A. S. 1905, by Mr. Monmohan Chakravarty. But as it was based on a single MS. it contained numerous errors and inaccuracies. Mr. C. Chakravarty has, therefore, done well in re-editing the work after consulting the MS. in possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The single leaf preserved in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat was seen by me more than five years ago, just after the first instalment of MSS. reached the Pariṣat. I then thought that perhaps other leaves of the MS. would also be found later on when the MSS. would be properly arranged. But I now find that they are still missing. Mr. Chakravarty has not only consulted these new materials but at the same time using careful judgment he has tried to correct many of the inaccuracies found in the earlier version and I am glad to find that I can agree with most of his suggestions. The book contains two introductions, one in English and the other in Sanskrit, and thus may be useful not only to the English-knowing scholars but also to the orthodox Pundits, who do not know English. There are two indices of which the second is more important, having contained a list of names of historical and geographical importance occurring in the book.

Pavanadūta is one of the many imitations of the Meghadūta of Kalidasa but it has also its special interest. It incidentally brings home to us certain facts in connection with the reign of the King Lakṣmapa Sena of Bengal in whose court he was a poet. It is also important geographically having contained a description of various places of India starting from the mount Malaya in the extreme south and finishing with Vijayapura in Bengal, the capital city of Gauḍa at the time of Lakṣmapasena. In the introduction the author has dealt exhaustively, and quite ably too, with the historical and geographical questions in connection with the work.

* Besides the present work verses attributed to Dhoyī have occasionally been found in the works of anthology and mostly in the *Sadukti-karṇamṛta*. These were originally noticed by Aufrecht in "Z. D. M. G." 1900 and later on by M. Chakravarty in J. A. S. B. 1906. The author has collected these verses in a supplementary note but some of his readings are subject to improvement. I would suggest the following emendations.

V. 2. न तावद्भुः for लतावद्भुः.

रे for हे. The reading is वे in all the MSS. which is only an error for रे।

V. 5. उत्तानीकतलोचनं for उत्ताली.

V. 6. प्रयागदुमे for प्रयागश्रमे.

V. 9. रोमावली सत्रिवली कुरङ्गनाभिऋदस्योपरि राजतेस्याः for सत्रिवलीतरङ्ग would also give a good sense. With this cf. Sārūgadhara paddhati 3348, attributed to Lakṣmidhara.

V. 13. वनकूले for वनादुले.

V. 17. निजाश्रवारम् for रावम्.

The following verse of *Sadukti* is also attributed to Dhoyī:—

अहं तनीयानतिक्रीमलस्य स्नहयं वीदमलं न तावत् ।

इतीव तस्मैवहृनार्थमस्या बलिचयं पुष्यति मध्यभागः ॥

(Aufrecht, cf. Z. D. M. G. 1900, pp. 616 ff.).

* In the main work the following readings would give a better sense.

V. 38 सुम्भालवालाः.

V. 44. विपुलं seems to be happier than विपदम्.

V. 104. Read शीलिताः शीषिपालाः for शीतल.

It would have been better if the author had given an English translation of the verses.

On the whole the book has been excellently edited and we can only congratulate the author on his success and we hope that he will give us a detailed study on the Dūtakāvyas in the near future.

N. P. C.

Muffled Drums—by S. K. Chettur (published by the Author, Mylapore, Madras : price Rs. 1-8).

This is a fine collection of short stories, which have already appeared in various magazines and papers, and as these latter only command a local circulation (more or less), I think the author has done well in putting them together in the form of a book. Writing short stories is indeed a fine art and the author has shown very great promise in these his first ventures. Tastes differ, and it is just for this reason that a varied collection like this may appeal to a much wider set of readers. Personally I must confess to a decided liking for "Mixed Sweets." The author has shown us what he is capable of doing and we shall be hoping to hear more about him and of his literary work. I would also wish to have a few more parables about "the Dhinus and the Slimmus"—we need them. The language is vigorous and shows a taste for literature as also wide reading, a little more polish in places is just what is wanted to make the style brilliant. The 'printer's devil,' too, has crept into a few places. On the whole the book is one to take up when we want an hour or so of refreshment after a good day's work. We heartily welcome the young author and wish for more such tales from his pen.

I. J. S. T.

Gnosticism—by Mary W. Barrie (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). This little book is one of "the Brahmaidya Library" and contains the substance of a set of lectures delivered in the "Brahmaidya Ashrama" at Adyar. This Ashrama is one of the more recent of the Theosophical activities and is as it were the first step towards creating an International Theosophical University in the near future. The subject of Gnosticism is of intense interest to all students of religion. Truly speaking, Gnosticism is the *parāvidyā* of which the Upanishads have spoken and every great religion has got its own "Gnosis." The lectures set forth the history of the Christian aspect of this fascinating subject—"Gnosticism" as usually understood. An attempt has been made also to trace clearly the various historical developments and the influences that flowed into early Christian thought as a result of "the hellenising of the world." This is set forth in a thought-provoking diagram on p. 99. The complex subject has been made clearer by means of numerous diagrams and tables. Much in the book may not be acceptable to a purely "intellectual" mind, for Gnosticism demands *both* the head and the

heart. But even for such there are plenty of hints and ample food for thought. The book is the result of careful and deep and reverent study and forms an admirable introduction for a further study. Such works are needed in connection with other religions as well.

I. J. S. T.

The Fire of Creation—by Dr. J. J. Van der Leeuw (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). It is an inspiring book for all who dream of the future, for all who believe in the perfectability of man, and for all who are working to end the sorrows that seem almost to overwhelm our world at present. The author is truly inspired and has striven to pass on some of his inspiration to his hearers (these were first lectures delivered at Sydney, Australia) and to his readers. He says that he has tried to set forth what he has understood of the creative aspect of God and though he has used the Christian term "God the Holy Ghost" in his book, the reader who follows another faith may make the necessary change in the term and understand the matter in his own light. Thus, as the author himself has suggested, a Hindu may substitute "Brahma" for "the Holy Ghost" and yet make no difference. Readers of Arthur Avalon's books on Shakti will find a great deal of kindred matter in this fine book. The author exalts the Mother to her rightful place in God's Universe and if only for that portion the book ought to be read carefully and with reverence. Then, I am sure, the reader will also feel some of the author's inspiration and his enthusiasm.

I. J. S. T.

Presidency College Register, Compiled and edited by Surendra Chandra Majumdar, M.A., B.L., Professor of History, Presidency College, and Gokulnath Dhar, B.A., Librarian, Presidency College. Published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta. Price, Indian, Rs. 2-8, Foreign 4s. 6d.

We have great pleasure in commending to our readers a remarkable publication, perhaps the first of its kind in this country. All who are in any way interested in the work of the Presidency College, Calcutta, will express their warmest thanks to Prof. S. C. Majumdar and Mr. G. N.

Dhar for their splendid compilation of the College Register, just published by the Government of Bengal. Even a cursory glance through the pages of this neatly bound and well-got-up volume will convince the reader of the exhaustive research brought to bear upon the work by the compilers who must have spent many a laborious hour over it. We realize that a record like the one now before us will establish a link between the past and the present, and be the legacy of a glorious tradition to the generations of the future. A perusal of the list of celebrities among the ex-students of the College cannot fail to bring a thrill of pride to every present student, while the 'Old Boys' will be happy to know that they hold places of affection in the memory of the young. The publication of such a record of activities of the College,—in the words of the compilers, "the activities of those who built it up as well as of those whom it fashioned"—is indeed a memorable event for all Presidency College men. It visibly knits them together with the bond of a noble tradition into a brilliant and illustrious community, of whose activities they, as well as the whole of the country, may well be proud.

The first and second chapters deal with the history of the Hindu and Presidency Colleges. They are intended, we think, to serve as but an historical introduction to the work, and full of facts and figures as they are, lack necessarily the niceties of literary artistry. How we wish a separate history of the College were written, and on a method different from that followed in these rather dry chapters! The third chapter furnishes short summaries of the career of every member of the teaching staff who had served the College from 1817 to date. There are, of course, a few omissions which, we are afraid, could not be helped, and do not, we must say, detract from the merit of the work. The Register of ex-students—the kernel of the book—follows next. It is quite a remarkable list, containing the names of some of the greatest men of modern India. It covers the period from 1858 to 1925 and is thus fairly up-to-date. In a supplement is appended a like list of the alumni of Hindu College. We miss a few names. Let us hope in a future edition these defects will be remedied. We are sure, ex-students of this great College will help the compilers by filling in the forms annexed to the volume and sending them to the College.

There are many illustrations in this Register, that add to its attraction. We congratulate all those responsible for the publication for their achievement. Not willingly, it appears, have they foregone any labour that could make the book worthy of its purpose.

AN EX-STUDENT.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Disclaimer.

To

THE EDITOR,

The Calcutta Review

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to certain letters that have appeared and are still appearing in the *dailies* holding me responsible, along with Dr. Dineschandra Sen, for certain mistakes or misprints in Babu Rajanikanta Gupta's *History of India*. I hereby beg to inform the public that I never revised the book as a whole, though certain suggestions for improvement and emendation were sought and obtained by Mohini Babu, the son of the late author (Rajani Babu). The work of revision was done by Mohini Babu himself. The statements contained in the preface are inaccurate and much exaggerated.

I have, etc.,

H. C. RAYCHAUDHRI

Ourselves

DATES OF DIFFERENT UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The next Matriculation Examination will commence on Tuesday, the 27th March, 1928.

The next Intermediate Examinations in Arts and Science will commence on Monday, the 27th February, 1928.

The next B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations in Honours will commence on Tuesday, the 27th March, 1928.

The next B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations in Pass will commence on Friday, the 30th March, 1928.

The ensuing Law Examinations will commence on the dates noted below in supersession of the previous notification which was published in the last issue of the *Review* :

Preliminary Law—10th January, 1928.

Intermediate Law—17th January, 1928.

Final Law—23rd January, 1928.

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RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY LAW EXAMINATIONS.

Intermediate Law.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 868 of whom 504 passed, 205 failed and 159 were absent. Of the successful candidates 33 were placed in Class I.

Final Law.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,036 of whom 438 passed, 178 failed, 1 was expelled and 419 were absent. Of the successful candidates 26 were placed in Class I.

J. C. GHOSE RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1926.

The Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1926 has been awarded to Pandit Sitikantha Vāchaspati of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, for his thesis on "The Principles governing the administration of Criminal Law in Ancient India and the Procedure adopted in the administration thereof."

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ADHARCHANDRA MUKHERJI LECTURES FOR 1927.

Prof. Jnanchandra Ghosh, D.Sc., of the Dacca University, has been appointed Adharchandra Mukherji Lecturer for 1927, the subject of his lectures being "Recent Developments in Photo-Chemistry."

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MR. S. K. MAITRA AND *The Ethics of the Hindus*.

We gladly reproduce from *The Philosophical Review* of July, 1927, portions of an appreciative review of Mr. Susil-kumar Maitra's book on *The Ethics of the Hindus*, published by the University of Calcutta :

Mr. Maitra is one of the younger members of that group of Indian thinkers who in our day are attempting to make the philosophy of their country a living force. Too long, they feel, has Indian philosophy been handed on by Sanskrit-writing pundits as the possession of a small inner circle, or expounded by foreigners as an interesting anthropological development. Hence, almost as if by deliberate co-operation, works of a truly philosophical nature, in exposition of Indian thought as thought, have appeared from the pens of men like Babu Bhagavan Das, the late Mr. Vasudeva Kirtikar, Mr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Ranade, Professors Radhakrishnan and Dasgupta, not to mention less technical writers like Tagore and Muckerje. The center of this new movement is in and near Calcutta, and it is here that Mr. Maitra works.

In Part II are presented, with a good deal of skill, many of the subtle psychological distinctions made by various Hindu schools of thought in the analysis of volition, of conscience, and of the springs of action. To this second part is devoted the major portion of the book, and the reader will find within it an exposition of many points on Hindu psychology as well as of ethics not elsewhere available in English.

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But in brief summary it should be said that Mr. Maitra has shown himself a sound scholar and a careful and unprejudiced thinker, and that his book will be of real service to all those who would know more of the contribution which India has made to the study of morality.

The Calcutta Review



BENARES

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1927

BANKING IN THE DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY

The early history of banking in India may be traced to a very remote past. On the eve of the commencement of British rule, there were bankers associated with the Imperial and the various independent or semi-independent provincial governments, while each district—and even each village—had its own banker. These bankers exercised considerable influence in their respective spheres of activity, and some of them rose to positions of great eminence and wealth. The Jagat Setts of Bengal, who were the hereditary bankers to the Nawab Nazims,¹ enjoyed a reputation which spread far beyond the confines of the province.

The unsettled state of things which followed the Plassey debacle introduced elements of uncertainty into all the affairs of the people. The indigenous system of banking received a rude shock, and fell into a state of disorganisation. Many other difficulties ensued. The remitting of revenue from the districts to the seat of administration caused enormous expense and great deal of inconvenience. The merchants were obliged to incur large expenditure in carrying their wealth from one part to another. Besides, the various species of rupees in

¹ They also acted, sometimes, as the custodians of the public treasury, and received

circulation, and the different amounts of *batta* charged on them, were a source of immense trouble to the payers as well as the collectors of revenue.

In order to obviate these difficulties, and also to minimise the evil effects of a scarcity of specie, Warren Hastings proposed in 1773 the establishment of a General Bank for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. As this was the first attempt to start organised banking in India under British authority, a brief account of this Bank, will perhaps be found interesting. The main features of Hastings's plan were as follows: first, a principal House or Bank, under the conduct of one or more responsible *shroffs*, with branches under the charge of *gomastas* in the districts, was to be established; second, collectors were to charge fixed rates of *batta* for the different kinds of rupees, and make over the coins to the *gomastas* of the Bank; third, a table of *hundian* or commission of exchange, was to be fixed for payment to the Bank, according to the distance of the place and the risk and charge of transport;¹ fourth, merchants desirous of sending money from one part of the country to another, were to be permitted to make remittances through the Bank by means of bills; fifth, the managers of the Bank were to enter into an engagement with the Government and give security for the performance of their duties.²

The plan was accepted by the Council at Fort William, and two Indian gentlemen, Huzuri Mal and Rai Dayal Chand were appointed managers of the Bank.³ They declined to offer any security, but agreed to adjust their accounts every month and

¹ The following rates were fixed: Hughli, $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent; Nadia, $\frac{1}{4}$; Jessore or Burdwan, $\frac{1}{4}$; Midnapur, $\frac{1}{4}$; Birbhum, Bishnupur, and Murshidabad, 1; Pachete, $1\frac{1}{4}$; Dacca or Rajmehal, $1\frac{1}{4}$; Dinajpur or Purnea, 2; Rangpur or Bhagalpur, $2\frac{1}{4}$.

² Original Consultations (Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council), dated 18th April, 1773. Ms. Records of Bengal.

³ The former was a respectable merchant of Calcutta, the latter a banker of Murshidabad, a member of the family of Jagat Sett, who, from long experience has become intimately acquainted with banking business. Both of them were men of integrity, large substance, and extensive connections. Orig. Consultations, dated 23rd April, 1773. Ms. Records of Bengal. Both of them were invested with the title of Raja.

pay into the treasury any balance which might be left in their hands. A circular was addressed to the Collectors instructing them to afford the agents of the Bank every assistance in opening their branches, and in carrying on their business. They were also asked not to make any remittances by any bills other than those of the General Bank. The General Bank started work soon after the adoption of the plan. The profits during the first three months amounted to 29,560 *sicca* rupees. The Governor-General-in-Council decided that one half of the profits should be allowed to the managers, and the other carried to the Company's account. The Court of Directors, on being apprised of the establishment of the General Bank disapproved of the payment of considerable sums to the managers for conveying the revenues to the headquarters and then reconveying them to the districts. They also expressed the fear that the revenue might be diminished by the high *batta* on rupees being made permanent. They, therefore, refused to confirm the Regulation establishing the Bank, but urged the President and Council to make enquiries as to the effects it had produced.

A questionnaire was accordingly sent to the Provincial Councils of Revenue and the Collectors. Their answers went to show that the Bank had in some measure conduced to the convenience of merchants, the circulation of trade and the reduction of the rate of interest, without having been productive of any mischief or oppression. It had led to another advantage. The remittance of the revenue had cost less since the establishment of the Bank than formerly. The matter was then fully discussed by the Governor-General and Council. Philip Francis wrote an elaborate Minute in which he pointed out some of the shortcomings of the Bank and attempted to prove that it had "not done the service or provided the benefit expected from it." Hastings, however, held a different view.¹ But as he was then in a minority

¹ Hastings observed in the course of his reply to Francis's Minute : "Mr. Francis is of opinion that, allowing the present mode of remitting money to be more advantageous

in the Council, it was decided in February 1775 to abolish the Bank¹

The General Bank closed its doors after an existence of about twenty months. During this period, it realised a net profit of somewhat less than two lakhs of rupees, one-half of which went into the government treasury.² The abolition of the Bank was due in part to the hostility of the opponents of Warren Hastings, but mainly to the lack of imagination displayed by the Court of Directors. The same attitude was again exhibited when the Court prohibited the authorities in India in 1787 from lending their support to any banking institutions in Calcutta. Banking business, however, had already been started in connection with some of the European commercial houses. The oldest institution of the kind was the Bank of Hindusthan, established by Alexander and Co.³ It issued notes, the circulation of which was confined to Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood. Two other institutions, namely, the Bengal Bank⁴ and the General Bank⁵ were started in Bengal not long

to the company and more beneficial to the country than what was before in use or any other which occurs, still, if it has not done all the service and produced all the benefit expected, it ought to be set aside, merely because it was framed by the late administration, and is now in use. For my part, I rather think that changes should be avoided unless utility of them can be evidently made to appear, and that to authorize the Board to set aside the present mode it is necessary some other system should be found, which it can be clearly shown, will be attended with fewer inconveniences and be productive of greater benefits". Orig. Consultations of Governor-General and Council, dated the 7th February, 1745.

¹ Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated the 25th February, 1775. Ms. Records of Bengal.

² The abstract account of the General Bank, from the 1st June, 1773 to the 30th December, 1774 stood thus :—

Gross profits	Sa	Rs. 255,329
Charges	Sa	Rs. 93,264
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Net profits	Sa	Rs. 162,065
One-half of the profits was	Sa	Rs. 81,032

Original Consultations of the Revenue Board and of the Governor-General and Council, 1773-75. Ms. Records of Bengal.

³ This Bank had a long career. But it did not survive the failure of the firm of Alexander and Co., in 1832.

⁴ This Bank was in no way connected with the Bank of Bengal. It ceased to exist sometime before 1800, but the exact date is difficult to ascertain.

⁵ This institution was entirely different from the General Bank established by Warren Hastings.

afterwards. The work of the latter Bank seems to have been of considerable size.¹ Neither of them lived very long. In the Madras Presidency, an institution bearing the name of the Carnatic Bank existed in 1791, but very little is known about its activities.

The need of a properly constituted bank was felt all the more keenly because of the financial embarrassments of the government. In 1801, H. St. G. Tucker, Accountant-General of Bengal, addressed a letter to the Governor-General, in the course of which he observed: "It cannot have escaped observation that the credit of the Government in India has very rarely been such as might reasonably be expected from the general prosperity of its affairs; that the value of its securities is liable to great and sudden changes from causes altogether disproportionate to the effect; and that difficulties sometimes occur in raising funds for the public service with the occurrence of any circumstances of a nature to account for such difficulties."² He wrote further: "There is not in Bengal, as in the commercial countries of Europe, an artificial capital, arising from credit, or the circulation of a paper currency. There is no establishment for facilitating the means of borrowing and equalising what is termed the money market. There is no fund to which the government or individuals can have recourse for temporary purposes, and the consequence is that when any sudden emergency occurs, the Government is not only at the discretion of those who possess capitals, but it will sometimes happen that there is not a capital of that extent which can immediately furnish the necessary aid."³

These inconveniences could be removed by the establishment of a bank. The experiment of private banks had not succeeded, and there would, the Accountant-General thought, be

The General Bank went into liquidation in 1792. *Vide* Cooke, *Banking in India* Letter to Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 14th July, 1801.

Ibid.

objections to a government bank.¹ Tucker, therefore, suggested the establishment of a proprietary bank under the immediate control and guarantee of the Government. Much time elapsed before the proposal received attention. In 1806, a despatch was sent by the Government of Bengal to the Court of Directors recommending the scheme of a bank. But before any reply was received, the Bank of Calcutta had opened its business. Its initial capital was fifty lakhs of *sicca* rupees, divided into five hundred shares of ten thousand rupees each. The Government of Bengal contributed one-fifth of the capital. The management of the Bank was entrusted to a Board of nine Directors, three of whom were nominated by the Government and six by the shareholders.

This Bank received its first charter on the 2nd January, 1809,² on which occasion its name was changed to that of the Bank of Bengal. The charter indicated the objects with which this Bank was created. The amount of stock which might be held by any proprietor was limited to one lakh. The advances to be made by the Bank to individuals were also limited to a lakh, while the advances to the Government were restricted to five lakhs. The rate of interest was limited to a maximum of 12 per cent. The Bank was prohibited from

¹ On the question of a private bank, he observed: "The General Bank which was dissolved some years ago offered sufficient security to the public, for among its proprietary, were some of the most wealthy inhabitants of this place; but its constitution did not provide for a faithful administration of its affairs, and the assistance of the government was wanting to give life and vigour to its circulation." The objections to a government bank were summarised by him in these words: "It would not be distinguished from the government's treasury: the public would consider it an engine of State; it would be involved in all the transactions of the government, and there is reason to apprehend that the public under these circumstances would not have sufficient confidence in it. It would necessarily participate in the government's distresses, and its credit would be least when there might be the greatest occasion for credit in times of public calamity." *Ibid*.

² As doubts had arisen as to whether the governments in India were competent to establish banks within the local limits of jurisdiction of the Courts established by royal charters, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1807 removing such doubts and empowering the authorities in India to start banks with the approval of the Court of Directors and the Board of control.

engaging in trade or in any kind of agency for the buying and selling of public securities or of goods.

It was required to maintain a cash reserve of at least one-third of the outstanding liabilities payable on demand, and the total liabilities of the Bank were limited to the amount of its capital. This last rule had the effect of restricting the note issue to a maximum of fifty lakhs. The Government reserved to itself ample powers of control. Besides being represented on the directorate of the Bank, they had the right of inspecting its records, while the office of the Secretary and Treasurer was held by a covenanted servant of the company.

The benefits expected from the creation of the Bank were fully realised. It helped the Government in withdrawing a depreciated currency; money became more easily available for the needs of the community; the scarcity of specie ceased; the rate of interest diminished; and the Government was relieved of much of its financial difficulty.¹ Between 1829 and 1832, the Bank of Bengal passed through a severe crisis owing to commercial panics consequent on the failure of some of the largest of the business houses of Calcutta.² The Bank's capital was increased to seventy-five lakhs in 1836. A new charter was granted in 1839, which remained in force, with slight modifications made in 1854 and 1855, till the end of the Company's rule. The Sepoy Mutiny imposed a great strain on the resources of the bank, and it was only the interference of the Government which prevented the adoption by it of a disastrous policy.

A Government Bank was started in Madras in 1805. This Bank, which was managed by officers of the Government conducted business on a small scale and in an unsatisfactory manner. It was not until 1843 that the Presidency Bank of Madras was established. The plan was similar

¹ Auber, *Analysis of the constitution of the East India Company*, p. 57.

² It involved itself in considerable danger in attempting to protect the firm of Alexander and Co., and was obliged to infringe several provisions of its charter. *Vide* Brunyate, *An Account of the Presidency Banks*.

to that of the Bank of Bengal. The initial capital was thirty lakhs of rupees, of which three lakhs were subscribed by the Government. The management of the Bank was in the hands of nine Directors, of whom three were appointed by the Governor-in-Council at Madras, and the remaining six were elected by the shareholders. The Bank enjoyed the privilege of note issue.

Banking institutions on organised lines did not come into existence in the Presidency of Bombay until a much later date than in Bengal. The first attempt made in this direction was not crowned with success. An Act was passed by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1840 establishing the Bank of Bombay. The capital was fifty-two lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees, divided into 5,225 shares, of which the Government of Bombay subscribed three hundred. The constitution of the Directorate was similar to that of the Bank of Bengal and the same kind of business was transacted by it. Its note circulation was limited to two crores.¹

The connection of the three Presidency Banks with the financial system of the country was a fairly intimate one. They performed the banking business of the Government, while their right to issue notes directly affected the currency system. Several other institutions had, in the meanwhile, come into existence through private enterprise. These banks facilitated the foreign trade of the country, and considerably influenced its money market. Their activities, however, had no direct bearing on public finance.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

1 *Vide* Cooke, *Banking in India* and Brunyate, *An Account of the Presidency Banks*.

REGENERATION OF RURAL BENGAL

(Steps that have been taken) .

The regenerators of rural Bengal seem to have failed to lay sufficient stress on the economic causes of the decline of the village. Captain Petavel of the middle-class unemployment fame and Mr. Gurusaday Dutt of the Bankura co-operative irrigation fame, may be regarded as pioneers and the only practical workers in this direction in recent times; but even they seem to have scarcely reached the root and to have only touched it in an incidental way—the former for finding out a solution for the middle-class unemployment and the latter in trying to ameliorate the economic distress of the agriculturists in certain parts of Bengal, due to the frequent dearth and everpresent uncertainty of rainfall.

It is true that recently Dr. R. K. Mukherjee has been engaged in the investigation of rural problems of India but his investigations have been more extensive and theoretical than necessarily fruitful for any practical solution of the problem of the Bengal village. Mr. Benoykumar Sarkar also seems to have been considering some of the proposals affecting the rural areas incidentally, in connection with his deliberations on the industrial development of the country—that is whether the development of the industrial townships or the attention to agricultural improvement will be more consonant with the economic progress of India. The Swaraj party also have issued a programme for village reconstruction for their ulterior political motive.

Lastly, the Government which have been recently keen about the desolated state of the rural areas, are trying to encourage the local bodies to take steps for their reconstruction by the palliatives of sanitation, communication, co-operation, irrigation and education. But the administrators also are avoiding

the real issue either as inopportune to raise or impossible to solve at present. So their measures are not going to the root of the disease, and unless they go there, no real and radical cure is possible.

But to anyone who wants exclusively to think of the causes of and remedies for the decline of rural Bengal, for the practical solution of the problems, it may appear that the nature of the socio-economic revolution which is the most fruitful cause of the decline of the village has not been properly analysed, and that therefore the remedies proposed or attempted cannot be expected to be fully efficacious.

Mr. G. S. Dutt has been eloquent over the Spenserian analogy and thinks that vitality can be instilled into the body-social of Rural Bengal, through the wonderful elixir of organisation alone. It will be perhaps for a medical doctor to tell him that all remedies including the *Makaradhwaj*, the panacea for all diseases and the last remedial attempt in desperate cases, have been found to be ineffective in the life of the patients if there is no latent vitality or when the sinking vitality is under the cumulative force of deadly attacks, environmental or constitutional.

Organisation is a good thing and it might have been the experience of the philanthropic and benevolent district officer of Bankura to personally observe the wonders of organisation in respect of co-operative irrigation in that district. But he need not forget in his enthusiasm that this vitality-giving force to the happy rustics of Bankura came from outside at the start at least, if not maintained by a constant outside watch and impetus. It may also be necessary to wait for a long time to conclude whether the organisation will survive the departure of the resourceful personality who supplied the essential elementary force for it.

Ever since the brain of rural Bengal has been paralysed by the accident of the socio-economic revolution of the last half of the nineteenth century when the flowers of the village left their rural home in quest of the golden grail of remunerative

employment in towns, or the honourable existence away from the zamindari zulum ; under the effective Pax Britannica, the body-social of the village has been running towards dissolution ; and the leaderless villagers have been left victims to the unscrupulous agents of lawyers and zemindars, without any power of initiative or concerted action. They can be roused from this comatose state only by their natural leaders, the scions of the respected families, who or whose ancestors left the village but have still kept some sort of relationship to it by their occasional pilgrimage to it or by their sentimental annual expenditure over their ancestral residence or on the occasion of the national festival of Bengal, the great Durgotsav. Unless these men who have been enlightened by education elsewhere and who are earning their livelihood elsewhere can be induced to come back to the village, no extraneous attempt at organisation of the village can be successful permanently. No doubt a benevolent official can do much through his powerful persuasion or patronage, prestige or authority, but his attempts will not be permanently and fully successful unless the villagers themselves can keep the fire, so kindly kindled, burning on, by the constant supply of the fuels of their own efforts. The same can be said of the patriotic party-programme of the political enthusiasts, which may be of use at the outset in creating a healthy stir in the moribund village life, but it is not much of a hazard to say that their village reconstruction scheme is foredoomed to failure, if for no other reason, but for the ridiculously scanty resources of the framers of the scheme in comparison with the stupendous task advertised to be undertaken. Their resources are in the unsophisticated young men recruited for the purpose as volunteers through the force of hoodwinking rodomontade and in the money raised from the public for the purpose. But the futility of their attempts, the insincerity of their propaganda and the diversion of the fund to other party purposes, election expenditures, maintenance of party organs or subsidising political workers in the moffusil, as suspected and openly alleged by many, are surely to disgust

and disillusion in no time those who pay money to them and those who are ready to work for them.

Some among these party men must be sincere in their intention, and sacrificing and philanthropic in their instinct, but their attempts as well as of all others who want to be friends to the village will be fruitless, unless backed by the only thing essentially necessary for the reconstruction of the village society, namely, creation of an interest of personal character in the rural areas among the educated Bengalees for supplying the brain-power to the body-social there.

After the above destructive criticism of the steps for the reconstruction of the village in a general way, it may be necessary to consider each of them separately and with a view to some practical purpose.

The first and the foremost of the problems of rural Bengal is the Land Problem. The village, it has been seen above, has suffered grievously in more ways than one by the land system of Bengal. When the eyes of the administrators were opened to the disastrous consequences of the P. Settlement on the villages, they tried to do what was possible under the circumstances by following the way of the least resistance. The tenancy acts of 1859 and 1885 were passed in spite of the strenuous and concerted opposition of the zemindars. The idea of the record of rights, the revenue money order, and placing the Chowkidar solely under the Government for the protection of tenants, was gradually given effect to or matured. All these methods however have failed to give the protection due to the tenant from the state, because they are only half measures, because the influence of the zemindar is very great and because the tenants are ignorant and bereft of their natural leaders, the intelligentsia of the village. The first man in the village is still the half-educated and unscrupulous "gomostha" of the zemindar, and anything however necessary for the village or however just to the tenants, if it happens to be against the interest or *amour propre* of the zemindar, must be discouraged by his man. There

is no longer the old Mogul time Kanungo to look after the rights and records of the village on behalf and the state. Recently this has been discovered, and for filling up the gap in the link between the village and the state, various measures have been initiated, such as the process of survey and settlement and the record of rights and the Chowkidari unions, and the union boards. The first when completed will be the greatest boon to the Bengal cultivator ever since the year 1793 but during the period of its compilation, the effects on him, both financial and legal, would be extremely harassing in character. The administrative institutions—the union boards—are not of much help to the villagers at present though they may have great potentiality which will not come to fructify unless and until the natural leaders of the villagers, are attracted towards them and to their village homes. At present they are being dominated either by the zemindar's official or by his nominee.

The harm done to the finance of the village by the P. Settlement, has been made the subject of a side-attack by the Government through the local cesses on land. No doubt this is a move in the right direction but it is not only a half measure but also objectionable on two grounds—first a share of payment has unnecessarily and unjustly been placed on the tenant, and secondly in some places it is alleged that the zemindar's share is shifted illegally on the shoulders of his tenants while almost everywhere it has been done so in an indirect and clever way—through the enhance ment of rents. Thus it seems that the agrarian measures taken up to date by the Government have failed to cure the evils in the Bengal villages due to the revolutionary land system of 1793.

On the whole it may be said that what has up to date been done regarding the land system of Bengal for the benefit of its villages is almost insignificant in comparison to what is absolutely necessary to do.

Many other schemes have been proposed and are partially being worked in favour of the villagers and in connection with

land.' It is true that some of them have for their purpose not so much the village reconstruction as agricultural improvement. But as improvement of the Bengal rural areas depends mostly upon that of Bengal agriculture, these schemes may be fitly considered from the point of view of the village reconstruction.

Here also the state has been the pioneer, and much good has been achieved, but also much unnecessary expenditure of money as well as energy, has occurred.

The following are the different organisations through which the state has undertaken to improve the lot of the agriculturist :

1. *Co-operative Societies*.—These are the most important and meritorious organisations for village improvement. They have proved congenial to the soil, and are growing rapidly. By supplying capital at a moderate rate of interest and by teaching the villagers self-help and the efficiency of combined efforts, they have been of immense benefit to the villagers, both materially and spiritually.

This spirit and practice of co-operation have a brilliant future in the history of the Bengal rural areas. The Co-operative Societies are being utilised not only for the purpose of relieving the so-called victims of the village mahajans, but for many other purposes; and their field for operation in the cause of protection as well as production is sure to widen in course of time, in the shape of sale societies, storing societies and industrial societies—some of which have already sprung up.

2. *Irrigation*.—In a land like Bengal where rice-cultivation is the chief industry, and where clogged water is the chief source of danger to sanitation, ready supply of water as a safeguard against droughts which so often destroy the crops, and annual flooding to prevent the growth of the malarial miasma in the stagnant pools and marshes, are of immense necessity, economic as well as sanitary. Here it must be admitted, that the Government in the past has not been as vigorous in its activity as the situation demands. (Cf. Bentley's evidence before the R.

Commission.) Some fifty years ago projects were made for undertaking the irrigation works in certain rural areas of Bengal (Hughli) for the combined purposes of sanitation as well as agricultural supply of water. In 1870 the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal reported that—

“... the most important of all causes of malarious fever is...the insufficient drainage and the partial or complete obstruction of rivers... The remedy lies in effectual drainage....”

Mr. Adley made a comprehensive drainage scheme for the Hughli District as early as 1870. But the programme has yet been far from being fully realised. It may be thought that if a vigorous policy in this direction would have been taken up by the Bengal Government 50 years ago, the condition of the villages in some parts of Bengal would have been much different by this time.

In this respect the Government has no doubt done little, but the people concerned and their so-called leaders, the zemindars, have done still less.

The apathy of the people is explained by their ignorance, inertness and poverty and lack of organising capacity through being leaderless ; and the indifference of the zemindars may be explained by their absenteeism, and security, from any possible loss and for an ever-increasing unearned income, through the process of time, progress of society, and development of communication and the spread of international trade. Prices are rising, demand for land is increasing and rack-renting in spite of all tenancy laws, are increasing the incomes of the zemindars rapidly. Why should they care for the rural areas from their comfortable palaces in the city !

3. *Communication—railways, roads, khals.*—Rivers and minor streams are the natural roadways in a land like Bengal intersected by so many of them in all the different directions. In East Bengal they are provided by nature in more bountiful scale than in West Bengal, but even here these natural means of communication are not negligible, and with slight supplementary

care and labour of men they may be made as extensively serviceable as in East Bengal. To these served the track roads for pack animals, as feeders, and they did not require any artificial arrangement but only convenient short cuts and avoidance of any injury to cultivated crops. Very few roads were there when the British came into the country and those were made more for military purpose than for trade facility or ordinary communication. The new administrators of Bengal felt keenly for the want of good roads for more than one reason—supplying the necessity for foreign trade as feeders to the newly laid railway lines as well as for carrying goods to the marts which were the supply bases to the great port of Calcutta, and also for administrative convenience by serving as high-ways for the official tour as well as bringing the people in convenient touch, with the administrative centres, the zillah and mahakuma British courts, and for military purposes too.

To remove this keenly felt want which the District officials never failed to mention to the superior authorities, they gave every sort of encouragement in their power to the zemindars and the other notables for subscribing funds for the creation of roads and numerous thoroughfares in Bengal are the results of such encouragement.

Unfortunately this very beneficent move in the interest of the rural people, quite contrary to all expectations, was left to indifferent treatment afterwards, though a large contribution was made compulsory for this end, in the shape of the Road Cess and the Public Works Cess from the agricultural income in the rural areas, and though the management of this fund and the roads were placed in the hands of the local and district boards, self-governing bodies constituted for the purpose and similar other ones.

It is regrettable that with the advent of the complete self-government for local purposes, *viz.*, the obligatory election of the non-official chairman in the district board, the complaints regarding the roadways are becoming more numerous and serious.

It may be interesting to note in this connection that many of the old roads have altogether disappeared through their gradual occupation for the purpose of cultivation by the unscrupulous village husbandmen ; and ultimately have been assessed by the zemindars to increase their rent roll.

At one time the waterways of Bengal were very cheap and good means of communication and transportation. Many of them have been silted up by process of nature and some have been obstructed by human activity. Up till recently this aspect of rural service through opening them has been neglected by all. Recently however attention has been drawn in this direction and schemes for the purpose of irrigation and sanitation are being hatched which may react on communication also.

4. *Sanitary improvement.*—This is from one point of view the most urgent item in the village reconstruction as well as the most difficult obstacle to village improvement.

Early in the latter half of the nineteenth century the deteriorated sanitary conditions of some of the rural areas in the presidency was painfully impressed upon the local administrators through the horrible and extensive havocs of malaria, and the necessity for taking immediate steps was felt by all concerned. Various suggestions were made by the reports of the constituted bodies for the purpose, and from the responsible officials of the districts as well as the Indian sufferers of the fell disease. But it is very unfortunate that for more than 50 years have passed away since, and yet the disease is going on doing its nefarious deed of desolating the once most flourishing part of the Hindusthan, and that with cumulative force in geometrical ratio. Annually 10 lacs men are victimised by malaria and the manpower in the rural areas are being annually reduced in such a rate that it may not be the work of a morbid imagination to think that another three generations and the indigenous population in the malaria-stricken rural Bengal, will exist only as historical reminiscence.

It must be a matter of regret that in this respect at least

the British Government has not been able to discharge its responsibility to the people in a perfectly satisfactory way. The means and measures, the state has taken in this respect, seem to be extremely inadequate in comparison with the vastness and importance of the task to be done.

(a) *Dispensaries*.—With the advent of malaria, the officials became eager to see dispensaries and hospitals established, and encouraged this movement in diverse ways. As a result a number of hospitals and dispensaries was established, in the sixties and seventies of the last century, some under official and others under private auspices. But their number did not commensurately grow up in course of time and now-a-days the task of their management as well as of their increase has been left to the District Boards which require local contribution in part before undertaking the foundation of a new one. Thus many areas inhabited by the poor or ignorant of the ways of the District Board, though in urgent need of dispensaries have not got them.

However, it must be admitted that so long as the physical conditions of the local areas will continue to make them breeding grounds for malaria, the dispensaries and hospitals can only serve as curing and not preventing organisations. The cure is bound to be of temporary utility as unhealthy atmosphere surrounding the victim will make him ill again and each repetition of the attack will make the cure more and more difficult.

The Inspector-General of Hospitals, in his report on the charitable dispensaries of Bengal for 1871 describes :

"...as might be expected, the individual, as long as he remains exposed to the same conditions which originally caused his malady, is liable to repeated attacks. Step by step the constitution is undermined and the seeds of fatal organic disease implanted...it is too much to expect quinine or any other drug to prevent their accession, or cure the disease once for all."—*Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. III.*

(b) *Quinine and encouragement to its use*.—The next step that was undertaken by the state for the relief of the people

in the malaria-stricken areas, was the distribution of quinine and encouragement to its use through instructive literature. As early as the seventies of the nineteenth century the special efficacy of quinine in curing and preventing malaria was doubted by competent European authorities. The Civil Surgeon of the Hughli district reports in 1871 that—

“ the quinine, although it does much to check the accession of fever as an anti-periodic, is ill-suited to the constitution of the ill-fed labouring population...the poorer classes are more amenable to treatment by native than by European medicines.”

And ever since there has been an idea among the Indians, that the frequent use of the drug has been a cause with a cumulative force of debilitating the physique of the people of Bengal. But it must be admitted that for curing and to a certain extent for preventing malarial fever, still quinine is the most efficacious weapon.

It is to be regretted that the efforts of the state or the local bodies under it have not in the past been commensurate with the needs of the rural population in this respect. The cost of procuring the medicine by them has not been made equal to their means ; sufficient propaganda has not been made to bring its efficacy to their knowledge ; and the necessary number of experimental or inducing centres have not been opened.

(c) *Drinking water.*—Many of the rural areas suffer piteously for want of good drinking water, and to quench thirst in them there is no other alternative but to resort to filthy pools and insanitary tanks. The Indian newspapers for the last quarter of a century have cried hoarse over this distressing accompaniment of the rural life, and the government has recently recognised the need of initiating a vigorous policy in this direction. But as yet the realisation of any comprehensive programme is not in sight. Recently schemes have been made for giving loans to the District Boards for utilising the money in water supply, and sanitary and economic surveys have been made for excavating canals, and some of the projects have been

definitely adopted. It is regrettable that the excavation of tanks through the subsidy from the District Boards which were doing so useful work has been abandoned, in favour of tube wells. The tube-wells are surely better for the supply of drinking water, but the re-excavation of tanks also are absolutely necessary for sanitation and economic irrigation and fish-industry.

(d) *Clearance of jungles*.—The cutting of jungles has drawn attention of the well-wishers of the people in the rural areas. But for two reasons this seems to be impossible, if not unnecessary. The rank growths in the rainy season are so natural in Bengal that to cut them off would require the expenditure of money and energy, not within the resources of the villager, especially as the villages are depopulated in many places. Any external help from the District Board or from any philanthropic popular organisation will hardly be sufficient to cope with the work, which is to be done annually. Even in the municipal areas in many cases the task remains undone for want of fund, energy or willingness of the people.

The necessity also does not seem to be so urgent. If the mosquito theory is not accepted as the prime cause of malaria, then more than half the force of the argument for cutting jungles is gone. Even if Sir Ronald Ross's theory is accepted *in toto* the fact remains that the breeding ground for the mosquito is the pool and the filthy tank. The question of dampness is to be tackled not primarily through cutting the jungles but through efficient drainage and even that Dr. Bentley thinks unnecessary.

With regard to the importance of the annual clearing of the rank growths to prevent malaria, much doubt exists in the mind of those who are, like the people in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hughli district, living in comparatively high and dry sandy soil where even in the rainy season there is no rank vegetation worth the name and yet where malaria exists in its deadliest and most persistent form.

(e) *The Mosquito Brigade*.—The mosquito brigade for killing mosquitoes appears ridiculous even to the simple minded rustics who compare its attempts and suggestions, with the advice gratis given by a clever man to one of his bug-pested neighbour which was to the effect “carefully look at your bed, take away the bug where found out, and then put its head between two of your nails and finally crush it with due pressure.”

It is beyond their comprehension and the comprehension of many others, what earthly reasons impelled sensible men to make a costly organisation for killing the mosquitoes, when the condition as the perennial source of their growth remains, and when they are the unavoidable natural accompaniments of the climate and soil of the country. Mosquito is absolutely irradicable by any direct action and any indirect action for the same purpose is not so important, so long as the potent causes of its breeding continue in force.

In the town areas there are enough of the pest but they seldom grow to be of the poisonous anopheles type, because the conditions there are not favourable to such development.

The idea of advising the people of rural areas to use mosquito curtains is equally ineffective, as the people for their very comfort use these curtains whenever possible, and as their personal experience shows them that even their well-to-do neighbours who never sleep but in curtain, are not spared the pangs of the disease at all. Instead of a hasty declaration, if the authorities had taken care to ascertain the efficacy of the mosquito-curtains in preventing malarial fever through the personal experience of the Police Sub-Inspectors in the malarial areas and the village school masters, much loss of unnecessary breath might have been spared to them.

People use these curtains, advised or not, whenever possible as a source of comfort; and those who habitually use them are as much the victims of malaria as their unfortunate poor brethren.

But with regard to the mosquito affair, the most ridiculous fad is the idea of spending money in propaganda work through magic lanterns and peripatetic sanitary advisers for teaching the people to be careful about the particular class of mosquito which is to be identified as the mortal enemy to their health.

The people do not require such lectures, they forget them as soon as they are delivered, chuckle over the fad in their Baithakkhana and wonder at the paucity of work in the hands of the Sarkar to let them have time for such ridiculous trifles.

They and many of those who think for them, have the only consolation for the loss of money in this direction, that the fad will soon pass off, as many others including the famous hook-worm campaign have done.

In the meantime however the loss of money is objectionable, for the work which, even if granted to be necessary, could be done much more cheaply through printed leaflets of the Government.

It is not intended here to challenge the truth of the prevalent scientific theory regarding mosquito as the immediate cause of the attack of malarial fever; neither is it within the competence of a layman to do so. But from the common sense point of view it may be doubted whether while the perennial cause of malaria will remain untackled, the eradication of the offending mosquito will be of any use and also whether such eradication is at all possible.

The appearance of the malarial epidemic was synchronous in places with the obstruction to natural drainage.

(f) *The drainage*.—The importance of proper drainage in eradicating malaria, was recognised as early as the seventies of the last century by competent authorities in the Hughli district. In 1870 the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal reported that...“the most important of all causes of malarious fever ...the insufficient drainage, the partial or complete obstruction of rivers...the remedy lies in effectual drainage.”

Mr. Adley made a comprehensive drainage scheme for the Hughli district as early as 1870.

Col. Haig also suggested irrigation and drainage scheme for preventing malarial fever.

Soon after schemes were made and some works, such as the Dankuni, the Eden and the Rajapur schemes were begun. But very unfortunately a vigorous policy in this respect was not continued by the State. Perhaps the efficacy of such works in getting the localities rid of malaria was lost sight of, and the drainage was associated with the idea of economic irrigation only.

Thanks to Dr. Bentley, the ex-Director of Sanitation, the flooding of the malaria-stricken areas for removing the poison, has again attracted the notice of the Government, and some experimental work, it is said with good results, has been initiated under its auspices, as in Jungipur in the Murshidabad District. Dr. Bentley however regards draining as not such a necessity.

It must be admitted that in this respect the administrators of the country may be rightly charged with careless apathy and culpable negligence. But fortunately their attitude has recently changed for the better.

(g) *Sanitary Organisation by the Government.*—The last thing that should be discussed in this connection is the sanitary organisation by the Government. In this province no governmental department, perhaps excepting the defensive ones, is of so much public utility as that for sanitation. But its sanitary organisation is certainly a subject of criticism and its ideas in many cases are counter to the opinion of the people, and in some at least unsuitable to the local circumstances and useless to the people.

Up to the present time the organisation may be credited with some laudable enterprises and successes. Valuable theories regarding the cause and cure of malaria have been promulgated, and the people of the country must be immensely thankful to Dr Bentley, Director of Public Health, whose pronouncements by their clearness and boldness have made deep impression upon them.

The efforts of the department have been successful in preventing small-pox to a large extent through vaccination, and the cholera epidemic to some extent through watch and care. But it must be admitted that with regard to malaria—the most dreadful scourge in rural Bengal—they have not been able to do much. This is not due to any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the workers but for want of means. The flooding and the drainage scheme cannot be given effect to without the expenditure of vast sums of money and the ways and means for that have not been provided for in commensurate scale by the state.

(h) *Agricultural Department*.—The Government has established a department for improvement of agriculture in India and it has its provincial organisations under the various local governments. Its function is to make experiment in seeds, manures, etc., to disseminate knowledge regarding scientific agriculture, selection of seeds, prevention of blight, and pests, and manuring, to give practical lessons in agriculture through model and demonstrating farms and train students in agriculture.

In a country like India of which at least of the population depends upon agriculture for their livelihood, the necessity for an organisation under the state for looking after the agricultural interests cannot be too much emphasised. At the same time it must be said that up to this time the benefit has not been commensurate with the expenditure of the effort and money in this direction.

The reason is to be found in the wrong tracks the department has followed in many respects and even now following. In India agriculture is a primitive industry, and the intelligent peasants are well versed in it in their own way.

(i) *The Schools and Pathshalas*.—With the consolidation of the British rule in Bengal there came a craze for education which is still continuing with unabated heat. Officials and non-officials joined hands in seeing the rise of schools and pathshalas throughout the whole length and breadth of the presidency.

Men like Iswarchandra Vidyasagar or Bhudebchandra Mukherjee spared no pains or time in the cause of the spread of education as the most beneficent move for the people. But now it may be doubted whether the expected benefit has been fully realised so far at least as the rural areas are concerned. The education imparted seems to have developed very little economic capacity or social responsibility in the village and perhaps it has indirectly harmed them through the emigration of the capable men elsewhere in quest of service and profession. No one can gainsay that education is necessary for all social progress and the case of Rural Bengal is not an exception. But it is pardonable for one to be cynical *re* the present system of primary education, and to be doubtful *re* the wisdom of founding ill-equipped new high schools in depopulated and unhealthy localities.

(g) *The Union Boards*—This study *re* the steps taken for the improvement of Rural Bengal cannot be finished without reference to the Union Boards. The advent of Pax Britannica tended to destroy the primary administration units—the village communities—everywhere in India. But nowhere this destructive tendency was so much fruitful as in Bengal. The reasons may be found in the careful over-centralising policy of the state, in the new land system of Bengal and in the socio-economic causes which resulted in the desertion of the rural homes by the intelligentsia. Later on however the eyes of the administrators were opened to this and after due deliberations steps were taken for the resuscitation of village communities under the new denomination of the Union boards. The steps have been taken in the right direction but much spade work is yet to be done before the Union boards will become the primary units of local self-government in Bengal. At present they are very often dominated by undesirable persons or absentees. The difficulty in the way of making the successful units of rural administrative organisation an efficient agent of rural reconstruction is manifold and great. Good and able men do seldom live in villages, the power granted to the Union

Boards is not tempting to many, and the financial resources are very scanty. Of all these the first is the most serious and on the solution of it will depend the future of these necessary organisations; the guidance of the Government Officer and the District Officer at present is absolutely necessary but by an amendment of the law further concessions may be given to the deserving Union Boards as an encouragement to others. As the policy of the Government and the attitude of the administrators have all along been sympathetic there is no difficulty about the concession of such powers; and the financial difficulty may be removed by ear-marking a large share of the cesses realised from the locality for its improvements and abolishing the Local Boards.

AKSHAYKUMAR SIRCAR

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA AND PRIVATE CAPITAL

1. Those who have followed the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill will have realised that the Draft Bill which emerged out of their sittings has not been altogether conclusive. Several important questions, such as the admissibility of private capital, management, the principles of reserves, have not yet been decided. Of the importance of these questions there can be no doubt. The experiences of other countries tell us that where they have arisen after the formation of the central bank, the opposition met with was so great that all proposals for reform were nipped in their very inception by the unbroken front of the vested interests. That was particularly the case when the Reichsbank on a shareholder's basis was sought to be changed into an entirely State-owned bank. The time is therefore most opportune and propitious for a thorough examination of the problem in all its aspects. It is fortunate that the Reserve Bank Bill has not so far excited anything like the stormy discussions that characterised the Rupee ratio question. An attempt is made in this paper to examine some of the various questions connected with the admissibility of private capital into the proposed Reserve Bank. They have not been approached with any preconceived notions, and sought to be justified by selecting suitable arguments and statistics. Neither have any pains been taken to accommodate the conclusions to the greatest common measure of the different groups of diverse opinions.

2. On the broad question of State intervention in the direction of banking affairs no time need be spent. The "Police-man Theory" of the State has long been given up as inadequate and it is sufficiently well-accepted that a central bank with the management of the cash balances and of the note issue in its hands, must necessarily stand in a somewhat close relation

to the Government. These two privileges make it necessary for the State to interest itself actively in the operations of the central banking authority:

The question has passed the stage of whether the public ownership of central banking or the regulation of it in private hands is necessary. The State has been held justified in intervening in all cases where the motive of self-interest among the banks is pursued to a degree that well-nigh threatens to affect the wider social interests. From the very nature of its operations as the Government's fiscal agent, the bankers' bank and the pivot of the monetary system of a country, the central bank affects the whole national well-being and invites supervision and correction, as occasion demands, by public authority. In all other matters, *laissez-faire* or the "hands-off" attitude is accepted as a sound principle of economic conduct.

3. Theoretically considered, all attempts at public control over monopolistic organizations—central banking is essentially monopolistic in character—whether direct or indirect, are likely to be only very imperfectly successful. Since, therefore, to regulate oneself is obviously easier than to regulate somebody else, national interests would certainly be advantaged, if the Government itself owned and operated the central bank. But a serious objection has been levelled against Government ownership and operation on the point of efficiency. As it is fairly widely held, we shall do well to examine this criticism.

We may start the discussion with an observation of the Committee of the American Federation:

"There are no particular reasons why the financial results for private or public operations should be different, if the conditions are the same."

This statement may be further amplified by saying that whether the service is provided by a private company or by a public governmental authority, the actual running of the business must be similar. An expert staff must be appointed,

controlled in a general way, in the one case by a Committee of Directors chosen by the shareholders, in the other by a Committee appointed—perhaps by direct, perhaps by indirect election—to represent the public. On the whole, as Professor Pigou observes,

“ the efficiency of the management in public or joint-stock enterprise—apart, of course, from special cases of incompetent officialdom in certain small towns—is likely to be pretty much the same ”²

4. Another point is that central banking is a very profitable undertaking³ by virtue of the monopoly of note-issue conferred

² Pigou, *Wealth and Welfare*, p. 275 The three groups of considerations with which Professor Pigou continues as suggesting that public operation is, on the whole, inferior to public control do not apply to central banking Cf (1) The danger under public operation that the operating authority may be tempted to maintain the enterprise by the use of unfair commercial methods at the expense of vital enterprises capable of satisfying the same wants more cheaply. Central banks do not compete with the other banks at all. (2) Under public operation efficiency is likely to suffer through an undue restriction of the supply of the factor of production including uncertainty bearing Which applies more to industries than to banking. (3) Loss of efficiency through the establishment of units of management of an uneconomical size. *Ibid*, pp. 276-287.

³ Compare the following extracted from the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia As the initial expenses of the bank were heavy, the early operations resulted in a small loss, but with the increasing prosperity of the institution the early deficit was gradually reduced, until in June 30, 1925, it was entirely extinguished. The following table shows the aggregate net profits from the initiation of the Bank to the end of each of the last five financial years —

COMMONWEALTH BANK OF AUSTRALIA.

Aggregate Profits, 1921 to 1925

Date	AGGREGATE NET PROFIT TO STATE.		
	General Bank.	Savings Bank	Total.
	•£	£	£
June 30, 1921 ..	3,082,249	369,116	3,451,365
„ „ 1922 .	3,577,317	424,342	4,001,659
„ „ 1923 ...	3,869,219	534,768	4,403,987
„ „ 1924 ...	3,964,620	690,053	4,654,673
„ „ 1925 ...	4,098,392	890,888	• 4,989,280

on it by the State and the free deposit of the Government cash balances. There is no reason why the State should voluntarily renounce the profits in favour of private individuals. The question is not altogether a new one. It has been raised in Germany and Belgium, but met with hardly any success. In these countries the problem had been to remove the existing shareholders, which would have involved serious inequities. As was aptly stated in Germany, it would not have been the fleecing of the millionaire alone. The measure, if carried out, would have inflicted great hardship on the poor holders of the shares. It was practically not a question of principle, but one of this hardship on the existing interests that prevented the acceptance of the proposal. In our own country, the argument from the point of view of our public finance—the necessity for finding increased sources of revenue to discharge the central functions—has not been altogether left out. Prof. K. T. Shah has suggested the elimination of other participants in the profits. From the point of view of theory, if a case has been made out for State ownership, one may ask: why invite other parties to share in the gains when the State can conveniently do without them?

5. Despite the warnings uttered by economists and by the continental banking experience, the Dominion of Australia created the Commonwealth Bank of Australia by statute in 1911. Its subsequent history has enabled it to safely survive the criticism levelled against it as a State Bank on its formation in 1913. The Bank is owned completely and guaranteed by the Government of Australia. It started business in 1912 with no capital and with assets of only £10,000, in the form of a loan from the Australian Government. Its balance sheet seven years later showed a total of over £70,000,000. It has about 90 branches in Australia. The bank has been a steadying influence to the Australian financial and banking position, and has added to the stability of the banks of the Commonwealth and has strengthened the Commonwealth's position. "It has done

more for the development of the Australian industries than statistics could demonstrate, and so far from weakening the position of the other banks, its prosperity has proved to be a source of strength.'⁴

* G. Findlay Shirras, *Indian Finance and Banking*, p. 421. It is interesting, in this connection, to compare the work actually done by the Commonwealth Bank. In December, 1925, its capital amounted to £4,000,000, transferred from the reserve and redemption funds. The reserve fund amounted in that year to £822,818. The following figures bear testimony to the remarkable development of the Bank.

COMMONWEALTH BANK OF AUSTRALIA.
Liabilities, June quarters, 1921 to 1925.

Quarter ended 30th June.	Bills in circulation.	Balances due to other Banks.	Deposits.				Total Liabilities.
			Not bearing interest.	Bearing interest.	Savings Banks Deposit.	Total Deposits.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	184,115	143,045	15,966,670	10,608,164	34,440,421	61,015,255	61,342,415
1922	167,590	104,466	19,236,893	10,812,159	36,137,065	66,185,917	66,457,973
1923	204,576	29,849	17,718,999	11,658,671	38,102,850	70,480,520	70,714,945
1924	212,362	29,061	23,004,674	6,899,902	38,273,478	68,178,054	68,419,477
1925	265,936	3,940,023	23,331,481	7,928,650	39,798,481	71,008,612	75,214,570

COMMONWEALTH BANK OF AUSTRALIA.
Assets, June Quarters, 1921 to 1925.

Quarters ended 30th June.	Coin.	Bullion.	Government and Municipal Securities.	Landed and House Property.	Notes and Bills of Exchange.	Balances due from other Banks.	Discounts, Overdrafts and all other Assets (no Contingent Assets).	Australian Notes.	Total Deposits.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	1,846,976	10,590	33,640,768	624,186	939,500	3,350,321	14,896,625	4,922,840	60,231,791
1922	2,339,719	10,151	34,760,870	599,960	3,487,074	3,488,840	14,130,747	4,730,493	63,547,854
1923	2,637,450	9,397	37,479,846	762,730	5,138,747	2,772,000	14,035,767	3,750,438	66,596,375
1924	2,100,874	6,683	39,537,851	917,413	966,787	4,872,321	11,999,432	9,084,343	69,485,704
1925	4,675,665	2,251	38,811,250	943,624	980,080	3,330,693	11,950,338	14,000,587	74,694,448

6. It is clear that there has already emerged a *prima facie* case in favour of the State ownership and operation in regard to central banking. But the case, however, cannot become more than a *prima facie* one until we have examined the claims of the private capitalist.

The theoretical grounds for admitting private capital and management may thus be summarised. The business world and the official world differ so widely in their methods and purposes, that State intervention has usually been blundering and has often proved mischievous. The State, already a bad manufacturer and a bad merchant, may prove a still worse financier.

The policy of non-interference in the actual working of a central bank derives considerable support from the tendency of business operations to proceed on certain general principles which partake of the character of laws based on the motive of self-interest. Self-interest usually governs the individual, at least, in his economic relations. Experience has shown that the instinct of self-interest more often leads him to the right than a policy dictated by powers outside the business world, and incapable of appreciating all the influences to which it is sensitive. The influences exerted on the money market under the operation of self-interest and under that of the motives of the State are not the same. This is caused by the large number of separate judgments which come to an average in the money market and on the stock exchanges. As Conant says—

“ A single individual may err in regard to his interests ; but the average judgment of the whole business community is more often accurate in regard to any given contingency in the immediate future affecting values than judgments based upon abstract reasoning from without. Hence the State operations in the money market might be more harmful, even if directed purely by devotion to the interests of the business community.”⁵

⁵ C. A. Conant, *Principles of Money and Banking*, Vol. II, pp. 286-7.

It is this aspect of the State's helplessness that provides a formidable weapon in the private capitalist's armoury. The force of this contention has been conceded, and has therefore been met by admitting the shareholder if only to keep the executive of the bank in touch with commercial opinion, and to introduce that element of commercial self-interest which acts as a reliable indicator to the right conduct of banking.

7. Even more important is another argument in favour of private capital. In these days of party governments, instances have not been wanting where the party in power have not hesitated to manipulate things to suit their purposes. The presence of private capital is probably a considerable bulwark against such kinds of political pressure, and offers an important safeguard of the bank's independence. As the objection is rather a serious one it is useful to examine it in some detail.

State authorities have often been liable to ignorance, to sectional pressure, and to personal corruption. A loud-voiced part of their constituents, it is true, if organised for votes, may easily outweigh the whole. But this objection to public operation applies to both as regards intervention through control of private organizations, and as regards intervention through direct public operation.

"On the one side, the companies, particularly when there is a continuing regulation, may employ corruption, not only in getting the franchise but also in the execution"⁶

It is for this purpose that a *continuing lobby* is often maintained by private concerns. "It is from them that politicians get their campaign funds."⁷

"This evil has a cumulative effect, for it checks the entry of right men into the government and makes the corrupting influence more free."⁸

⁶ *Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities*, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁷ Beamish, *Municipal Monopolies*.

⁸ Pigou, *Wealth and Welfare*.

On the other hand when the State itself undertakes the operation, corruption is changed only in form.

“Party leaders would have their proportion of increased patronage. Every public official is a potential opportunity for some form of self-interest arrayed against the common interest.”⁹

The criticism of corruption is thus really a double-edged weapon. But even with the dangers of corruption private management would be more effective in maintaining efficiency, and profitable working.

The force of this argument against State interference rests on certain assumptions as regards the standard of efficiency and the moral tone of the public authorities. But the public authority varies alike in efficiency and in the sense of public duty with the general tendencies of the times. Thus during the last century, in England, we have it on the authority of Dr. Alfred Marshall, there has been

• “A vast increase in the probity, the strength, the unselfishness, and the resources of government. And the people are now able to rule their rulers and to check class abuse of power and privilege in a way which was impossible before the days of general education and general surplus of energy over that required for a living.”¹⁰

An appreciation of this fact is important as it implies that there is now a greater likelihood for State intervention proving beneficial than there was in former times. Besides the general improvement in the working of the existing form of public authority, one has also to reckon with the invention of the improved forms of management: the creation of the committee machinery of management who are bodies of men appointed by governmental authority for the express purpose of operation or control of matters of an economic character, specially chosen for their fitness for that task, with appointments for long periods, the terms of appointment such as to free them, in the main, from electoral pressure.

“ The broad result is that modern developments in the structure and methods of governmental agencies have fitted these agencies for beneficial interference with industries, under conditions which would have not justified such intervention in earlier times.”¹¹

8. The two other criticisms against State proprietorship need not detain us long. The fact that the State authorities have been primarily chosen for purposes other than banking, and the fluctuating character of the make-up of the legislature are handicaps serious enough. But these defects are remedied by adopting the Committee form of management.

9. From this brief discussion of the merits of the State and private ownership and operation, emerge two points. Neither absolute State intervention nor a predominating influence of the private element is the most desirable type. Each possesses advantages of its own and the best form of organization is certainly that in which they may both be combined. The two main difficulties that have to be faced in this connection are : (1) To maintain an effective control over the central bank for safeguarding the national interests and to keep up a high degree of day-to-day independence for the authorities of the bank; and (2) to preserve unimpaired authority in the executive officers of the bank whose duty it would be to take a broad and not always a purely commercial view of policy, and at the same time to make use of the commercial instincts and commercial knowledge of the representatives of the shareholders. That this ideal is not impossible of achievement is to be learnt from the Continental central banking experience. It would be advantageous at this stage to review some of the experiences of Germany and Belgium.

10. The Reichsbank¹² is the central bank. It is privately owned but practically run by the Government, which shares in the profits. The advantage of an alliance between the State

¹¹ Pigou, *Wealth and Welfare*, p. 250.

¹² In what follows only the pre-war conditions and the system are referred to. The changes which have taken place during and after the War have brought about some modifications which are not relevant to our purpose.

and the shareholders was appreciated by the framers as is evident from the following quotation from the Official History of the Bank :

“ Through the co-operation of the Reichsbank authorities, who are not interested in the financial profits of the Bank, with the representatives of the shareholders, who are practical businessmen, the bank management is safeguarded, since it takes into consideration the interest of the public; and at the same time the experience and the business knowledge of the shareholders, who are financially interested in the success of the bank, are utilized in the guidance of the Bank. This Bank organization which strikes a mean between a purely State Bank and a purely private one has proved to be the best system according to the experience of most European countries.”

All the objections to the State intervention discussed in the preceding pages have been met by the Committee form of management. The autonomy of the Bank is thus preserved from invasions from outside. The authorities of the Bank are three in number. First of all there is the *Bank-Kuratorium*, consisting of the Imperial Chancellor as Chairman, and four members, one appointed by the Emperor and three by the Bundesrath, which is of the nature of a board of trustees meeting four times a year to receive a general account of the Bank's operations. There is next the *Bank-Direktorium*, with a President, a Vice-President and six members, all appointed for life by the Emperor on the nomination of the Bundesrath. This body is

“ the managing and executive authority of the Reichsbank.....Its orders are to be sanctioned by a majority vote, and subjected to the instructions and directions of the Imperial Chancellor.”

The *Direktorium* is

“ Endowed with special independent powers, even though these can be checked by the higher officials; it acts in its own name as the central managing body of the Reichsbank, forms its resolutions on its own responsibility by majority vote, and has the rights of a ‘supreme imperial board.’ ”

The shareholders are represented by the Central Committee (Zentralausschuss) of 15 members elected by the general meeting of the shareholders. It meets once a month and receives reports of the important items of the Bank's transactions, and the *Direktorium's* views as to general policy. Its powers are *wholly advisory*, but on a number of questions, its suggestions receive special consideration. The interests of the shareholders are further protected by the Central Committee of three of their number as deputies having the right to attend, with advisory powers, all the sittings of the *Direktorium* and to examine the books of the Bank. The ordinary officials of the bank are precluded from holding shares in the Bank.

It is interesting in this connection to recall what Professor Lexis wrote in 1907, when the question of converting the Reichsbank into a State one began to be seriously discussed. Speaking of the quasi-government or quasi-private form of organization, he pointed out that

“ This system occurs in almost all the large states of Europe, in England, in Austria-Hungary and in Italy. Russia alone has a pure State bank with State-owned capital, but it cannot be said that it is worthy of imitation. It is not well for a great bank of issue to be actually merged in the State financial system. Even if it appears externally independent, it is likewise undesirable that it be subject as a pure State institution to political and to party influences. The officials of a pure State Bank have merely to adapt themselves to the regulations coming from above; but a bank of issue with private capital even when entirely managed by the State has a sort of independence as regards the State—an independence which protects it against interference with the vital conditions of its existence. For the former, indeed, the interference of legislation is needed; but the latter must never forget that a great private capital is in its charge. The Central Committee of the Reichsbank has undoubtedly only a very moderate authority but its influence nevertheless is far greater than that of the advisory board of a State railroad company, because it represents the owners of the bank capital.”¹³

It is instructive to compare this with the conclusion of a Belgian Legislator, who, when the same question of the

¹³ *Bank-Archiv*, 1907, p. 309. National Monetary Commission, Vol. X, pp. 233-242.

management of the central bank under the State arose declared :

" The answer cannot be doubtful when one considers the grave inconveniences in the management of the general credit which would be presented by the constant intrusion of political considerations. The discounts, the credits to be granted to this or to that person, to this or to that class, the collateral to be waived or required for such a group of citizens, the advances in mass to be made to this or to that element of the population...all these would become the clubs of the election day. It would be discussed in the campaign, and would form the object of pledges by candidates elected and even of imperative restrictions. It is necessary to add that these questions would be determined under the single impulse of appetite and in absolute contempt of the economic law and of the necessities of credit and of the circulation? One would thus find created and steadily growing an electoral scourge till now unknown.

" An example is furnished even this year (1900) in Germany by the debates on the renewal of the monopoly of the Bank of the Empire which gives visible form, even to the least clear-sighted, to this danger. The suppression of private capital has been demanded with ardour by the Agrarians and not by the Socialists, who, contrary to the policy of the Socialists of Belgium, have energetically demanded its continuance. The Agrarians wish to render the State master of the Bank, because they are to-day masters of the State. If the State becomes master of the Bank of the Empire, the Agrarians hope that nothing can prevent them from compelling the State to employ the funds of the Bank in execution of their programme. It is important to place the central mechanism of credit aloof from such assaults under which it would not fail to succumb dragging down with it public prosperity. It is a common error to believe that the State alone gives solidity to a bank of issue, that the credit of the State is the sole origin of the credit of the Bank and its notes, and that in consequence, it cannot be dispensed with. History proves that Governments have been saved by the credit of the chartered bank and that the credit circulation has remained intact, thanks to its private origin, in the midst of the crash of the State. 'The Bank of France saved us,' said M. Thiers, 'because it was not a bank of State.' During the War of 1870, says a leading unsigned article in the *Journal de Debats* of July 2, 1895, the securities of the State had fallen from 72 per cent. while the note of the Bank of France bearing the signature of the private establishment, had lost almost none of its value.

"Is it necessary to point out among other dangers, the danger in the liberty given to governments to draw upon the resources of the bank of issue—the irresistible temptation to inflate the credit circulation and to transform into paper money and ultimately into the assignat? It is in vain to pretend that this temptation is not irresistible. The facts show it to be such. In vain is it answered that even private banks, like those of Spain and Portugal, have not had the virtue to resist the solicitations of treasury in extremity. The real point is whether the credit of these nations would not have fallen even lower with banks of State." ¹⁴

To the same effect runs the criticism of that eminent banker, Dr. G. Vissering, President of the Netherlands Bank in the course of his observations on the South African banking and currency. ¹⁵

11. The warning suggested in the preceding paragraphs has a special significance at the present stage of our national development. The wave of communal feeling that has swept over the whole of India has already succeeded in compelling the public authorities to grant special favours to the various sections in the country. In Northern India, the claims of the

¹⁴ *Documents Parlementaires*, 1900, p. 121, National Monetary Commission, Vol. X, The National Bank of Belgium, by C. A. Conant, p. 82.

¹⁵ "A well-managed bank of issue has to fulfil a sharply defined task and it is, therefore, of the utmost necessity that a bank of issue should be entirely free from an influence from any side whatsoever driving it in its management in one direction or other. Party politics should be entirely foreign to its management. A State bank, however, unavoidably comes under the influence of a ruling government based on the constitution of political parties. Whereas such political governments generally succeed one another at relatively short intervals, a State bank will thus unavoidably come under the influence now of one party and then again of another; it would seem unavoidable that this will influence perniciously the management of the bank of issue. It will no longer apply the strict rules of economy, but an inclination first in one direction and then in another will mark its business conduct. It can in this way be dragged into foreign political affairs even as Bismarck with his iron will dragged the Reichsbank into hostile action against Russia. This was possible for Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor, because in that capacity he was virtually the Chairman of the Reichsbank, and the Bank at that time had not been sufficiently safeguarded against interference with its business by the Government. The dangers attending the establishing of a State bank have during the course of time been so universally admitted that at all the International Economic Conferences held during the past six years, warnings have been sounded against a State bank and it was recommended that in countries where a State bank has been established, it should be converted into an independent private bank, naturally, however, under sufficient supervision by the State."

Muhammadan as against the Hindu, and in the South that of the non-Brahman as against the Brahman have already received official recognition in the form of allotted appointments. There has been in evidence, of late, of indications to an extent serious enough to compel a thoughtful student of Indian banking problems to pronounce this caveat :

“ There is a tendency to distribute Government appointments without sufficient regard to the efficiency of service. This principle has been extended to schools and colleges where admissions are controlled on a communal basis. Also recruitments to professional services like those of a doctor, a surgeon, and so on, where in many cases human life depends upon the skill and experience of the medical men are not exempt from the application of this pernicious principle. If the management of the Central Bank were carried on these bases, there would be no wonder if credit began to be distributed on communal lines instead of according to the necessities and importance of economic activities. Such a course is sure to lead to currency confusion and defeat the very object of the bank of issue. Thus taking all things into consideration it would be most undesirable to entrust the functions of a bank of issue to the official class in this country.”¹⁶

Most of the Continental central banks have combined the private element along with State control or even operation. The National Bank of Belgium, according to a Japanese authority a peerless one in point of organization, was adopted as the model one, as being free from the traditions which have gathered round the banks of England and France, for Japan to copy. Even our superficial survey should have made it clear that but for the stray instance of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia there is no other respectable institution which is owned and operated by the State, and that the best available form of organization is evidently a quasi-private one.¹⁷ After having arrived at this

¹⁶ B. T. Thakur, *Organization of Indian Banking*, pp. 108-109.

¹⁷ Even the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, as Professor Coyaee states, does not help the case for the State bank to any material extent. Cf. “ As started in 1911, it was not so much an experiment in the way of centralization of banking as in the direction of nationalization of commercial banking. In fact, it was started, because the labour party expected great financial advantages from the entry of the State into the field of private

conclusion the next question is to find out whether there are any exceptional features about India which might decide in favour of a State-owned institution.

12. There is probably no public institution which can survive the withdrawal of public confidence in it. A successful measure presupposes public support in favour of it. It therefore follows that unless the Indian public views the proposed banking reform with sympathy, there is not much chance of its success. We shall examine the problem of the admissibility of private capital from this point of view. There is already invested in India a very large amount of foreign, especially British capital. Though the fact need create no greater apprehensions than it has in other countries, there are certain exceptional conditions in this country which compel us to take the general statement, with some qualifications. There is no use of making light of the fact that Indian national opinion is highly nervous about the increase of investments, in India, of foreign capital and desires to restrict further entry of it except under legitimate safeguards. Of the benefits of foreign capital, this is not the place to discuss. What is relevant to our purpose here, is a consideration of the dangers apprehended by an influential section of the people in India. This fear has been mainly responsible for the Indian attitude which insistent-ly claims that government should operate the main public service industries and organizations. The satisfaction felt by the Indian public over the majority conclusions of the Acworth Railway Committee and the statutory effect given to them has been only too recent to require reference. As this attitude is fairly general it is well to examine the foundations on which it rests a little more closely.

banking. I would refer those who want to study the origins of the Commonwealth Bank to an able article by Professor Copland of the University of Melbourne in the *Economic Journal* for 1924. He observes that "the bank was originally established for the purpose of carrying on the ordinary functions of banking as a State institution"; and hence for 14 years more (that is, up to about a couple of years ago) it was in no sense a Central Bank and performed hardly any of the functions of a Central Bank."

Theoretically speaking, the peaceful penetration of foreign capital, unless preventive measures are promptly taken, ends in the political domination by alien capitalists. This statement is sufficiently warranted by the experience of other countries: Our own experience, too, unfortunately, tends to a certain extent, to confirm the truth of this danger. Instances have not been wanting to show that the veto of certain capitalists has often threatened to thwart our political aspirations. Foreign capital, it is well known, closely identified with its government, manages to secure peculiar advantages whether in the political or in the economic sphere.

The most fair-minded statement of the case has been made by Mr. B. Mukerji who sums up the general objections thus :

“ If it were simply a case of our borrowing money abroad and paying interest for it, no one would object. But our economic dependence goes much further than that. We have to pay not only interest but the huge profits of business as well. This annual drain of profits is enormous. We do not object to foreign capital in itself. We object to the *control* of such capital by Europeans. If our industries could be developed by Indians with foreign capital we would gladly pay interest.”¹⁸

But the British capitalist has made no effort to ease the situation. Mr. Edgar Crammond speaking at the Royal Statistical Society, June 15, 1909 remarked :

“It was desirable that the money sent abroad should continue to be controlled by British companies, that is to say, it should be under the direct control of companies the head offices of which were situated in this country (England).”

Another factor in this deep distrust of European enterprise in India is that the European capitalist had spread his tentacles over some of the most important of the industries in India. Banking too has been dominated by him. In all his ventures,

¹⁸ B. Mukerji, *The New Yellow Peril*, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Silver Jubilee Volume I.

it has to be confessed, he has never extended a generous arm to the Indian. As Mr. B. Mookerji says :

“ The European generally will welcome the Indian as a clerk, but as an enterpreneur never. He will import his own countrymen from the west for all the productive stages. The Indian has not been trained for the work—no opportunity has been given to him and yet judgment has been passed in default.....In consequence of the above all the higher wages in our industries are monopolised by Europeans, the higher staff in all industries controlled by the Europeans is almost European. One of our advantages from foreign capital is the increased employment to labour—but it relates only to low-paid manual labour, for which no *European* substitute is available in this country due to climatic and other reasons. If any substitute could really be available, even that advantage would be lost. The lower wages we get, but all the higher wages we lose. The drain of higher wages is considerable and has a cumulative effect: a great economic loss to the country—a loss of her economic strength. If the profits and the higher wages came to Indians it would have prevented the commercial anaemia of India, it would have given increased employment to Indians, directly or indirectly by increasing the demand for their services or commodities, it would have multiplied wages and profits.”¹⁰

This digression from the subject makes it clear that the apprehension is well founded that under private institutions with a dominating element of foreign capital and control, the Indian has less chances of having the higher posts Indianised than it might be when they are owned by the State. It is from this point of view that we have to appreciate the insistence on the State ownership of the central bank. That might ensure that the sons of the soil are not denied admission to the higher posts. The policy would be more likely to be directed to promote our economic welfare. As Mr. L. R. Wyndham Forrest suggested, the central bank must not come under the control of the London financiers. All these vexed questions might be avoided, if the State assumed the ownership and operation of the proposed bank.

But this argument against private capital may be easily met. As Professor Coyajee stated in his recent lecture at the Calcutta University :

“ In the first place, as the Report of the Currency Commission of 1926 has fixed a maximum rate for the dividends of the Reserve Bank, which is by no means large, there is no reason to expect that foreign capital will be particularly attracted to the securities of the Bank.

“ In any case, any apprehensions on this score can be set at rest by giving a preference at the allocation of the shares of the Bank to the small investor who applies for a limited number of shares. An assignment of shares based directly on racial lines is to be deprecated; admittedly it is impossible to ensure that shares, though assigned to Indians, at first, will continue to be in Indian hands after a time.

“ Further, it is quite possible to secure that the majority of Directors of the Bank should be Indians without maintaining a racial distinction as regards shareholders. The object can be secured easily even though the Bank is a Shareholders' Bank; it would be preposterous to erect a State Bank only in order to secure an Indian directorate, for that object can be attained with a Shareholders' Bank.”¹ .

L. A. NATESAN

¹ The article was received by us in August, 1927—Ed., C.R.

KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM¹

II

THE MAN

In the section of these remarks :—‘ Will and the Way ’ (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1927)—I spoke of the message of Gotama Śakyamuni as an appeal to the will in man which is ever seeking something figured as a better, worded under the symbol of choosing the right ‘ Way ’ in wayfaring. I showed that the want of a fit word for will hindered the driving force in this message which we could put into it. And I claimed that this, coupled with the historical fact of the message being taught by a world of monks, had succeeded in largely distorting and withering its real meaning as a message for the whole of life (not of one earth-span only) to ‘ Everyman.’

We name the ‘ man ’ in a worthy way when we call him Everyman. It is an old, a mediaeval word in English literature. It has undergone revival and I am glad of it. I want to speak of Everyman.

In any religious teaching, in any philosophic teaching worthy of the name we are up against the man, we are never far from the man. To speak of the man as body, and as mind under this or that aspect only, is to use object-words, not subject-words, is only to name ways, processes used by the man. Not one of them names the very man whose are the ways, the processes. Is there not more wisdom in the Indian teacher’s injunction I quoted :—‘ Seek not what mind is ; seek the thinker ’...and so on? But in the monastic teaching of Buddhism this is never the case. Deliberately the choice has been to omit the man, to consider the process; to consider the very

¹ The first series appeared in the June (1927) issue of the *Review*.

impermanent instead of the relatively permanent; to consider the mind, not the mind-using man. The excuse they had is that they were herein protestants, revolting from the belief that the man was immutable in the midst of changing physical and mental conditions. But, as I have said, they threw away the baby with the bath-water. In Abhidhamma, over definitions of terms, they were also not without excuse in omitting the man. But this manless tendency runs throughout the religious exhortations of the Suttanta. In a religion which had come to culminate, not in the goal of all the worlds at the end of the WAY, but in the perfected man, the worthy, the arahān, we find the man analyzed in objective terms of mind, and the perfect man described in negatives.¹

This is not the fault of its medium of speech, the Pali. Pali lends itself well to expression in terms of the agent. It does not often so lend itself, and in consequence tyros and translators not seldom fail when it does; but the Piṭaka editors, Majjhima-compilers especially, used such terms not a little. We find 'knower,' 'goer,' 'liver,' 'thinker,' 'speaker,' 'seer,' 'helper,' 'fosterer,'² and many more. But never have I yet found among the foregoing any makeshifts for 'willer,' save perhaps *viriyavān* (once). And I judge that, in the still little-known Commentaries, the use of agent-terms has lessened. Before their time—I mean, before they appeared in their present form—we see in the Kathāvatthu what a fight the orthodox upholders of the unreality of 'the man' had undergone to establish their dogma. The first and by far the longest dialectical chapter is on the 'man' (*puggala* = *puruṣa*). And the orthodox has to meet the charge, that, after all, the truth-speaking Bhagavā made use of the word in his teaching. The explaining away of his usage does not reach a comfortable settlement till, in the Commentary hereon—and before that, in the Milindapañho, we come across

¹ E.g., 'he has put away *chanda*.'

² *Aññātar, gantār, caritar, mantar, vādetar, cakkhūmant, anuggāhaka, uppādetar*.

the distinction:—‘highest meaning-truth’ and ‘conventional truth’ (*paramatthasacca, sammutisacca*).¹ It was no sudden tumble, but at the bottom of a long chute that we find Buddhaghosa in pitiful error saying: ‘There is no doer; there is only doing.’

It was no error to see in the Bhagavā, in Gotama of the Sakyas, one who spoke in terms of ‘conventional truth’—in ordinary language, that is—to men about man. The error would lie in assuming that he ever spoke to men in any other way. He is often spoken of as having created, or revived a ‘philosophy’. This is only true in its primary meaning: that he was a wisdom-lover. But that he taught the many, the multitude, the plain man in language he could understand, having the while in mind a ‘higher,’ a truer meaning in his words; that while he spoke to ‘thee’ and to ‘you,’ he saw no inmost reality, no very man-in-man, but only a ‘complex’ of body and mind:—this is a libel and a very black one. It is to see in him no lover of wisdom, but a blind leader—though not of the blind, for Everyman, the plain man, would not follow him here. Everyman is a limited fellow. But like the child he is, he has retained much of the child’s directness and simplicity. He is not congested with word-complexes. He holds that ‘I am I,’ have been ‘I,’ shall be ‘I.’ He will not admit, that ‘I’ am merely a label, a tie-word, a name for a bundle, a complex, even if it be conceded that the processes making up the complex are real.² He holds that ‘I’ am the bed-rock Real, the most real thing he is aware of.

But he will also admit that ‘I’ changes, and not in mind or body only. ‘I’ am not the ‘man I once was’; I was that man, yet ‘I’ am in a way a different person; and like Ophelia, I know not what I may be; none the less this he who was, who is, who will or may be, is this ‘I’; a changing ‘I,’ a becoming ‘I,’ a growing ‘I.’

¹ *Points of Controversy* (Kathāvatthu), p. 63; *Milindapañho*, p. 160.

² So mediæval Abhidhamma; cf. *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, VIII, 14.

Here his quarrel will not be with Buddhist philosophy. Here it is the pre-Buddhist and the post-Buddhist teaching of Indian religion and philosophy that he will not follow. Here he was told, that the very man, being one in nature with Brahman-Ātman, is to be described as That alone can be described. And that is by many negatives, which exclude anything of the nature of change, such as augmenting or diminishing, becoming, growth, instability, otherwiseness. I believe I am right in saying, that little emphasis is laid on just this group of attributes in pre-Buddhistic thought. Perhaps it is not till the Bhagavadgītā took its present form, that we find this emphasis. And there is no lack of it in the Vedānta Sūtras. That work had to meet and fight down the counter-emphasis laid on change, transience, impermanence in the man by Buddhism. It is not surprising therefore to find there a new insistence on the absence of change and of becoming in a thing so real and eternal as the man. Buddhism had had its opportunity, and had failed. Over its submerged head the teaching of the very man closed to prevail once more, and with a surge not permeated with a new and vital truth, such as might have been the case, but with an error of developed strength.

It is to this way in religion, in philosophy, that the man of the people, the man with the heart of a child in such matters, will say : ' I know, know to the very root of me, know as unanswerable, that in many things I am now a different man ; I judge not as I used to ; I see, think, otherwise ; I plan otherwise.' He does not say : there is here a different judging, seeing, planning ; he says all the while ' I ' ; if he does not say so in that way, he inflects his verb in the ' first person '—it's all the same. He is not meaning to say just ' there has arisen here a difference,' or ' my body, my brain, my heart, is now different ' ; or ' my mind, my reason, my consciousness is now different ' ; or ' my character is changed.' He means what he says ; he means ' I ' have changed, and therewith all that is ' mine ' is no more as once it was.

Here then we have the plain man, the man of the many, holding to one way of thinking, where philosophers and churchmen may judge they see higher truth in one of two other ways, which we might call the limits at opposite sides of his way. The churchman may say: 'But we can give him milk for babes.' The philosopher may say: 'I live in communion with the chosen few. It is they only I wish to lead. The many will never understand.' In a way those are wise and these speak truly. Yet in a way the man of the people, in his acceptance of the very 'I' of him as real and as changing, as becoming, is wiser and closer to truth than either of those parties when they deny either of the things he accepts. Slow is his advance out of ignorance. He has buttressed each stage of his becoming—that becoming which is the very nature of him—with very much that has to be loosened and pulled down before he can take the next step. But truth for him means at bottom, not an abstraction, not a word, but a true thing. And the word is of value only so far as it names a thing which he holds is true. A word-system which tells him either that the thing he names 'I' is not real, or that it is unchanging, is a teaching for which he has no use.

Yet he comes in his slow advance to have use for, to hold in worth the New. When 'at sundry times and in divers manners' ¹ there has come to him—as come there yet will—a fresh mandate in the becoming, the further becoming of his manhood, he has accepted it; he has accepted it eagerly, for already he had been feeling after it. He has fought for it, died for it. He has seen that it belonged to his greater welfare as very man. Such a mandate will never have done either of two things: it will not have told him that as man, as 'I,' he is not real; it will not have told him that as man, as of a nature not of earth only, he is unchanging. Contrariwise, the new mandate will have told him some truth of himself as man, as a child of the worlds, as a son at once of man and of the Highest, able as

man to become, to make to grow that within himself which is of the nature of the Highest. It will have confirmed in him the conviction, that he is, as man, very real, that he is, as man, changing-into, becoming, *werdend*.

Now it is to this man of the people, to Everyman (or else to the man of the few whose heart beats with him), that the great mandates in religion have been revealed, have been sent. He is the 'many.' He is the 'world.' It is he who in the long run counts. His 'well,' his welfare it is, yes, and her well it is, which in very deed is the well also of the philosopher, of the religious teacher, of the monk. It is vain to speak of these three as growing towards perfection, as being 'saved,' apart from him, from her. With the many, in the long run, these three wax in their progress, and wane. And—again in the long run—the welfare of both these and of the many is intimately dependent upon their deepest convictions being true. Hence arises the question: if the wise few deny that this or that deepest conviction of the many is true, will the wise with their denial and the many with their belief both attain the ultimate Well which is also the ultimate True? Must the many come in time to share in the denial of the few? Or is it possible that the few must come to see in the people's conviction something more true than their denial?

'Surely,' it may be said, 'the former alternative is right? The many must of course come little by little to attain to the standpoint of the few wise. Already have they largely done so in the case of the sun's rising and setting. They are now ready to deny that the sun does either.'

Analogies seldom fit the case, nor does this one. There is no question here of the denial of the *existence* of a thing. The denial that the sun's *appearing* to do either is no more than the correction of an impression, and a true impression at that, of the sense of sight. Neither the existence of a sun, nor for that matter its own movement is denied.* It is only a question of saying that the earth's rolling down towards, or rising away

from the sun were a relatively more correct way of wording. And so unimportant, as error of wording, has the old way seemed, that the wise few persist in its use. But in the dogmas: 'the very man, the self, does not exist, as not just body and mind,' and 'the very man, the self, is unchangeable,' we have gone behind sense-impressions, behind the 'how' of phenomena. We are bidden to hold, on the one hand, that a deepest conviction of something real is of something unreal, and on the other, that our deepest conviction about the nature of that something real is a wrong one.

Let us not try to answer our question by the uncertain guide of analogy. Let us look to well-attested historical facts. Let us look (1) to the movements or messages we often call gospels; (2) to the response made by the men of the people to gospels, to those gospels the influence of which has persisted; (3) to the man of the mandate in them, the teacher, saviour, helper.

(1) Wherever and whenever 'gospels' were uttered and spread, we note in them certain great common features. That is, in the first place, they are each and all addressed to 'the man,' not to anything external about him, or what is of the nature of an adjunct, or a factor, or an instrument, but—by implication, if not explicitly—to what we might call the 'man-in-man,' the *ātman* or very self of him. Next, they are all of them concerned with man's life, and its great significance for the man himself, now and hereafter. Lastly, they all speak, in terms of high worth and faith and hope, of man's nature, namely of that which he has it in him to become,—which any and every man, in virtue of his nature, however he lives now, has it in him to become. And what is that? It is variously worded, both positively and negatively. We may sum up both ways by the words: to become Deity (or solely Deity), or to become perfect, or to put an end to ill, or become perfectly happy.

One word there is which may claim to include all these: the word 'well.' Man, imperfect, minor, infant as, in his

earth-stages, he always is more or less, has it in his nature to become utterly *well*. Poor hackneyed little monosyllable that it is, few may be ready to see the depth, the breadth, the height in the range, the scope of it. Yet its negative equivalent: the end of ill (*dukkhass'antam*) has stirred the earnest Buddhist imagination for ages; and again, it is a bigger ultimate conception than that of happiness, pleasure, bliss. To be well, utterly well, is not only a state to be contemplated or enjoyed as a consequence of actions. It is a state of being after much becoming—it may even be a state of hyper-becoming. Happiness or its equivalents may be accompaniments, but they are that also in much that is not well. They are like the perfume, the colour of the flower; the 'well' belongs to the very growth of the plant. This is because the 'well,'¹ like the Platonic 'good,' is a term of the 'man-in-man,' that is of 'spirit,' while happiness and the like are terms of mind and body, the man's instruments. Mind, body, grow from infancy to adulthood no less than, it may be, does spirit. Soon body enters on decay, and to some extent mind also; much, if it be the body's servant, little, if it serve spirit first and body next and less. But growth of spirit, of the 'man-in-man,' is not so rounded off, nor need there be decay. Its beginning we do not know, nor its end. But the better, not the more or less of happiness, is the index of its growth. The Well belongs less to the little present world of things enjoyed; more to the world of one who would become fit to enjoy. The world of the Well is the world of *Dharma* in the fundamental meaning of that word.

This is the world of the may be, should be, ought to be, not the world of things as they are. *Dharma* (Pali: *Dhammā*) is a word we have not, a word I wish we had, in some equivalent form. 'Duty,' 'law,' 'norm,' 'ideal,' 'truth':—many are the makeshifts, not to mention 'doctrine,' 'teaching' for the worded embodiments of *Dharma*. Complicated too is the term by its distinctive plural use, meaning in the Pali Sūtras

• ¹ I plead for the use of *this* as a noun, as we say 'the good.'

just 'things' (in the later Abhidhamma : states, phenomena), and by its usage as affix meaning 'belonging to,' 'of the nature of.' Let readers of Buddhism in its earliest records accustom themselves to use '*dharma*' as they have accustomed themselves to use '*karma*,' keeping in mind this essential meaning : 'better than what is.' They may see how, thus rendered, it puts spiritual, religious power into the term ; for instance, in the question : What, sir, is your *dhamma* wherein you train your disciples, which they, so trained as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness? ' (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, III, 40 : P. T. S. ed.) But more of this later.

By these common features we can see, that never, in a gospel, is the new message a denial of the truth, the reality, the worth of the man, the person, the 'you,' the 'thou.' Always the appeal is to that which is, in the man-'complex,' not just a factor among factors, but he, she who responds, who judges, who wills, who chooses. Never is there a putting the factors into which the man may come to be analyzed in place of the very man to whom they belong. And always is the appeal made to man as being in a very imperfect state, but, as having in him both power and will to change, to become, to grow. Always too is there reference to that becoming, that growth being continued, being ultimately consummated in a state which is not just man's present life on earth. We see I repeat, that the greater, widely accepted gospels have not started with any denial of, or even restriction in the reality of the very man, and that they have started with an implied belief in man's nature being to become or grow, that is, more widely stated, to change.

(2) It is not easy for us, to whose world no fresh gospel-mandate is just come, and who have very fragmentary records of the days when such a mandate was just come, to be wise about the response which met the bringer of such. But we seem to see this : the gospel made a singular, a strong appeal,

the appeal of a supply to a demand ; the response to something waited for. They who were waiting were not in every case the very worthy, the very wise. But they were in a way feeling the need of some one to give expression and guidance of a fresh kind in the 'man' and the life of him. In the man who thus expresses and guides they find one who appeals to the very man in them, not to anything external about each, not to any worthiness in each, but to that in each who is in very need of him. Neither is it anything necessarily external about the bearer of the message, or anything reputed as of surpassing worth in him to whom or to which the great response is made. Something there will have been in the message to the man about his changing for the better that flashes like an electric throb from man to man. It is a message concerning the very nature of man in his long wayfaring toward That who is also of his very nature, his nature in very perfection as he is only perfection's germ. It seems to me that in no other way can we account for the extraordinary growing and expanding power shown at the inception of each great gospel-movement. It is true that the written testimonies are the work of votaries. But independently of the way in which these made record, the patent fact remains, that there was both astonishing growth and expansion. Many movements among men have begun, only to peter out; some of them of a religious nature. But only to a few such movements (and only along certain lines within these) can exuberant growth and lasting footing be conceded. These met some felt need, felt more especially there where the response to that need was first brought; but beginning to be felt elsewhere too. Something in the message, something in a new light, appealed to the growing, the becoming 'man-in-man.'

(3) Something too in the messenger will have made special appeal; something that made him in a way one with his message, so that it came to be said of him ; his message is he and he is his message. I am not going here into the deep

matter of his being specially mandated. Let it be enough in the present argument to affirm, that he owed the heed some paid him, the worth in which some held him—the number of such growing quickly—to this : he as very man, and not otherwise, spoke to the very man in each man, bringing a message about that very man, about his well, his welfare, now and to come, about his growth toward it, about each man's own work as willer and chooser in that growth, that changing for the better. Doubtless he will have been personally attractive; even Sokrates was clearly that, and who can truly say, Sokrates taught no gospel, made lasting in scripture? But attractiveness of that kind has not sufficed alone to work a great change in the bases of religion. It was the way of the man as messenger, the word he brought, and that in the hearer to which he spoke :—these gave him in men's eyes a worth paid to no other kind of man.

Whatever the followers of such a man came to think of him, whatever they came long after to write about him, whatever they came to say that he said, never will it have been possible that such a messenger denied in man, in the very man, the reality of him, or denied his nature to be changing and therefore becoming. Never will such a helper 'unworth' the man, so as to make him only what he has, only what he uses, only the way of his using. Never will such a helper so misconceive the man as to see in his very nature or essence the become, the finished, the perfected, and not him who is becoming, who *cannot but become*.

Let it not be supposed that I see, in the helper of men bringing such a message on man to man, one who is more than man. I do not hold he was that. I plead that, in order to be *and to become* what he was, we must heed and worth him for the very man he will have been, and not credit him with sayings that cannot have come from him. And I have said, that of such sayings is it to have said : 'there is no very man (self or soul),' and : 'very man is unchanging.'

In these three points I believe the reader will find suggested an answer to the question raised above. Taken together the three amount to this: Man does not will to follow a teaching which makes no appeal to his inmost self. (Man here includes woman.) When man does follow a new word, he will have been seeking it, and the word of it is a man to whom 'the man' in men pays instant heed. In the whole relation, in its three factors: man the taught, the teaching on man, the man teaching, it is the very man that is in question, whether he be of the few or of the many.

It is of great importance to have these three factors in a true perspective in our historical vision, more especially when we are sifting old historical documents. For instance, in the last factor, the messenger: here the ancient teaching tradition has been to see in him more than man, and then to credit him with any- and every-thing he is recorded to have said. The very human man as speaking to the 'man-in-man' is lost to view. Then in the linking factor, the message to the 'man-in-man': this is also twisted and covered over by tendencies in teaching, which are secondary, or later, or both. Lastly the first term of the relation, man the taught, is not always well worthed. He is treated of as just multitude, mass, men. There is in an ancient book a fine simile about such men. They are like lotuses growing in a pool, those in the mass of blossom which are reaching the surface, are rising above it...so some have eyes less dust-dimmed, some are but little dust-dimmed. *'there are who will understand.'* These are of the many, of the people; these are they who have 'set going the wheel' of a new movement. With this it is usual to credit the messenger alone. But a great religion is no one-man matter. Between helper and multitude there is a mighty bond, welded by that which the one calls to in the other. And that is the manhood in man, the man-in-man.

There is the other simile drawn from the breaking-in of horse and elephant, of *purisadamma*:—the 'man' who may be ..

trained,' in other words, made to become what or how he was not before. These are said to be they who respond to the teaching of the helper. In both pictures there is a sense of true perspective of the many. It is not of a herd, it is not of a mass of 'complexes' only, almost mechanically conceived. It is the many as this man, that woman, this child. It is to this one and that one, to 'you' and 'you,' that the helper will have gone, however much he may have been afterwards credited with delivering of 'sermons.'

It is, in the many, the 'I' here, the 'I' there who responds to the helper's message. He himself: *sāyam*, takes it to heart. We must not lose sight of this in our so-called 'psychology of the crowd.' Nor is it a fit argument for the '*an-atta*' dogma to say, as do new Western Buddhists, that this teaching is a condemnation of egoism, a (negative) support of altruism. For not only is egoism not involved in the belief that the 'man' is very real, but I have yet to meet with any early Buddhist teaching, in its literature about *anatta*, in which the ethical notion of egoism is condemned, or the ethical notion of altruism is praised. I do not find old-world terms for either. There is nothing new in a man's putting himself first, or putting himself last. But I do not find that the altruist is ever said to act from his belief in *anatta*, or the egoist because he does not believe in it. *Anatta* was not ethical but just a corollary from 'things as transient' and 'things as ill.' And of these, the former was an anti-Brahman attitude, the latter was a monastic attitude.

It is a profoundly important point in the history of religious ideas that we of the West have here to consider, and to learn how to see in right, in true perspective. On the one hand we have the Indian faith predominant then and now. This believed in the reality of the very man, the *puruṣa*, as one in nature with the highest spirit:—'*Ātman=Brahman*.' It believed also, that, in virtue of this very kinship, the man himself could not become (*i.e.*, change) save only in body and mind. On the other hand we have the Buddhist faith

predominant once in India, now elsewhere. This first warned its world against identifying the 'man' with body or mind, because these were weak, transient, changeable. Relatively, it said, body is more permanent than the swift-changing mind. It did not add, the very man or self changes usually even more slowly. But it did not deny him or his changing—nay, the transformation by 'training' of the very man (*attan*) was its very stressed teaching. Later we see it denying that man was anything save the bundle of mental and bodily happenings, or that he became anything save the resultant of these happenings.

And on that important point of divergence I finish these remarks with three last words. (1) So far as we can trace it, the earliest teaching we call Buddhist *did not deny the very man, or self*.

To see this, we must shed our own standpoint of the eighteenth century in force still with us; we must imagine the power of the word *ātman*, *attan* for an educated Indian of the seventh century B.C., when invited by a religious teacher that he would do well to 'seek the *attan*.' Almost it was tantamount to bidding him 'seek God,' or: 'seek the Holy Spirit within yourselves.' This is said to have been one of the earliest addresses of the founder of Buddhism.¹ It is historically of deep significance. And it is supported by many passages in the four chief books (*Nikāyas*) and the *Dhammapada*, where the subject is man's communing with, and knowing *himself*—ways too of wording which are *not maintained in later teaching*. Several of these are quoted in my *Buddhist Psychology*;² to cite them here I have no space. I hasten to add, that in mentioning them as psychologically interesting, I did not grasp (thirteen years ago) their deeper significance.

What *was* denied from the very first was that man, the spirit, the *attan*, could rightly be considered as either body or mind. Were he either or both, then as being things so weak and

¹ *Vinaya*, I, 23 (*Mahāvagga*, I, 14).

² London: 1914, 1924, p. 28f.

transient as either of these, he could not will-to-become (as will he did) ; he could not be chooser of his destiny. This is not to deny that the 'man-in-man' is. It is to say : 'Form not so wrong a notion of what you really are.' But to have said, at that day in India : 'You are neither the one nor the other, therefore you are not at all, you, that is, are just only a bundle of both,' would have made the new gospel an absurdity, an insult on the intelligence of the hearer.

(2) Yet even now the Southern Buddhist in Asia and the very latest writers on Buddhism in the West fail to discern the change which spread like a very canker over Buddhism in this matter. I have tried to give a little outline of the growth in the *anatta* dogma in the chapter : 'The anti-soul attitude,' in the supplement to the work cited above.¹ It could be developed. It should be developed by competent critics—or proved to be untenable. But so far is this from being the case, that I have had under review books on Buddhism of this very year in which, unchanged, unimproved, the forthright statement stands, that 'the Buddha' denied, negated the soul! Is there none in India who will see, who will help?

(3) Is there none who will vindicate this helper of men, noble and wise? Is there none who will understand, that he who brings the new message, which we call a religion, to men is one who, whatever he did teach, did not teach certain things because he simply could not, being who he was, so teach. If we have, what I have put forward above as a right perspective in contemplating the relation : Mandater of gospel ; the mandate or gospel ; the mandated (viewed as the two terms of the relation and the bond between them), then shall we be sure, that the mandater in appealing to the very 'man-in-man,' could not tell the mandated, that this 'he' was not real, was non-existent. We shall be sure that he would, on the contrary, strengthen man's belief in his reality by enlarging man's

¹ *Op. cit.*, 2d ed., 1924.

knowledge about himself. No less sure shall we be, that the mandater could not, in so enlarging man's knowledge, and thereby bringing about a new becoming, a fresh change in man, tell the mandated that there was, in man, that which was unchangeable.

Ever have the great mandaters spoken as brother-men to their fellowmen. Never therefore could they worsen 'man' in their mandate. When we read of Manu as being 'taught by Brahman' to enlighten men, and then read, in his so-called 'Laws,'¹ penalties of utter barbarity to be wrought upon his humbler brethren, the Śūdras, we know that we are reading, not the worded will of Manu, assuming the belief in his high mandate to be right, but an unworthy addition by others. This is what I plead we must do in judging the Buddhist writings. This is not to create a fanciful figure in the mandater, and deduce his mandate from it. It is not to dictate what he will have said. It is to have faith in the nature and the Source of his mandate. It is to believe that his mandate will speak to the very man-in-man, and will tell him the things that make for the Better, that lead to the Utterly Well. The way and the word of the man so mandated, bringing such a *dharma*, will have been what in Buddhism was fitly called *dharmatā*; the rule, the order, the law, the nature of that which works for the Better, for the Well. And of some ways, some words, we say, these are very surely not *dharmatā*.²

Not less surely do we say, this is *dharmatā*:—the nature of the 'man,' wielder of body and mind, he who wills the Better, who uses self-direction in so willing, who in working as he is willing becomes other than what he was:—this nature will not, in mandate or by mandater, be worsened and made unreal. Nor will they of the 'many,' to whom mandate and

¹ *Laws of Manu*, I, 57, 58; XII, 123, etc., VIII, 270ff.

² This was worthily illustrated by Buddhaghosa as a fifth world-order (*niyama*), but it is unworthily explained to-day in S. Asia. *Of my Buddhism* (1912), 120, 242.

mandater first make appeal, see and be drawn by any message worsening and negating that in them which is seeking the Better. As merely body and mind men would be seeking a very mixed welfare. For the most part they have ever done so. For the most part they are doing so still. It is when they seek the Better for the man-in-man who is more than body and mind, that the worthier Better, the very WELL becomes their quest.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE PLACE OF TRADITION IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

Tradition (from L. trans—over, dare—to give) derivatively means the handing down of beliefs and practices to posterity or the beliefs and practices, ideas and customs that are handed down from generation to generation. In connection with the religious life, tradition stands for the body of religious ideas and beliefs, customs and practices that come down from past generations to the present and are enjoyed by all the individuals as the common property of the race. In the words of Prof. Max Müller, used in a different context, 'it is like a common fund which, like language, belonged to no one in particular but was like the air breathed by every living and thinking man.' As some sociologists would say, it is that kind of imitation which tends to preserve an old custom as distinguished from that which makes for new ones. Sometimes such traditional religious faith is codified and embodied in treatises called the holy Scriptures, and sometimes it exists in an unwritten form in the system of beliefs and practices current in the religious life of a people and transmitted from one generation to another. In the history of many great religions it is not difficult to discern a stage of oral tradition, preserved by a long line of teachers and disciples, followed by canonical works in which the contents of religious faith are reduced to writing to eliminate the chances of fluctuation and destruction.

But whatever may be the form in which it exists, religious tradition has, as a matter of fact, an important place in the religious life of individuals. Man is born into the world which has already gained some fixed order in respect of his social and religious life. A man's career in the world has to reckon with the established order of the society and the organised religious faith of his fellow beings in the society into which he is born. These constitute the groundwork of his future mental development, the hard sheath or cover within which his religious life

has to grow and by which it is protected from the intrusion of foreign influences.

The influence of tradition on our religious life manifests itself in many forms. It is through tradition that we are initiated into the faith in a living God and the vast majority of men rests content with traditional faith and institutions. The influence of tradition makes itself felt first in the religion of the child who has nothing of the doubt and distrust characteristic of age and accepts everything he is told. With an empty and a highly impressionable mind, he finds himself in the midst of a world of older persons who think, believe and act in much the same way in religious matters. "It seems as if the older world has entered into a conspiracy against the tender infant mind to force it into the old approved social grooves." The child imitates the ways in which his parents and other relatives are found to worship and pray to God, he imbibes their religious ideas and beliefs, and his subsequent education at home or at the school tends to make him like every one else of his society. "The torch of custom is forced into his hand and he is compelled to carry it and pass it on but slightly changed to the next generation. Thus the religious feelings, ideas, and ways of acting which the social group has been centuries in evolving are assimilated by the individual in a few years." These are ingrained by one generation into the mental background of the next. They constitute, as it were, the spiritual legacy of the one to which the other becomes the intellectual heir.

Then the traditional aspect of religion characterises most unthinking adults, for whom religion is a matter of forms and institutions, customs and practices that are found to govern and dominate the religious life of the society to which they belong. These are looked upon by the general mass as things to be revered, as matters of inviolable sanctity. They would learn the traditional beliefs and practices of religion with all reverence and tenaciously follow them in their lives, even though they fail to give any explanation of their sacredness except that they

were similarly cherished by their venerable ancestors. These men illustrate by their conduct how of religious tradition, the volitional element of actions has a stronger hold on and a greater fixity in the people's life than the intellectual element of beliefs. The ideas and beliefs may change to some extent with the growth of knowledge and the influx of new experiences. But that is not allowed to interfere with the religious practices and customs prevailing in the society from time immemorial.

Even among thinking men we find a certain class of persons who are genuinely religious but whose religious experiences are circumscribed and moulded by the religious traditions of the race. They find in the traditional faith something so good, so beautiful and so authoritative that they either dismiss the adverse claims of the intellect or make both their intellect and their individual experiences subservient to the dominant demands of the tradition which they love. It gives a bent to our intellect and reason, and makes them serve the purposes of the traditional faith. When thinking or reasoning about religion we are disposed to justify and even glorify our tradition at the cost of others, and believe that the ideal sort of religious experience is the one that has the authority and the sanctity of tradition. We seem to think that we ought to have the same feelings, emotions and experiences that our ancestors had in their lives before us.

It is in view of these facts that Mr. Tyrrel has said : " Religion is institutional just because it is social; because it is only through the educational influence of society that the communised religious experience and reflection of the past generations are brought to bear upon us so as to waken, guide and stimulate our religious faculty, which else might remain dormant, or at best only reach a rudimentary development." In his *Philosophy of Religion*, Prof. Hoffding brings out the effect of tradition on individual experience in a remarkable way. "The form and content of religious faith can never be explained from the religious experience of any individual." The evolution of

religion occupied long ages and many generations, and "every individual stands at a certain point in this line of evolution, a point which is determined alike by that which goes before and that which follows after." Even when a man has the deepest and most independent religious experiences "the manner in which he expresses and interprets these experiences will itself be conditioned both by the circle of ideas with which he is familiar and also to a greater or less degree, by tradition, although he himself need not necessarily be aware of this." Hence it is neither absurd nor strange if among ancient Hindu thinkers there were some who would claim for tradition (*aitihya*) the status of a source of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) or of a way of knowing things, religious or otherwise.

So far we have seen how great the influence of tradition is on the religious life of the individual. Let us now consider the value of the traditional aspect of religion and the place that it should be given in our religious life as a whole. It is indeed of great value as the starting-point or the beginning of our religious life. For the initiation of faith in God, the awakening and stimulation of the religious feelings we are to depend on some kind of tradition. We all start in our religious life as formalists, and all historical religions have and will ever have a good deal of the traditional element in them. The collective experience of the race has passed through many generations and tradition has preserved for us the lasting fruits of mature thinking and laborious search after truth in the whole past course of our national life. We are the natural heirs to the spiritual legacy of the past and we are to make the best out of it and utilise it to our best advantage. We cannot break away completely from the past and begin from the very beginning in every walk of life, which is a hopeless task after all. But while appreciating the value of tradition we should not forget its defects and dangers. Mere faith in tradition makes a man blind to everything else. It develops into a narrowness and an exclusiveness that finds no good

anywhere in the world except its own beloved tradition. It even makes him impervious to thought and reason, and he becomes so bound to the past that further development through reason and personal experience is made almost impossible. The religion of traditionalism, if left to itself without the light of reason and the life of experience, becomes dead formalism and meaningless custom. 'It dwarfs, dries up and stultifies the spiritual life of those who surrender themselves completely to it.' In its extreme form it ceases to be religion, for through the engrossing interest in mere forms, rites and words, the meaning and significance of these are hidden from our view and they fail to inspire the religious feelings and experiences with which they were originally connected. Soon there arises a conflict of interests between different forms of such extreme traditionalism. And the worst of all is that narrow communalism, the bastard child of pseudo-faith and interested fanaticism, leads to the commission of the most irreligious and immoral acts in the name of religion, of which we see so many at the present day.

Hence while tradition has an important bearing on and some value for our religious life, especially in its beginning, we should not so completely separate it from the other aspects of our religious life that it might degrade into meaningless formalism and dangerous fanaticism. In fact, we find four aspects in the genuinely religious life, all of which must combine to build up the highest form of religious faith. There is first the traditional aspect from which we should draw and get the solid foundation of our religious life, if we are not to begin all over again in every department of life and undertake a formidable task for which our life is too short and our intellect is too weak. Secondly, there is the rational aspect in which the individual's natural powers of thinking and reasoning are brought to bear upon the contents of tradition in order to enlighten and appreciate, rationalise and rejuvenate them. Without reason faith is as insecure as an edifice built

upon the sands, and no belief can stand long which is inconsistent with reason. Thirdly, there is the aspect of actual experience and immediate intuition, in which the religious person's cold intellectual understanding of the spiritual truths from without makes room for a direct realisation of and penetration into them, for a warm life of intuitive experience where the subject lives through the highest spiritual ideas and ideals. Lastly, there is the life of action, the practical or the moral aspect in which we are to act up to the highest religious faith, so that all else in our religious life may not fail but bear their proper and just fruits for the good of the world. Hence we may say with Prof Pratt that "the highest and the healthiest type of faith in the spiritual world, a faith that is warm but without fanaticism, reasonable but not coldly abstract, courageous yet never self-deceived nor disloyal to truth, calmly confident but never blind, and neither slavishly servile to authority nor yet lonely and separatist,—such a faith must draw its strength from all four of the sources."

Religion is essentially a matter of life and experience. The highest religious life should include all the four aspects of tradition, reason, experience and works. At its first or initial stage, tradition plays its just but limited part. This is the stage of what the Upaniṣads call *Sravaṇa* or hearing where the mind is only initiated into the mysteries of the spiritual world through the silent influences of its social environment. But that is only the beginning of our religious life. From this starting-point we are to move onwards and see things in the full daylight of consciousness. It is here that reason or reflection (*manana*) makes its special contributions to the religious life. What was previously accepted as a matter of mere faith and on the strength of an apparently external authority is made the mind's own in so far as it is understood by the mind as true and significant, rational and consistent. But then we require "direct experience and actual realisation of what is intellectually understood and rationally conceived."

Hence the next stage in the growth of religious life is contemplation or devout meditation (*nididhyāsana*) in which the truths first accepted and then admitted, are experienced as directly given realities. And all this does not fail to bear its natural fruit. It gives a new turn to man's life and infuses a new meaning into his experiences. His life becomes attuned with the life of the universe and runs a mighty massive course of universal good that transcends all the narrow limits of blind tradition.

SATISCHANDRA CHATTEJEE

SHAKESPEARE

The rugged ways of life grew broad with thought,
 As thou ascended'st painful days and years,
 With freedom's might, to where the clouded lot
 Of crippled lives was hemmed by sullen fears.
 There was no dimness in the dominant gaze,
 Which scanned the darkest shadows of the soul,
 And quelled on quivering lips the awe-struck praise
 Of virtue's triumph, while earth did writhe and roll
 With love and childhood bleeding to the death,
 Midst ruthless change of envious circumstance,
 Whose treacherous force obeyed thy conquering faith,
 While tongues of malice round thy heart did glance.
 Earth's common sadness, cramped with racking thought
 Still smiles through tears, as thou had'st preached and
 taught.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

UMAR KHAYYAM

Much has been written about Umar Khayyam and though a great mass of literature has arisen on account of the interest taken by Western Scholars in regard to his charming Quatrains, yet much of it is worth retelling.

Thanks to the genius of Fitzgerald, Umar Khayyam the Astronomer-Poet enjoys a celebrity in the West, especially in England and America, far greater than that which he has attained in his own country. His name, according to all his biographers, was Umar, but Karl Hermann Ethé gives it in full as Ghiyas-ud Din Abul Fatah Umar bin Ibrahim. Khayyam was the *nom de plume* adopted by him, and it means a tent-maker or a dealer in tents. But it is not certain whether he did actually prepare tents or traded in them. His father, Ibrahim, however, as is recorded by all historians, did manufacture tents and that was his only profession. Umar might have adopted the name of Khayyam from the profession which his father pursued. Many Persian poets similarly derive their name, from their occupation; thus we have *Attar*, "the druggist," *Assar* "the oil extractor," *Suzani*, "the quilt maker," *Ghazzali*, "the vendor of cotton-thread," and so on. Umar Khayyam alludes to his epithet in the following lines :—

" Khayyam, who stiched the tents of Science.
Has fallen in grief's furnace and has been suddenly burnt;
The shears of fate have cut the tent rope of his life,
And the Broker of Hope has sold him for nothing."

Umar Khayyam was born at Nishapur, one of the principal cities of Khorasan. At present it is a collection of poor-looking houses standing in the midst of ruins. The climate is said to be delicious, and there are some traces left of the magnificent irrigation works founded by Shapur and his successors; but the city

never recovered from the ravages of Changhiz Khan and his Tatar hordes in the middle of 13th century. Nishapur was the focus of Persian culture and the central point of world's intellectual activity, rivalled only by Cordova of the Khalifs. At a time, coeval with the later Saxon kings of England, when Europe was plunged in almost total intellectual darkness, Nishapur appears to have been the most important town of mediaeval Persia. It is said to have boasted of eight great colleges, founded by the Abbasid Khalifs and was specially renowned for its *Ulamās*, or men of learning, a title which comprises theologians, grammarians, poets, mathematicians, historians and writers and lecturers upon every branch of literature and science, and particularly upon questions of Theology and Qur'anic Exegesis, the Traditions of the Prophet and the Canons of the Muhammadan Law. The celebrated poet Anwari says, "If Paradise is to be found on the face of the earth, it is Nishapur; if not there, it exists not."

The date of the birth of Khayyam is recorded nowhere by any of his biographers, but it is said that he was contemporary with Nizam-ul Mulk, the celebrated Wazīr of Seljuk kings, Alparsalan and Malik Shah. Nizam-ul Mulk, in his *Wasaya* writes thus:—"Among the most renowned *Ulamās* of Nishapur there lived one most illustrious sage called Imam Muwaffiq-ud Din, a famous expositor of the Qur'an and teacher of the Traditions and of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. It was a generally received opinion that every youth who read the Qur'an and expounded the Traditions before him attained to fortune and prosperity. For this reason my father sent me from Tus to Nishapur that I might apply myself to the study and discipline under him. There had lately joined my class Umar Khayyam and Hasan bin Sabbah, both of whom were of the same age as myself and of equal talents. We became friends, and when we went out from the Imam's class, we used to rehearse with one another the lessons we had just heard. One day Hasan said to us, 'It is the general opinion that the

disciples of Imam Muwaffiq attain to fortune; no doubt one of us will do so, even though all may not. What covenant or compact is there now between us?' I said, 'Whatever you please.' He answered, 'Whichever of us may attain to fortune shall share it with the others.' 'So be it,' rejoined we; and a mutual compact to that effect was accordingly entered into between us."

But the above story of the three school-fellows, which for ages was accepted by all oriental scholars as a genuine historical fact, has recently been proved as untrue and it is held that the *Wasaya* is only a compilation written in the 9th century of the Muhammadan era and dedicated to a certain Amir Fakhr-ud Din, a descendant in the 12th degree of Wazir Nizam-ul Mulk (see Rieu, p. 446). It has also been discredited by Prof. Schukovsky and Dr. E. Denison Ross. The latter, in his introduction to Fitzgerald's Translation of the *Ruba'iyat* of Umar Khayyam rejects the story (*vide* p. 17, *Catalogue of MS. in Oriental Public Library at Bankipur*). Professor Browne in his *Literary History of Persia* (Vol. II, pp. 190-193) discards the legend and sets it aside as untrue. Professor P. B. Macdonald emphatically declares, "Chronologically it (the three school-fellows legend) is impossible and historically it has no foundation" (*vide Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XX, p. 7).

When Umar was 17 years of age, he was sent by his father to study *Qur'an* and *Hadis* or Traditional Exegesis under the divine, Muwaffiq-ud Din. When he attained the age of 27, he was accomplished in all the branches of learning, including Science, Astronomy and Mathematics. Dr. Ross, in dealing with the life of Umar Khayyam, has mentioned that he knew the *Qur'an* by heart and was well versed in Traditions, Jurisprudence, Literature and Science. Shahrastani, in his *Tarikh-ul Hukama*, states that Khayyam was a great scholar of his time; he was well versed in all the learning of the Greeks. He always exhorted man to seek the One Author of the Universe by purifying all bodily action in order to attain the

sanctification of the soul. He also used to recommend the study of Politics as laid down by Greek authors.

Nizam-ul Mulk, it is quite certain, patronized Umar Khayyam and received him with utmost cordiality, and remarked that a man of his merit ought to be attached to the royal service. "The greatest favour you can do me," said Umar Khayyam, "is, let me live in retirement, where, under your shadow and protection, I may occupy myself in amassing the riches of learning and in praying for your long life and fortune." And to this resolve he steadfastly adhered. The Wazir tells us that when he perceived that he spoke in sincerity, he granted him a yearly stipend of 1,200 *misqals*¹ of gold payable from the Nishapur treasury.

Umar Khayyam then went back to Nishapur, and applied himself to the study of science, especially Astronomy, in which he afterwards attained a high degree of accomplishment. Later on, in the reign of Sultan Malik Shah he came to Merv, in the height of his philosophical repute, and the Sultan conferred many favours upon him, and raised him to the highest post attainable by men of Science.

Abul Fida relates that Umar Khayyam was appointed by Sultan Malik Shah as Astronomer Royal to the observatory which he established in A. D. 1074-75. While holding this office, Khayyam compiled some astronomical tables, of which mention is made by Haji Khalifa, in collaboration with 7 or 8 other astronomers and effected a reform of the old Persian Calendar, somewhat similar to the reform of the Julian Calendar made under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII, five centuries later. Mr. Reinaud, the editor of Abul Fida's *Geography*, says that some authorities even prefer Khayyam's system to that adopted by Pope Gregory. This reformed calendar was called *Tarikh-i Jalali*, after the reigning

¹ A *misqal* is a weight of rather more than a drachm and a quarter avoirdupois : but a "*misqal* of gold" commonly means the coin called a *dinar* and at that period worth about 10 shillings.

monarch, Sultan Jalaluddin Malik Shah, and dates from the Naw-ruz or the New Year's Day, 21st March 1079.

Umar Khayyam was also highly distinguished as a mathematician. His standard work called "Demonstrations of the Problems of Algebra," written in Arabic, had been edited and translated by Herr F. Woepke of Bonn, and another work, "A Treatise on the Difficulties of Euclid's Definitions," is preserved in the Leyden Library. His works on Algebra enjoyed a high reputation for several centuries and raised him at once to the foremost rank amongst mathematicians of that age. Haji Khalfa, a Turkish bibliographer, in the skeleton catalogue of one or more great libraries of Damascus, known as his "Bibliographical Lexicon," mentions a set of astronomical tables named after the Sultan Malik Shah, under whose auspices they were doubtless compiled by Khayyam. The poet, in his Algebraical treatises above referred to, cites an Arithmetical work composed by him in demonstration of the exactitude of the Indian methods of extracting square and cube roots. No copies of the two latter appear to be extant, and Khayyam also, doubtless, composed other mathematical and astronomical works to which he seems to have attached little importance, as he did not trouble himself to provide for the preservation of these writings which would have also made his name glorious.

The oldest accounts which we possess of Umar Khayyam are contained in the *Chahar Maqala* of Nizami-i Aruzi Samarqandi, one of his disciples, and, be it noted, not in that section of the work which treats of Poets, but in that which treats of Astrologers and Astronomers. He relates in one of his anecdotes: "In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-13) Imam Umar Khayyam and Imam Muzaffer-i Isfizari had alighted in the city of Balkh, the street of slave-sellers, in the house of Amir Abu Sa'id and I had joined their company. In the midst of friendly conversation I heard Umar Khayyam say, 'My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms over me twice a year.' This thing it seemed to me would be impossible, though

I knew that such a one as he would not speak idle words. When I arrived at Nishapur in A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-36) it being some years since that great man had died, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a certain Friday taking with me a guide to point out his tomb. So he brought me out to the Hira cemetery, and I found his tomb lay at the foot of a garden wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on the grave have fallen so many flowers that it was hidden beneath them. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping. Though I witnessed this prognostication on the part of Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions."

In another anecdote Nizami-i Samarqandi relates: "In the winter of A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-15) the king (presumably Sultan Muhammad bin al-Muzaffar), bidding him to tell Khayyam, who used to lodge at his house, to select a favourable time for him to go a-hunting such that there should be no snowy or rainy days. Khayyam after careful calculation for two days, fixed the date and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the king. When the king was mounted and had gone but a short distance, the sky became overcast with clouds, a wind arose, mist filled the atmosphere and snow began to fall. All present began to laugh and the king desired to turn back; but Khayyam said, 'Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during the next five days there will not be a drop of moisture.' So the king rode on, and the clouds disappeared, and during those five days there was neither snow nor a drop of rain."

Umar Khayyam's great scientific fame, however, is nearly eclipsed by his still greater poetical renown, which he owes to his *rubai's* (i.e., quatrains). The peculiar form of the *rubai*, viz., four lines, the first, second and fourth of which rhyme, while the third usually remained left out—was first introduced into Persian literature as an exclusive vehicle for subtle thought

on various topics of Sufi mysticism by the Shaikh Abu Sa'id bin Abul Khair, but Khayyam differs in its treatment considerably from Abu Sa'id. Although some of his quatrains are purely mystic and pantheistic, most of them bear quite another stamp.

Before proceeding to put down Khayyam's quatrains under classified heads, it would be better to state here the existing intellectual currents of his time, the ideas and sentiments which influenced the minds of his contemporaries. Some of these ideas naturally acted on him by attraction and some by repulsion; but in whichever way they acted, they constituted the main foundations of his opinions; these were mainly the *Hikmat* or Philosophy, *Shariat* or Sacred Law, the *Ma'rifat* or Mysticism, and *Ash'ar* or Poetry. Khayyam was a product of his time, and each one of the intellectual currents stated above, met and mingled in his mind. Religion, philosophy, mysticism and poetry all had their influence on him in varying proportions. He was thoroughly grounded in the *Shari'at* and he carried away firm convictions of *Tawhid*, that is, existence of One God and *Fa'il-haqiqi*, the True Omnipotent Actor. These convictions come out again and again in his quatrains. A charge of atheism and materialism is brought by some against Khayyam, and this, it may be said, is owing to his study of science and Greek philosophy, which leads one into a realism and thence into materialism. In his quatrains one constantly comes across recognitions of the limitations of science, of its inability to fathom the beginning or end of the Kosmos, or to travel one step beyond the limit of human thought and comprehend the mysterious essence of the TRUTH. He held the doctrine of predestination and this idea can be traced in several of his quatrains. He regarded life as a very doubtful blessing, and at times, he expressed his hatred for it. He is never tired of dwelling on the chances and changes of this mortal life, on life's brief duration and on the swift passing of youth. Even the glorious memories of past national greatness, of Khosraws, of

Jamshid and of Fariduns only affect him as so many instances of transitoriness of human greatness and the vanity of human glory. More frequently he expressed his religious emotions in the language of the Sufis, which would imply entire concurrence with the rest of the Sufi doctrine, namely, the spiritual intuition, the ecstasy and communion of the soul with the ONE.

Let us now deal with the philosophy of Khayyam and his religious and secular views in the light of his quatrains and give a few examples under each head by way of illustration.

1. *In praise of the beloved :*

Arise and give me wine, from speech forbear.
To-night thy lips shall be my only fare;
Give me some wine as ruddy as thy cheeks,
My good resolves are loosened like thy hair.

O fair whose cheeks checkmate red eglantine,
And draw the game with those fair maids of Chin;
You played one glance against the king of Babil,
And took his pawns, and knights, and rooks, and queen.

2. *Predestination :*

Who was it that did knead my clay? Not I.
Who spun my web of silk and wool? Not I.
Who wrote upon my forehead all my good
And all my evil deeds? In truth, not I.

When Allah yoked the coursers of the sun,
And launched the Pleiades, their race to run,
My lot was fixed in fate's high chancery;
Then why blame me for wrong that fate has done?

Who framed the lots of quick and dead but Thou?
Who turns the troublous wheel of heaven but Thou?
Though we are sinful slaves, is it for Thee
To blame us? Who created us but Thou?

3. *Hypocrisy of the Great—Impiety of the pious :*

O City Mufti, you go more astray
 Than I, although to drinking I give way;
 I drink the blood of grapes, you that of men;
 Which of us is the more bloodthirsty, pray?

Fools, who of prayer-mats make such great display,
 To vain hypocrisy a tribute pay;
 Strange under cover of this saintly show
 They live like heathen, and the faith betray.

A Shaikh beheld a harlot and quoth he,
 "You seem a slave to drink and lechery;"
 And she made answer, "What I seem I am,
 But, Master, are you all you seem to be?"

4. *Catholic views :*

Pagodas, like as mosques, are homes of prayer,
 'Tis prayer that church-bells chime unto the air,
 Yea, Church and Ka'ba, Rosary and Cross
 Are all but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.

5. *Irreligious utterances :*(a) *Singing the praise of wine :*

So many cups of wine will I consume,
 Its bouquet shall exhale from out my tomb.
 And every one that passes by shall halt,
 And reel and stagger with that mighty fume.

Comrades I pray you, physic me with wine,
 Make this wan amber face like rubies shine,
 And, if I die, use wine to wash my corpse,
 And lay me in a coffin made of vine.

We make the wine-jar's lip our place of prayer,
 And drink in lessons of true manhood there,
 And pass our lives in taverns, if perchance
 The time misspent in mosques we may repair.

Endure this world without my wine I cannot
 Drag on life's load without my cups I cannot
 I'm slave of that sweet moment when they say,
 "Prithee, take one more goblet," and I cannot

(b) *Flouting the idea of the existence of Paradise and Hell :*

They preach how sweet those Houri brides will be,
 But I say wine is sweeter—taste and see,
 Hold fast this cash, and let that credit go,
 And shun the din of empty drums like me.

Get minstrel, wine and Houri, if you can,
 A green nook by a streamlet, if you can,
 And seek naught better; babble not of hell,
 But find a better heaven, if you can .

In Paradise are Houris, as man trow,
 And fountains with pure wine and honey flow;
 If these be lawful in the world to come,
 May I not love the like down here below?

(c) *Charging the sin of the created to the Creator :*

When Allah mixed my clay, He knew full well
 My future acts, and could each one foretell;
 Without His fiat nothing can I do;
 Is it then just to punish me in hell?

With many a snare Thou dost beset my way,
 And threatenest, if I fall therein, to slay;
 Thy laws pervade the universe, yet Thou
 Imputest sin, when I do but obey

6. *Eat and drink, for to-morrow ye die :*

Life's caravan is hastening on its way;
 Brood not on troubles of the coming day,
 But fill the wine-cup, ere sweet night be gone,
 And snatch a pleasant moment while you may.

Since no one can assure thee of the morrow,
 Rejoice thy heart to-day, and banish sorrow
 With moonbright wine, fair moon the moon in heaven
 Will look for us in vain on many a morrow.

7. *Address to the Deity :*

I am an erring slave, accept Thou me.
 My soul is dark, make me Thy light to see,
 If heaven be but the wage for service done,
 Where are Thy bounty and Thy charity?

The world is baffled in its search for Thee,
 Wealth cannot find Thee, no, nor poverty;
 All speak of Thee, but none have ears to hear,
 Thou'rt near to all, but none have eyes to see.

Lord, I am tired of this low state of mine,
 This wretched lot this beggary of mine,
 Thou makest all from naught, bring me from naught
 Into that sacred being which is Thine.

8. *Imploring pardon :*

O Thou who know'st the secret thoughts of all,
 In time of sorest need who aidest all,
 Grant me repentance, and accept my plea,
 O Thou who dost accept the pleas of all.

Though I had sinned the sins of all mankind,
 I know Thou wouldst to mercy be inclined;
 Thou sayest, "I will help in time of need";
 One more in need than me where wilt Thou find?

9. *Resignation to the will of God :*

O heart this world is but a hollow show,
 Why should its empty griefs distress thee so?
 Bow down, and bear thy fate, the eternal pen
 Will not unwrite its roll for thee, I trow.

With outward seeming we can cheat mankind,
 But to God's will we can but be resigned;
 The deepest wiles my cunning e'er devised,
 To shirk divine decrees no way could find,

10. *Tyranny of Fate or Jawr-i Falak :*

For me heaven's sphere no music ever made,
 Nor yet with soothing voice my fears allayed;
 If e'er I gained a breathing-space of joy,
 Into woe's grip I was at once betrayed.

Ah wheel of heaven to tyranny inclined,
 'Twas e'er your wont to show yourself unkind;
 And, cruel earth, if they should cleave your breast,
 What store of buried jewels they would find.

O wheel of heaven, you thwart my heart's desire,
 And rend to shreds my jubilant attire;
 The water that I drink you foul with earth,
 And turn the very air I breathe to fire.

11. *Vanity of human glory :*

At Tus a bird perched in the ruined street,
 And on the skull of Kaus set his feet,
 And make complaint, "Alas, alas, poor king,
 Hushed are thy bells, thy drums have ceased to beat."

Yon palace, towering to the welkin blue,
 Where kings did bow them down, and homage do,—
 I saw a ringdove on its turrets perched,
 And thus he made complaint, "Coo, Coo, Coo, Coo."

In these proud halls where Bahram once held sway
 The wild roes drop their young and tigers stray,
 And that imperial hunter in his turn
 To the great hunter Death is fallen a prey.

12. *Emotion in the language of Sufis :*

My law it is in pleasure's paths to stray,
 My creed to shun the theologic fray;
 I wedded Luck, and offered her a dower,
 She said, "I want none, so thy heart be gay."

In this our round of coming and of going
 Beginning and conclusion pass all knowing;
 No wight in all the world can tell us truly
 Whence we have come and whither we are going.

The complaint of Khayyam against his contemporaries may obviously be connected with the known facts of the poet's life. The persecution to which he was subjected was on account of his impious opinions. His remarks on Paradise and Houris, and on Sufis and pious people as "men of externals" and on other sacred subjects raised such a feeling of opposition against him that at one time his life was in imminent danger. On account of these impious utterances, Umar Khayyam was bitterly hated by the clergy, the religious and the pious, and fell into disrepute not only amongst his own countrymen but also amongst the other followers of Islam, and thus his poems became discarded and neglected. The orthodox under their respective leaders, banded themselves together against him and compelled Khayyam for a time to leave his native land and go to exile, of which he speaks in the following quatrain¹ :—

My wretched body suffered in exile;
Ancestral fame helped me not for a while;
Life pined away without a moment's joy,
I know not round which corner death would smile.

His poems were obviously not all written at one period of his life, but from time to time, just as circumstances and mood suggested, and under the influence of the thoughts, passions, and desires which happened to be uppermost at the moment. It may be that the irreligious and epicurean quatrains were written in youth, and the devotional ones in his riper years.

Khayyam's death, it is generally agreed, occurred in the year A. H. 517 (A. D. 1123-24) and he himself states, in the following quatrains, that he lived a hundred years :—

"That which I am, I am, O Lord, by Thy decree;
An hundred years' ease Thy grace hath fostered me;
An hundred more I fain would sin, so I might see
Whether's the more, my sin or Thine indulgency."

¹ This quatrain is given in Lucknow edition and has been rendered into English by the writer.

Since Khayyam was contemporary with ...zam-ul Mulk, and as the latter was born in A. D. 1018, we may therefore assume that Khayyam was about 105 years old, more or less, at the time of his death.

There are two episodes related in connection with Khayyam's death. One is that he was one day picking his teeth with a tooth-pick of gold and was engaged in studying the chapter on Metaphysics from Avicenna's *Book of Healing*. When he reached the section on "The One and the Many," he placed his tooth-pick between the two leaves, arose, performed his prayers, and made his last injunctions. He neither ate nor drank anything that day, and when he performed his last evening prayer, he bowed himself to the ground, and said as he bowed, "O God verily I have known Thee to the extent of my power; forgive me therefore. Verily my knowledge of Thee is my recommendation to Thee." And so saying he died.

In an other episode it is related that one day Khayyam was drinking wine in company of some of his chosen friends. Suddenly a gust of strong wind arose, the lamp was blown out and it became dark. The goblet of wine dropped from Khayyam's hand and was broken. At this he was very much annoyed and in the state of drunkenness he said :

"Thou hast broken, O Lord, my goblet of wine,
And closeth the door of pleasure of mine.
Hast suffered to fall the ruby wine,
Art Thou also intoxicated with wine?"

No sooner he had uttered these words, his face at once turned black and when light was brought in, his friends on looking at his face expressed their abhorrence. Khayyam sent for a mirror and having looked his face in it, smilingly said in extempore verse :—

"Was e'er man who never went astray?
Did ever mortal pass a sinless day?"

If I do ill and Thou repay with ill,
Wherein does our behaviour differ, pray?"

Saying this he looked into the mirror again. He observed that his face had become bright and shining. He put down his head in prostration to God and breathed his last.

In conclusion, I might say a few words about the genuineness of the majority of the Quatrains which are ascribed by Fitzgerald, Whinfield and others, as Umar's, but which are also to be found also among the works of many eminent poets. This particular matter has nicely been dealt with by the late Professor Edward Browne (*vide Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II). In my opinion, however, all the quatrains which are generally based upon free-thinking, can safely be attributed to Khayyam, who alone is responsible for such thoughts and on which account alone he is so popular in the West.

Recently there was a controversy as to the authorship of the quatrains described as Umar's, raised by Dr. A. H. Millar in whose opinion Khayyam was only a myth (see *The Englishman* (Daily, Calcutta), of December 27, 1926). This was ably refuted by Dr. E. Denison Ross and he has proved satisfactorily that there is really no room for controversy at all (*vide The Englishman*, January 3, 1927). The late Shams-ul Ulama Shibli has also devoted many pages of his *Shi'ru'l Ajam* (Vol. II) to this great poet, discussing his philosophy of nature and the liberal views held by him.

Before I finish it is desirable that a few words, regarding the language and style of the quatrains of Khayyam, should be said. Though he is ranked by the Persians themselves as a third-rate poet, still in writing quatrains he is second to none. Khayyam has written his quatrains in an easy, smooth and flowing style, free from uncouth and harsh forms of construction. Throughout his composition he has neither used high-sounding inflated words nor any rhetorical or such other embellishments to puzzle the reader. Though in his quatrains he has dealt with philosophical, mystical and other sublime subjects,

yet the language in which he puts them is so simple that a man of ordinary ability and intelligence can easily comprehend them. The eloquence and force of his composition has added interest to his quatrains and have called forth the admiration of his readers.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI

LOVE

Tonight, you're not thinking of me;
 You would start, were I mentioned by name.
In your mind a dead thought, covered up,
 Sunk deep in the dark of the past,
Buried by days and by nights,
 There I lie.

Time has been kinder to you;
 The years but bring me more pain.
You would rather forget, and you do.
 I can't. My heart and body and brain
Are tortured with love of you.

There's nothing in life but love
 And YOU'RE love and life to me.
In the losing of both I've died
 Yet deathless misery
Lies wailing at my side
 For ever unfree.

Agony that brings sweat
 And longing that tears the heart
Stinging eyes, salty and wet
 And strangled sobs in the night
Bitter, bleeding life, torn apart
 Its wounds all out of sight.

Death? Would death be kind?
 Would it still the anguish of mind?
Death, dark and silent and blind?
 Then it would be kind.

LINWELL ROHL

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN, M.A., D.D., PH.D.

A saint and scholar has passed away from earthly society—one for whom the East and the West are mourning with equal depth of feeling—one who was a prince among educationists—one who knew how to win the heart and how to stimulate the intellect, how to lead and how to follow—one who not only had high ideals but translated them into daily practice—one, in short, to whom it was given to preach Christianity by his daily life.

Henry Stephen, the subject of this article, graduated M.A. with Second Class Honours in Classics and First Class Honours in Mental Philosophy at Aberdeen in 1870 and was the Hutton Prizeman of his year in the University. A predecessor of his, one of Dr. Duff's colleagues in the General Assembly's Institution, Rev. John Macdonald, also was Hutton Prizeman. Henry Stephen studied subsequently in Aberdeen Free Church College—a Divinity College—and in Germany to which, as he used to say himself, the reputation of Hermann Lotze who was distinguished as a physiologist and writer on *Æsthetics* and as one of the acutest metaphysical thinkers since Hegel, had attracted him. For years Professor Stephen was known in Calcutta and Bengal as one widely read in German Philosophy and as its most lucid interpreter.

He left Scotland in 1881 and joined the staff of the Free Church Institution in January, 1882. Before this he had been University Assistant in Greek (Aberdeen). A Scotch monthly magazine published a paragraph about him at the time he came out to India, mentioning the fact that Dr. Duff had tried several times to persuade him to accept a Professorship in the Free Church Institution, Calcutta, but had failed. This writer of that paragraph also stated that this brilliant scholar had received

the offer of a University Chair in Australia but had declined it. It was rather curious that he should have accepted a College Professorship in Calcutta, having declined a University Chair elsewhere. But he was destined to make a splendid contribution to India's intellectual and spiritual enrichment and so he accepted the offer of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland.

Professor Stephen taught in the Free Church Institution (which later on came to be known as Free Church of Scotland's Institution and Duff College) English Language and Literature, Philosophy and Botany. For a short time he taught English, Psychology and Botany also in the First Arts classes of Free Church Girl's High School (now known as St. Margaret's School). It may be mentioned here that Astronomy was one of his hobbies, though he never taught it in the College. He had several telescopes of his own and his delight in astronomical observations was surpassed only by his delight in philosophical studies. In a few years his success as a teacher attracted many students to the College. This College (Free Church Institution, the second college founded by Dr. Duff) had been steadily going down in numerical strength since 1879, while the other Institution founded by Dr. Duff and known as the General Assembly's Institution was steadily growing in popularity and consequently was attracting larger and still larger numbers as the years rolled away ; and no wonder, for it had as its Principal and Professor of English and Philosophy a brilliant scholar and orator, Rev. William Hastie, who subsequently became Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Glasgow and is known to Indian students by his translations of German works, its senior Professor of English was James Wilson who as a teacher was unsurpassed in popularity in Bengal and its Professor of Mathematics was the far-famed brilliant mathematician, Gaurisankar De. For a time it was feared that the Free Church Institution might collapse, so small were the numbers attending the College. But at this juncture Rev. James Robertson, an enthusiast in

educational matters, was appointed Principal of the College. He had been formerly a Professor of the College and for some years Principal of Doveton College, Calcutta. He was a good teacher and organizer. He was fortunate in having as his colleague the subject of this Notice and he also secured the services of Babu Surendranath Banerjee for teaching English. Mr. Banerjee was a very popular man and subsequently rose to be the foremost political leader of the Indian nation. Professor Stephen's brilliant success as a teacher combined with Professor Banerjee's eloquence acted as a charm. Large numbers were enrolled in the College and it at once became one of the leading colleges in the city. Mr. Stephen worked on indefatigably, attracted some of the most intellectual young men of Bengal to the college and in a few years came to be recognised as the best teacher of Philosophy and one of the two or three best teachers of English in Bengal. The teaching of Botany he dropped after three years for lack of students. He raised the college to a status unprecedented in its history. More than once he officiated as Principal of the College. As Officiating Principal he taught the Bible in addition to English and Philosophy, taking with him always the Greek Testament to the lecture room and using it for his lectures.

His gift lay in making the most abstruse subjects whether in English Literature or Philosophy clear and readily intelligible to the most ordinary student and this was due to his fine analytical faculty. In his lectures supplemented by notes which he always dictated he imparted to his students a wide and critical knowledge of what he taught. The present writer remembers that when he was a first-year student of the Free Church Institution, Mr. Stephen in lecturing on Realism, Nominalism and Conceptualism in connection with Jevons' *Elementary Lessons in Logic* dealt with the subject so clearly, critically and comprehensively that he thought that he knew enough to discuss it with advanced students of Philosophy.

Mr. Stephen continued to work as Professor of English

and Philosophy in the Duff College till 1908 when the union of this College with the General Assembly's Institution took place and a new college was ushered into existence, as the result of the union, under the name of Scottish Churches College. In this college he worked as Professor of English and Philosophy till 1913 when he retired. The brilliant results achieved by the Free Church Institution or Duff College and the Scottish Churches College in B. A. Honours English and Honours Philosophy and in M. A. English and Philosophy for a period of about thirty years were to a considerable extent due to his teaching. The present writer once asked him why he had retired from the Scottish Churches College. He replied that while in the Duff College he taught all that he wanted to teach—an arrangement which made for efficient teaching—in the Scottish Churches College there was too much division of work and one realised, so he put it, that as one was not allowed to do all the teaching that one wanted to do, but large sections of subjects in which one was interested were made over to others, one could not help feeling hampered in work. This shows that while he was getting old, he did not feel like an old man, but was full of life and youthful vigour, and earnest worker as he was, he wanted to teach as much as possible, for, should not a Professor do justice to his subjects and to himself? In fairness to all concerned, many would say, however, that all the Professors in a college should have sufficient work. At the crowded farewell meeting held in his honour in the Hall of the Scottish Churches College he said to the students from whom he parted with great sorrow: "Fear God. Fear no man. Do the right. Read the best of all books, the New Testament, and specially the Gospels." Truly this was an inspiring message coming right out of the heart of one who lived a dedicated life and who in the words of the poet "saw in temporal policy the Eternal Will."

Another meeting was held in Overtoun Hall to bid him good bye. This was a public meeting held under the auspices of a

local Association. After speeches lauding his life and work had been delivered, he was taken in a carriage by students who would not have it drawn by horses but drew it themselves along a crowded thoroughfare of Calcutta to his destination.

No teacher in Bengal was more loved and respected by students and the secret of it was that the education they received at his hands was not only intellectual, though they had a rich intellectual treat whenever he lectured. This was due to his profound scholarship, vigorous thinking and lucidity of expression. The noble character which he uniformly presented before his students was in itself a factor of the higher education they received. Such conjunction of condescension and ability, such self-denying ministrations to the wants of youthful charge, it has seldom been our lot to witness and admire.

In 1914 he was appointed Professor of English in the Calcutta University. He filled the Chair with great distinction. He had been long connected with the University as an Examiner for the highest examinations in Arts, as a Fellow and Member of Senate since 1897 and as a member of the Syndicate for over a year. He, however, never liked to be on the Syndicate unless it was to represent an affiliated college. He used to say that work on the Syndicate was meant for men with a taste for details of administrative work as distinguished from a taste for formulating the general policy of the University. He also worked as Examiner in connection with other Indian Universities. The papers he set were always models of their kind. Though from the 1st of June, 1927, he had ceased to be University Professor of English, his connection with the Calcutta University as a Senior Fellow continued till his death on 1st September.

The University of Aberdeen—his Alma Mater—conferred on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity and the University of Calcutta—the premier University of India and the scene of his labours—conferred on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. These degrees he richly deserved. He had a profound knowledge of Philosophy and a scholarly

knowledge of Latin, Greek and German. He knew also Hebrew and French. Indeed, his knowledge of Hebrew was a determining factor in the decision of the Senate of the University of Aberdeen to confer on him the degree of D.D.

Extremely modest and unassuming he would not describe himself as 'Professor' in the splendid text books on Psychology and Metaphysics of which he was the author, though he was the holder of a University Chair, but simply as 'Fellow of the University of Calcutta.' His papers on 'Coleridge as a Thinker' and 'The Philosophy of Anarchy and the Idea of Time' contributed to Vol. I, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes*, will repay perusal.

Bengal mourns his loss to-day, nay will continue to do so for years to come, as he was a man who could not be easily replaced. The ideal he set before teachers in Bengal will not be readily forgotten and generations of teachers yet unborn will surely profit by it when they will hear or read about it.

• In Longfellow's *Evangeline* we read

Far in the West there lies a desert land, where the mountains
Lift through perpetual snows their lofty and luminous summits.

In the intellectually arid tracts of Bengal in the eighties, arid, comparatively speaking of course, there appeared some mountains that lifted their lofty and luminous summits, and one of these was Henry Stephen.

Truly we might say of him in the words of Shakespeare

His life was gentle ; and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world ' This was a man ! '

Or again, almost in the words of the prince of poets and dramatists

He was a man, take him for all in all,
'We shall not look upon his like again.

Or, in the words of Tennyson he might have been addressed thus, while living—

And thou art worthy; full of power;
As gentle; liberal-minded, great,
Consistent; wearing all that weight
Of learning lightly like a flower.

Memorial meetings were held in his honour in Scottish Churches College, Vidyasagar College, Ripon College and in the Post-Graduate Arts Department of the Calcutta University. Perhaps they were held in some other colleges also. At a recent Senate meeting the Vice-Chancellor of the University paid a tribute to the noble qualities of his head and heart. Calcutta colleges and the University Post-Graduate classes were closed in honour of his memory. The Corporation of Calcutta felt that one of the worthiest citizens of the *quondam* metropolis of India had passed away and in solemn silence the House passed an appreciative Resolution, aldermen and councillors all standing.

In view of the fact that Dr. Stephen worked for nearly half a century as College Professor of English and Philosophy or University Professor of English, the most suitable memorial of this great man will be an endowed University Chair of English or Philosophy, preferably the latter, as Philosophy was the subject in which he delighted to lecture. Let the public of Bengal rise to the occasion and contribute liberally so that a University Chair to be named after him may be endowed. He taught more than one generation of students in Bengal and contributed much to her cultural development. When the history of Western education in Bengal comes to be written with fullness of detail, his name will stand out in bold relief as that of a devoted scholarly worker whose teaching and noble educational ideals inspired and uplifted men, enlarged their intellectual horizon, broadened and liberalized their views and dowered them with the vision of the true, the good and the beautiful.

“Wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue,
everywhere there is beauty, he will find a home.”

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES BILL OF 1904

During the last few months repeated references have been made in various articles appearing in different newspapers and journals to the part played by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee when the Indian Universities Bill was before the Imperial Legislative Council in 1904. The trend of these criticisms has been that Sir Asutosh was one of the staunchest supporters of that measure. It is not the purpose of this article to dwell at length on the nature of the depravity to which human mind may sink when it engages itself in concocting facts for the purpose of calumniating the dead. The facts which are given below will constitute a sufficient answer ; they have not been borrowed from the domain of imagination but are gathered from the pages of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India for 1904 (Vol. XLIII) published by authority of the Governor General.

We may briefly record here the nature of the present constitution of the Senate. There are one hundred Ordinary and ten *Ex-Officio* Fellows. Of the one hundred, eighty are nominated by the Chancellor, ten are elected by the Registered Graduates and ten are elected by the different Faculties which are constituted by the Senate itself.

We find from the Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council that on the 8th January, 1904, the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyay, as he then was, took his seat as an additional member of the Council. On the same day on the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh he was added to the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the law relating to the Indian Universities, which the Council had previously appointed. On the 18th March, 1904, Mr. Raleigh moved that the Report of the Select

Committee be taken into consideration and the Council proceeded to discuss the various amendments proposed which lasted for three days, 18th, 19th and 21st March.

It becomes at once manifest that Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Asutosh were the two prominent members who proposed the largest number of amendments. On some of the amendments the House divided and the results of the divisions are printed on the pages of the Proceedings. Usually the amendments were lost, five or six voting for and about fifteen or sixteen voting against them. The Government members, who were Europeans, and all the other European members, except on two occasions, voted on one side. They also almost invariably commanded the votes of three non-Europeans whose names might here be noted. They were : His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the Raja of Sirmur.

The chief criticism levelled against Sir Asutosh is that he had a very large share of responsibility for the officialised constitution of the Senate. We should consider some of the amendments which he brought forward before the Council with a view to minimise the official element in the Senate and to recognise the claim of the teachers as such.

The first amendment which arrests our attention is at page 151 of the Proceedings where we find that Dr. Asutosh moved that ten Fellows should be elected by Registered Heads of, or Professors in, affiliated institutions and University Professors and Lecturers. In moving the amendment he observed, "I do not desire to conceal my deep regret that the Bill as amended makes no provision for election by the constituency which I have named, a constituency which in my opinion has the first and foremost claim on the University." This omission, he added, was "a great defect in the Bill." Five members addressed the Council on the motion and with the exception of Mr. Gokhale all of them opposed it. The observations made by Dr. Asutosh in reply to the debate were couched in words that are worth quoting. He said,

“Are our teachers throughout the country qualified to be trusted with the principle of election? If they are not, let us say so in unmistakable terms; and I add without hesitation that if that be our decision and if our teachers really deserve this want of confidence, the sooner we throw this Bill into the waste paper basket the better for every body concerned.”

Referring to Lord Curzon who was in the Chair, Dr. Asutosh thus concluded: “I add without hesitation that if the present Government do not make this experiment, the time will come when some future Viceroy, such as Lord Lansdowne, will do so and the credit will belong to some future Viceroy of putting this measure upon the Statute Book.”

The result of the division was that five voted for and seventeen against the proposal, the five members being: Dr. Asutosh, Rai Bahadur Bepinkrishna Bose, Nawab Saiyid Muhammed, Mr. Gokhale and Rai Sri Ram Bahadur. Of the three non-Europeans who voted against the motion, it may be mentioned that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, himself a distinguished teacher, was one.

The next amendment brought forward by Dr. Asutosh was with a view to secure the omission of that clause in the Bill which made Fellowships tenable only for five years. In the course of his speech he said:

“This rule will undoubtedly tend to impair the independence of nominated Fellows.In the vast majority of instances nominated members of the Senate, at least such of them as may be anxious to retain a seat on the Senate, will shape their conduct in conformity with the views expressed or supported by high officials.”

The proposal was of course opposed by Government and was negatived. Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Asutosh also respectively moved that the term of Fellowship should at least be extended to ten years and seven years. The observations of Mr. Gokhale in this connection are indeed instructive:

“A Chancellor in an Indian University,” he said, “is the

head of the Government and it has happened in the past and it may happen again that he takes little or no interest in University affairs, specially in connection with nomination of Fellows. In such cases the work is likely to be left with the Secretary of the Education Department. Now unless it is insisted that every member of the Civil Service and every officer of the Government must be trusted absolutely, I really do not think that any exception need be taken to the argument that proper care may not be taken at times in the appointment of Fellows."

These amendments, as it was anticipated, were rejected by the Council, the same five mentioned above supporting them and sixteen voting against.

The next amendment of Dr. Asutosh to which we would refer was to the effect that "with a Senate of one hundred, thirty seats should be thrown open to election, fifteen to be filled up by election by Registered Graduates and fifteen by election by the Faculties." The motion was opposed by Government on the ground that "the experience of election in the Universities had been a short one." The Council divided once again; the same five cried "Aye" and the same sixteen cried "No" and the motion was negatived.

Another amendment of Dr. Asutosh was to secure the representation of non-official teachers on the Senate. He proposed that "not less than one half of the members of the profession of Education elected and nominated (to the Senate) should belong to Colleges not owned or managed by the local Government." The Government opposed it, Mr. Raleigh, its spokesman, admitting "the truth of much that the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh had said," at the same time piously hoping that the interests of the private Colleges "would always be carefully considered." So this motion also was negatived.

We now refer our readers to another important amendment which Dr. Asutosh brought before the Council which by itself would give a lie direct to the assertion that has been made that he was responsible for the retrograde constitution which

Lord Curzon's Act of 1904 provided the Indian Universities with. The object of the amendment, as he said, was to define the character of the Senate and thus to remove what appeared to him to be the greatest defect in the Bill. The proposal was to insert four new clauses, two of which were to the following effect.

“(i) The ordinary Fellows of the University shall be persons distinguished for the attainments in any branch of literature, Science or Art, or for their devotion to the cause of education.

(ii) Not less than two-fifths of the total number of the Fellows shall be non-officials.”

He thus observed in the course of his speech, “What guarantee is there, I ask, that the principles which it is now conceded ought to regulate the constitution of the Senates of our Universities, will not in the course of a dozen years prove quite unfamiliar to less gifted and less qualified Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors? My Lord, I venture to submit that this desire to see these principles embodied in the Statute Book cannot in any sense be regarded as an infirmity of a lawyer. There are obvious advantages to be secured by the adoption of the course which I advocate; if these principles are clearly formulated and if they find a place in the Act, they become widely known, easily ascertainable and little liable to capricious variation; their presence on the Statute Book can do no possible harm. The only persons who may find it inconvenient to see these principles formulated in the Statute are those who a few years hence may find it necessary or convenient to disregard or deviate from them.”

The motion was opposed by Government, Mr. Raleigh, the member in charge, admitting that there was considerable force in the arguments which had been addressed to the Council by the mover. Mr. Gokhale, it need not be added, readily supported Dr. Asutosh. The Council divided, but this time there was one addition to the Valiant Five. Be it said, however, that

it was not an Indian who parted the company of Government on this occasion, not even the great scholar, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The sixth member was Mr. (now Sir) Theodore Morrison.

The next amendment of Dr. Asutosh had nothing to do with the constitution of the University. It was indeed of a novel character; the *Pioneer* of the 19th March, 1904, described it as a plucky and sporting one. The proposal was that every Ordinary Fellow of the University should during his Fellowship annually pay to the University chest a sum of Rs. 50 for the creation of a fund to be devoted exclusively to the objects for which the University was established. It was opposed by Government and supported by Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Theodore Morrison. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar opposed it, saying that if the honour of Fellowship could be purchased for Rs. 50 a year, it would be no honour at all. Dr. Asutosh's reply to this point was effective. He said, "My Hon'ble friend is no doubt aware that there is such a distinction as a Fellowship of the Royal Society (F.R.S.) and although four red sovereigns have to be paid as an annual subscription, it is rightly regarded as the highest honour which a scientific man can aspire to. If a Fellowship of the University is thrown open to every person who can afford to pay Rs. 50 a year it will undoubtedly cease to be an honour and distinction. But if it is conferred with discrimination upon deserving individuals I fail to see how it can cease to be valued simply because a pecuniary value is attached to it." The Council divided. But this time there was still another addition; His Highness the Aga Khan voted for the proposal. The motion was of course negatived.

The amendment to which we would next refer was moved by Mr. Gokhale; the notice of an identical proposal was given by Dr. Asutosh. It was to omit the clause providing that the Director of Public Instruction would be an *Ex-officio* member of the Syndicate. Mr. Gokhale pointed out that it was likely that a considerable proportion of the members of the Syndicate would be professors from the Government Colleges. "The

presence of the Director," he said, "as a matter of course in the Syndicate was likely to impair the independence of the members." Dr. Asutosh supported the proposal which was of course negatived.

The next amendment which was moved by Mr. Gokhale and supported by Dr. Asutosh was to curtail the powers of Government, so far as they related to the question of granting affiliation to the Colleges. The Bill provided that the Syndicate and the Senate were merely to report and Government was to pass final orders on an application for affiliation. It might thus even over-ride the unanimous opinion of the Syndicate and the Senate. The amendment of Mr. Gokhale was opposed by Government. When the division was taken, only four supported the proposal, Nawab Syed Mohammed voting this time with Government.

The next amendment which also was actually moved by Mr. Gokhale was with regard to the deletion of the powers which Government proposed to attach to itself in respect of additions to and alterations in the revised Regulations that were to be drawn up by the different Universities in pursuance of the provisions of the Bill. It was proposed by Government that to it should belong the right not merely of vetoing the proposals made by the University, but of also taking the initiative and altering the recommendations of the Universities in any manner that might be thought desirable. This provision in the Bill was vehemently opposed by the non-official members, even Dr. Bhandarkar in this instance speaking against it. Dr. Asutosh in this connection observed, "Let the Universities be reconstituted with the utmost care and caution. But if the Universities are to take root and grow on Indian soil the reconstituted Senate must be trusted and allowed to enjoy some degree of independence." The Council divided. This time there were three additions to the rank of supporters ; Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Morrison and the Aga Khan voting in favour of the amendment which of course was lost.

The last amendment which Dr. Asutosh moved was in respect of the right of the Chancellor to cancel the appointment of any Fellow at any moment. His proposal was that such cancellation, if it ever takes place, should be made "with the consent of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Senate present at a meeting specially convened for the purpose." The amendment, Mr. Raleigh thought, was hardly necessary; it was negatived.

We think we have referred to a sufficient number of amendments in order to make it possible for all honest critics to exactly realise the attitude taken up by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee so far as the Universities Bill was concerned. In addition to all these amendments we have before us his lucid and impassioned speech at the close of the debate. Therein he made his position perfectly clear. He referred to some of the sound principles of educational reconstruction which the Bill had attempted to provide for; he referred to the duty which according to the Bill was imposed on the Universities to carry on higher instruction and research; he referred to the better relations which were sought to be established between the University and its affiliated Colleges; he referred to the improvements in hostel life and students residence which the Bill had in view. These were some of the features of the Bill which had his support, but when he came to deal with the constitution of the University he had a different tale to record. "My Lord," he said, "I wish I could conscientiously say that the constitutional provisions of the Bill are satisfactory and are furnished with the necessary safeguards. Every effort we have made for securing a statutory recognition of the non-official and of the Indian element on the Senate has been strenuously opposed on behalf of the Government and has consequently failed. I am not one of those who contend that high education must be left entirely to the control of the people. On the other hand, I willingly concede that high education is one of the paramount duties of the State, and that it must be

nurtured and developed under the fostering care of a beneficent Government. But I deny most emphatically that it is necessary or desirable to have any provisions in the law which may possibly convert the Universities into mere departments of the State ; it is quite possible to stunt the growth of a beautiful tree by constant pruning and too affectionate care. I feel bound to express my deepest regret that what might otherwise have been a beneficent measure should be disfigured by blemishes of a startling character."

The observations were made by Dr. Asutosh in 1904. Nineteen years later in the month of March 1923, he was called upon to deliver for the last time his Convocation Address as Vice-Chancellor of the University. In that address, more than in any other, he gave expression in powerful language to his considered and mature views on the autonomy of the University. If in this speech there occur passages which signify a greater distrust of official control, if the opinions expressed in 1923 are far more advanced than those of 1904, it only discloses that while speaking from out of the unique experience he had during the interval—an experience which no other Indian could claim—he was urging his University and his countrymen with greater vehemence than he did before to make "freedom the very life-blood of education, the condition of its growth, the secret of its success." If we, as the future historian must do when he writes the history of higher education in Bengal, compare the speeches delivered by Dr. Asutosh in the Viceroy's Council in 1904 before he assumed the responsibilities of office in the University with those he delivered in 1922 and 1923 after having been at the head of its administration for a long number of years, our attention is arrested by the marvellously active career of a constructive genius during a period of nearly twenty years. Sir Asutosh at the time of the initiation of the new measure in 1904 supported it where he thought such support was deserving and opposed it where he thought such opposition was in

the interests of the University. He did not "non-co-operate" after the Bill was passed into law. On the other hand, at a critical juncture when the public mind was full of fears, doubts and suspicion as regards the future of educational development and the effects of the Universities Act on it, he boldly accepted office. The weapons were not his, the end he had in view could not be always consistently obtained with the help of the machinery with which he had to work. He however readily drew up at the invitation of Government a body of Regulations based on the main principles of the Act some of which he no doubt opposed in the Council. The purpose of this article is not to take stock in detail of the great work which he did in spite of the unfavourable provisions of the law. But this much may be said that he set all doubts and fears at rest; his intense idealism was wedded to a policy of practical statesmanship and his administration saw no curtailment of educational facilities but the development of the University on a scale yet unequalled by any sister University in this country. But after all is said and done, the defective constitution against which did Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Asutosh in vain protest is still there—and its defect is all the more patent because of the disappearance of the driving personality of the great educationist. The remedy lies not in attempting to cast aspersions upon the mighty dead but in concentrating our energies and attention to build further on the glorious foundation that has been left to us, to introduce a new era of educational activity, to provide the University with independent administrative bodies on which will be represented different shades of public opinion and educational experience, so that education may spread more and more and improvements introduced from time to time in accordance with the varying needs of the community.¹

AN EDUCATIONIST

¹ A portion of the article was published in the "Puja Special" of *Forward*.

WHAT I AM

I.

If I were I then why this craze
 “ I ” to call what I call I?
 Will it be I when not called I—
 My sore heart's sleepless cry,
 I know this mould, I know this mind,
 I call them I and yet but my.
 If called or not called what avails?
 —My sleepless, sore heart's cry,
 The I that's I—for ever true—
 If creature of my call,
 Then caller ' I ' transcends true “ I ”
 That ever transcends all.
 That I am joy I'm forced to see—
 Compulsion 'tis 'gainst pain—
 If I were not then what can be?
 The water comes 'fore rain.
 This vision none can e'er destroy
 I am Sentience, Being, Joy!
 And Being's One—there's none to tell.
 O, Silence is the Holy Spell!

II.

May I not claim myself as mine,
 O Love, I'm thine in truth
 When I myself am Thine, O Love,
 What's mine is Thine for sooth

My borrowed self, self-tinted all
By Thy will live and die.
O, how ingrate I call then mine
And lordship Thine deny.
All life cries out "Fie! fie!"

III.

The dagger drawn to dig my heart
Unseen is held by Thee.
O, clear the mist that blinds my eye
My love, disguised, to see.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

Reviews

Report of the Imperial Economic Committee on Marketing and Preparing for Market of Foodstuffs produced within the Empire—Fish. (Cmd-2934. Price 6d. Net).

This is the fifth report of the above Committee which deals with the marketing and preparing for market the products of the sea fisheries. It takes stock of the fishery industry of the Empire and its present problems. The main economic characteristics of the fishing industry are outlined. The absence of the worker's control over the material of this industry, the necessity of a specially trained population for fishing and the propinquity of the country to the fishing grounds are its essential features and any country bordering on the sea cannot hope to develop a vigorous fishing industry if the above features are wanting. But every country blessed with these features should attempt to develop it for it is a key industry. It affords the basis for a mercantile marine and creates a love for the kith and kin scattered over widely-spread portions of the globe. During war-time the trawlers can be used as auxiliaries to the Royal Navy. The fishermen can be rapidly recruited for useful service in the Navy. As these incidental advantages can be secured out of the fishing industry its scientific exploitation must be regarded as an important matter and the abundance of food supplies other than fish ought not to minimise the importance of this industry.

The cardinal facts underlying the fishing industry are the extreme perishability of the fish after capture and the erroneous assumption that like wheat, fish cannot go on increasing for ever. Hence the important problem in the fishing industry is the preservation of fish in sound condition till it reaches the final consumer. Without a cheap and economic solution of this part of the problem mere abundance of fish supplies would not be of much avail to any country. The oft-repeated statement is that while intensive cultivation can make available increase of rice or wheat, fish supplies cannot be thus secured. But there are still available virgin areas untapped as yet. A table relating to the value of all sea-fish caught in 1925 in the chief countries of the world is given on page 15. Next follows the foreign sources of fish available for the United Kingdom besides her own indigenous catch and the Empire's share in it. The value of fresh fish imported into Great Britain in 1925 amounted to £, 29,00,000.

The different kinds of fish and the share of Germanic, Icelandic, Swedish, Italian, Danish and Norwegian vessels are analysed. The pelagic fish, (i.e. herring, mackerel, pilchard and sprat) can be caught by nets on the upper waters of the sea. The white fish (cod, haddock, halibut, hake, plaice, turbot) are those that can be caught by dragging nets on the floor of the sea by trawlers. The consumption of the white fish by the British people is increasing and a large part of the pelagic fish is re-exported from England. This change in consumption may be due to the result of variations in retail prices, changes in methods of street hawking, and changes in fashion and custom. White fish has thus become a regular part of the diet and the English Trawlers Federation has not only realised this immense future before it but has already commenced seriously advertising the "Eat more fish" campaign and attempts are made not only to increase the supply but a definite understanding with the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery industry has been arrived at to supplant the foreign importations of fish into Great Britain and the whole national market is to be shared by the Home and the Empire fishing industry.

A description of the work of the British fishing fleets, the area of its operations and the foreign imports are related. The possibility of tapping the western side of the North Atlantic is purely a question of length of voyage and time involved in catching fish and sending it in good condition to the market. Even if the existing varieties of fish diminish as a result of overfishing consequent to improvements in fishing industry by the employment of power-driven fishing vessels, new varieties of fish can be found and a taste cultivated for them.

The change in the technique of industry is next noticed. The development of steam trawler and steam drifter during the last sixty years has resulted in increasing the *per capita* yield of fishermen. Barring the Danes who use smaller motor craft other countries have copied the steam trawler to a greater or lesser degree. The Newfoundland Fishing industry, however, employs the net and the line method in preference to the trawler method which unfortunately proved a commercially non-paying proposition.

Next, the number of people employed in the fishing industry of the United Kingdom, Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces of Canada is estimated. Figures relative to their catch are given. An idea of the fishing season in the different countries is also conveyed. The economic return of the trawler depends on the way in which the respective duties of the mate and the kipper are performed. A good kipper must be aided

by a good mate to increase the productiveness of the industry. The main feature of the trawler industry is the feasibility of introducing centralised management so as to secure the well-known economies of large-scale production. The boat or sailing fishery industry defeats this scope for combination and is consequently less organised than the former.

The after-war depression attending on the fishing industry is mainly due to increasing foreign competition and difficulties in ship-building. Many workers are consequently forced to leave the Maritime Provinces of Canada and become the citizens of the United States of America to find ready employment in the American fishing fleets.

Coming to the present marketing organisation (*i.e.*) the wholesalers at the British ports are in constant touch with the interior retailers and though it is exposed to sale at the ports, at the wholesaler's shop and the retail shop slab, the fish is conveyed rapidly and in a good condition (*i.e.*) iced at least two times before it reaches the final consumer. It is so quickly conveyed that it is available for sale on the very day it is caught. Though cheap and effective transport by railway trucks is secured the supply of closed, ventilated and insulated vans can be improved still further. The filleting of fish at ports, wrapping them in clean oil-paper and packing them in ice is the present custom in Canada, the Newfoundland and the United States of America. Two advantages can be realised out of this form of organisation of trade. Firstly, the fish does not come into contact with ice and, secondly, economic handling of fish supplies would result. The use of bye-products can be secured by this method of organisation. That it is the interest of England to develop this method of organisation and that it would be finally accepted goes without saying. Provided the quality of fish is ensured there is nothing to hinder this type of trading organisation in the fishing industry. Improvements in methods of preserving fish on shipboard would ensure its quality.

The main difficulty in present-day industry is the inability to steady the wholesale prices in spite of possessing a single national market for it where the producers, wholesalers and the retailers are in perfect and constant touch with one another. This inability arises out of fluctuations in supply. It might be argued that it is, however, possible to average out these large fluctuations. But there is no effective means of regulating the arrival of ships at different ports and none can foretell in advance the quality of the fish. To add to these difficulties fish is a perishable commodity and the owners are always eager to sell at once. On account of these special features wholesale prices are beyond the control of the

organisers of the fishing industry in spite of possessing a well organised single national market. A table showing the percentage variations of the eight different kinds of fish at the four chief fishing ports of Great Britain is given on page 38. It amply corroborates the theoretical conclusions drawn above as a study of the features of demand and supply for fish. The variability of wholesale prices undoubtedly leads to a high level of retail prices. Hence the future of the industry depends on (1) the securing of a uniform supply by eliminating alternate gluts and shortages thus (2) imparting greater stability to wholesale prices which would (3) have the desired effect of reducing the retail prices of an important source of food supply. So the all-important thing on which the future destiny of the industry depends is the improving of the storage processes. A uniform supply coupled with better business organisation which secures the gains out of the utilisation of bye-products reduces transport charges and distributes the overhead charges over a large volume of trade, is the main desideratum.

Improvements in the scientific knowledge in the departments of marine biology, hydrography and the arts of fishing would tend to improve the state of fresh fish available for consumption. The correlation of the work of the four marine State-aided laboratories at Plymouth, Millport, Port Erin and Cullcoats together with the scientific research work of the staff attached to the Fisheries Board of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the scientific associations maintained by Canada and Newfoundland through the Permanent International Council for the Exploration of the Sea and the publication of the results is certainly contributing much towards a sound knowledge of the Seas and the conditions governing the life and migration of the fish. The means of catching the fish are also improved to a great extent by perfecting the different kinds of nets employed in catching fish.

Equal progress in the research problems relating to the preservation of fish is also made. Quick freezing with the use of brine would permit the disintegration of the tissues of the fish. Biochemical and physical research must solve the problem of preserving fish at low temperature. It is the task of the engineer to adapt it to commercial conditions. Any success in this line would stabilise the supply of fish, better the quality of it, and cheapen it at the same time. Thus the future evolution in the industry which can be forecasted runs on the following lines. A "factory ship" which immediately attends to the preservation of fish as the supplies are brought to it by the smaller vessels or crafts, and a carrying vessel to the port are essential. Such specialisation of processes leads to

the improvement in the quality of the product, avoiding of waste material and securing oil out of them. Fish meal can also be prepared immediately out of fish waste. If fish is to be sold in distant markets the utilisation of the bye-products is essential. Education of the British housewife to prefer the filleted fish is also necessary. Unless a thorough reorganisation of the British and British North American Fishing industry is made the stabilising of prices, bettering the quality and cheapening of the supplies of fish would not be secured.

Means for effective co-operation between the two parts of the fishing industry in the matter of research are outlined. Two well-equipped research stations, one on the Atlantic side and the other in Great-Britain are necessary. The joint effort in cheapening the cost of research is to be approved and as soon as the problems of preservation of fish are solved the tropical countries and the Southern fisheries can also adopt these processes. Better organisation of the industry should proceed concurrently with any efforts made on the research side.

Suggestions for the improvement of the export trade of the "pelagic fish" of the Irish Free State industry are elaborated on pages 51 to 53. The main idea is to improve the curing process. The cod liver oil contains vitamins and improvement in this line consists in the refining of the oil, eliminating its bad odour, and improving its taste. As fish meal, which is a valuable bye-product arising out of the waste of white fish, is a good feeding stuff for pigs, cows, poultry, and young stock, an attempt to economically develop this product must be made. The live-stock industry would be improved to a great extent by the securing of fish meal which contains proper limit of oil and salt.

Australia can develop the fishing industry as the coastal cities afford a good market for fish. South Africa has already developed the fishery industry and is extending the market for its fish. So far as tropical countries are concerned the previous attempts in this line to develop a fishing industry proved abortive. No fishing industry using power vessels has been developed. But the type of vessel necessary for economical working in the tropical fishery areas has yet to be discovered after continuous experimenting over several years. The transportation and preservation problem are no less important in the tropical regions. Both fish meal and fish fertiliser are of great value and their importance should be realised by the tropical countries. The Malayan Government has access to the fruitful fishery grounds and has at the same time ready access to the markets. It ought to carry on research work which would ultimately be of great value to all tropical countries. These are the

important means by which a paying fishing industry can be developed in the tropical regions.

It would be of some interest to our readers to note that the Indian members of the Committee were Sir A. C. Chatterjee and M. M. Gubbay. The Secretary of the Committee is another Indian Official Mr. D. T. Chadwik. Reference to Indian experiments in the development of a fishing industry are made on pages, 63, 72-73, and 78. Five useful appendices and a map of the chief fisheries of the world are appended to the report. Another unique feature of the report is the unanimous nature of the recommendations made by the members. This should heighten the value of the recommendations offered. If one compares and contrasts the thoroughness with which this Committee has tackled the industry with the feeble and misguided efforts made in India by some of the provinces, namely Bengal, Bombay and Madras, to develop this industry, the hollowness of the pretensions of the heaven-born all-India services under whose direction the efforts were made would be apparent. Again the expenses of the Committee in connection with the preparation of this Report amount to only £475 and the cost of printing and publishing the Report is £152-10s.-6d.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

KAMALA LECTURES.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad, who was appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1926 sometime ago, will commence delivering his lectures from the 12th December, 1927.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS.*

The following gentlemen have been deputed by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts to represent this University at the next Indian Philosophical Congress to be held in Bombay in the third week of December, 1927 :

- Professor S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.
- Professor Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D.
- N. N. Sen Gupta, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.

Professor Radhakrishnan has been elected President of the ensuing Congress.

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SREEGÓPAL BASUMALLIK FELLOW.

Mr. Pramathanath Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., has been appointed Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1927.

LORD HALDANE ON *Neo-Hegelianism*.

We congratulate Dr. Hiralal Haldar on the publication of his work on *Neo-Hegelianism*. The book has been published by Messrs. Heath Cranton, Ltd., 6 Fleet Lane, London, and its price is 25 Shillings net. Lord Haldane has reviewed the book in the following glowing terms :

" This book is a very valuable contribution to the history of thought in the New Century. It is not only admirable in point of style and accuracy of statement, it also gives what was very much wanted, a reasoned account of the idealistic position in its most modern form, distinguishing the standpoints of such writers on philosophy as Green, Bradley and Bosanquet, among others. Hitherto there has been no such account of systems that vary in detail but are at one in their acceptance of and insistence on fundamental principles. The book thus supplies a want which has been apparent to students of modern philosophy and I hope that Professor Haldar's treatment of it will find a large recognition. He has done his work as an Indian Professor, but with a knowledge that is second to that of no other Western study of the problem."



GOORQODASS BANERJEE

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1927



KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM

III

MAN AND MAN'S WILL

In seeking a worthier place in our world-view, to hold good in both East and West, for the will, we considered, in our second article, the willer, the man. And if I now come back to the will, it should be to speak with greater weight, in that I bring with me an ally most indispensable. It is impossible rightly to appraise will without willer. In our Western academies we have long been trying to do so. We have the word willer as well as the word will, but you will probably not find the former word once in any work on psychology, or even on philosophy ! It is perhaps significant here in that, while the West speaks of self, soul, spirit, it does not use the word 'man' as equating these. But India has done so, may still be doing so, and may she ever do so ! And though, in speaking of 'man,' the 'very man,' the 'man-in-man,' I have been handicapped by departing from Western usage, I have felt all along, in addressing Indian readers, that through their traditional word '*puruṣa*' they were keeping step with me as the West might not. In England we have seen but lately a well-known medical writer publish a

thousand pages of an inquiry *In Search of the Soul*; before he comes to the conclusion :—it is truer to say ‘man is soul,’ than ‘man has soul,’—as our world has till now persisted in saying. Had Dr. Hollander been a son of India, I scarcely think it would have taken him so long. So much may we be affected in our view and our work by the want of a word, or by a limit in the use of it !

We have a long way yet to go before the world brings itself to see, that man is soul. But I am not without hope. The other day I read that conclusion stated independently ; the ‘time-spirit’ may one day come to say it always. But if India could be stimulated to teach us to say it, tradition gives her a better jumping-off ground than have we. We shall not ever rest complacent in our view of man as a complex, a ‘bundle’ (*sasāmbhāra*), as the Buddhists said, of body and mind. Dr. Hollander himself inclines too much to seeing what is but a bundle in ‘soul,’ that is, ‘as comprising intellectual capacities, emotions and instinctive impulses—indeed all that appertains to the mind and character of man.’ But the ‘man’ is not just the sum of his ‘comprisings’ or his ‘appurtenances.’ Nor is he even the product of these, as General Smuts’s ‘holism,’¹ improving on the ‘sum’ or ‘bundle,’ would affirm. Man, I would venture to say, was not, as product, dictated to in his evolution by the ‘sum’ ; *he dictates to the sum*. He mandates it ; it does not mandate him. Only if he were matter, could it mandate him. If India, young India, who assimilates from us not always what is really worthiest in Western treasure of knowledge, would concentrate on giving us our lost, our never worthily realized Real ‘the man,’ this were a great gift indeed. For even where, in Europe, there is the double in words, as there was in Latin : *homo, vir*, e.g., in German *Mensch, Mann*, usage does not give us, in the former, the ‘*puruṣa*.’ German vision has become as limited as ours ; ‘Mensch’ is but man in

¹ See his recent publication ; I forget the exact title,

the mass. But I am concerned with *each one* in the mass, with man the person. We are but at the midway stage of knowledge, gripping the many in the one ; we have not yet redescended into the new, the stronger grip of the individual. Where the individual is properly grasped, there the man becomes rightly worthed as 'man.'

In this sense India has both word and tradition. But the young are impatient, and rightly so, of tradition. I am with them in wishing to see tradition evolving into a new stage (as tradition is ever, if very slowly, doing). And here we have the better of her as yet in one word, even though we are neglecting our heritage. India used not, I have said, to speak of the 'man' as willer, nor that, in his self-directing activity, he was all the time 'willing.' She sees him as thinker, speaker, doer. But without the right bond underlying all the three, the first two are separated from the third. Doing, as such, is of the machine, is of the material. We are concerned with the 'man' as doer. To equate doing with thought and speech, we have to show all three as of the 'man.' And it is as fundamentally willer, that he does each of the three.

How strangely and pathetically interesting is the history of human ideas ! Eastern insight sees the man as ultimately more real than his functions and factors. But lacking a further insight into his nature, it often represents him as straining away from his doing and deeds, as seeking deliverance from them, and seeing in man the contemplator. Western insight does not shrink from the deed, from *karma*, as does the monastic of the East ; it inclines to see man fulfilling himself, working out his salvation more in his deeds than does the East, yet it fails to grasp what is the ultimately real in the doer. And herein, failing also, Buddhism anticipated the West.

Without willer, I have said, there can scarcely be a worthy treatment of will. I find no satisfying handling of the subject in English analysis of will. This has now, so to speak, run-to-seed, in schemes of animal impulses and instincts. 'Will' has

been pronounced as belonging to the early Victorian scheme of 'faculties,' that is, as constituting what may be called a separate drawer in the cabinet of mind. It is sought to oust it by such questionable terms as 'hormé' and 'libido.' But neither in such works is the subject treated as the self-directing of a willer, as inner activity of a willer. The procedure adopted is, we may say, by transverse sections of 'mental' process. Or if a source be referred to, it is frankly called 'animal,' not human. Conventional language must, it is true, be used in describing, for the normal man's experience is the main subject, and conventional language has never eliminated the man from man's experience. But he is talked of only to be dropped out of the argument. Hume, for instance, in his famous attempt to 'catch myself,'—with which he has tricked so many in East and West—accepts as true what he experiences as 'his heat' or 'his cold,' 'his loving or hating,' but fails to discern, under his very (spiritual) nose, the 'I' in virtue of whom alone the feeling or emotion has any existence whatever. Neither feeling nor emotion, as such, is present *unless there be first the 'I,' the 'man.'* He put the cart before the horse, then unyoked and dismissed the horse. The cart makes no progress.

Neither does our psychology. One psychologist of 'distinction' we had yesterday, who sought to restore to psychology the 'man' it failed to bring along; when it was divorced from philosophy. "Why," said James Ward in effect, "since the 'I' is implicit in all analysis of mind, and analysis should be exhaustive of its field, why ignore the 'I'? Why hide it away?" It was a fine start in a great reform. But he weakened his position, first by verbal concessions, which his rivals trotted out against him, and then, by not recasting the scheme of Victorian psychology, with its exposition, as a study not of mind, but of man the minder. So far as I can see, he failed to secure any following. The science was trending in a manless direction, and its tide he did not stem.

He had a special opportunity when dealing with will.

He, if any one, might have seen that here, if anywhere, the man must be brought in. Yet here he brought no 'more-word.' Following the usual plan, he took will at the end, when he had spent himself already in emphasis. With academic lecturers, as with Indian commentators, much fulness at the start involves a shortage in time, or space, or energy at the close. Is it sad, or only amusing to think, how much in young thinkers the current neglect and ignorance of the nature of will may not be due to this hustling to make an end? Do I merely conjecture? Well, I have been present at such hustlings; I can hear the teacher say with a wry smile: 'I omit time for lack of it.' Space had absorbed overmuch of it. We know how important, in learning how we come to fill—or *deem we fill*—space, is the part played in that learning, by touch first teaching sight, and then by sight representing touch. Time has to take a back-seat, is referred to hearing only. And so we *never came to hear* the teacher's stimulating and suggestive thought on time at all!

In Alexander Bain's psychology the 'man' was shelved, but he made a notable start as to will. He preceded his discussion of sense and thinking by a glance at those actions, which do not seem to be made as a result of foregoing mental causes, especially the exuberant actions of the young. 'Spontaneous activity' he called it, an excellent term had he looked more closely at its implications. 'Mea sponte'—the Latin mother-idiom—forces *both* the 'mea,' the 'mine,' the man *and* his will, to the front! Here is no mere interplay of nervous and muscular discharge. The man, yes and the mere animal also, is in such actions expressing joyous energy with will-play in the healthy young body. But thereupon Bain dropped the will, picking it up again in the current vogue at the end of his work, after a long analysis of 'intellect' and 'emotions' with all the bottom knocked out of it. That thought and emotion are but modes, serious or trifling, of that same will-play is not conceded, and 'the man' only plays the part of a fiction of language.

Were we to begin our psychologies with 'the man' as an inexpugnable factor in all our conscious experience, were we to show all the other factors as the man's self-expression of a self-directing towards or away from—but fundamentally towards—we should not cross-section our work on psychic life, we should get a unity and a cosmos where now we have a chaotic manifold. We should supersede the tripartite division of yesterday, and the invertebrate treatment of to-day. Ward, let it not be forgotten, did attempt a unitary scheme at the outset of his psychology. He could do so, for he took 'the man.' But he left out the will, left it out, that is, from its proper place. His scheme was one of 'Self and Presentations to Self,' feeling and action being appended as results. Now this was just the old-world view—I have enlarged on it elsewhere¹—of man as spectator, rather than willer and worker, man as watching his world-pageant go by and naming it, as Adam did the beasts and Gotama Buddha the factors of mind. It leaves out, does such a scheme, what Adam did to the beasts, or with them, and why. It loses sight of the fact, that man only so watched *because* he wanted to act, to get, to become. Fundamental alone is movement, and the inner, the incorporeal movement or activity is most rightly expressed as will. For this inner, or psychic activity is at bottom effort to get, to win, to become. This is why we call it self-directing. This is why, without the Self, we can only treat of it as a merely physical force. Will is the act of 'mandating a mandate by the mandater.' To choose, to worth, to mandate are all inconceivable functions to impute to a physical force only.

And man's will is at work when he is thinking, whatever be the mode of his thought. This was curiously overlooked by Joué and the auto-suggestionists, as I have said elsewhere.² They require the patient, when in a given physical state, so

¹ *Buddhist Psychology*, 2nd ed. (supplement) Epilogue; *Will and Willer*, Ch. I, p. 8 ff.

² *The Will to Peace*, pp. 39 ff.

to dispose his inner (psychical) world as to imagine he is what he is *wishing (as patient) to become. This, they say, will prevail where will cannot. But they are using will in a too narrow sense, in the sense, to use a medical term, of 'synergy.' Nothing in either the French or English language justifies this forcing a contrast between 'will' and being just 'willing to imagine.' Nor could anyone deny that the prescribed work of imagination was other than a 'voluntary' act. Thinking in any form is man willing with order, system, articulation, enunciation of what he himself experiences whether this be as true, or as beautiful, or as better, or as their opposites. And feeling, emotion is the *man reacting* to the work of will in worthing. I have compared it to a reverberation, to the vibrating of muscles working—mere physical terms, which do not really help. We can understand what our books have called somatic resonance, bodily reverberation. But in the very man's reaction we are up against an ultimate, where description in terms of anything else is mere analogy and metaphor. *We are the man*, we are the ultimate, whether we be willer willing or willer reacting. Our psychologists have found in feeling the state most unmixedly subjective. But this is largely because their view of man has been so limited: firstly as to the man himself, secondly as to his inner world being wholly not partly active, wholly not partly dynamic. They have tended to look upon feeling as passive. Yet there is no phase of our inner world, in suffusion, in diffusiveness, in 'expansiveness,' so dynamic as feeling. We look on the word emotion too much in the way of the new French passive participle *émotionné*. Feeling is reacting, not the having reacted. We may say that the 'man' is never passive. When the body is utterly passive, it is, as his medium of self-expression, at its lowest terms. Either the man is needing it relatively less, is playing slowly, softly on it; or it is not in a state of physical efficiency as instrument. In sleep the 'man' is not passive, but that problem I cannot take up here. The West has much

yet to learn in it ; so has the East, only less. The West will grow wise in it when it worths the man ; the West will grow wise in it when it worths the will.

Is there no one, in either East or West, who will give us a psychology not of mind or of consciousness, but of Man the willer, a psychology of Man and Man's Will ? One thinker we have yet with us who some years back showed a noble impatience over our denseness. He made appeal to the little world of psychologists—but, alas ! to no wider world as well,—with an essay on a scheme of 'Conational Psychology.'¹ In it he tried to show will, conceived in a wide sense as 'conation,' as the fundamental factor in all phases of mind. I do not know who first used conation, I think it was Sir William Hamilton. Dr. Johnson knew it not. It was to mean tendency to act, trying, or striving—the German *streben*—so that we might have a simple elementary term, without the mixture of feeling there is in desire, or the intellectual mixture there is in judging, or resolve, and so forth.

From the point of view of the academy this is very plausible. If psychology is to be ranked as a science, it is not reasonable to grudge her technical terms.....And yet, by her very subject, it is for her to walk, not in the grove or the Stoa, but in the marketplace, yea, in the home. Our age is feeling this. Our press is feeling this. It is flooding us with book and with article on the mind of man, not only on the body of man. Health in mind and body is the cry of to-day ; the need of the new world after long days of fearful waste and suffering. The general reader, the general listener—in wants to know. Psychology *cannot afford* to be technical, if she is to be efficient, if she is to help man to know himself. She does not need to be technical ; if she is worth her salt, she can quite well help him in the terms he knows well. She has to make these terms more, not less efficient, wider, not narrower. Let

¹ *British Journal of Psychology*, December, 1911 : 'Foundations and Sketch-plan of a Conational Psychology.'

her use will in its full scope. Let her make a great word of 'Well,' not a feeble adverb. Let her find a great and simple word for 'Werden!' Let her deepen 'man' to mean man's very nature, not body only, not mind only, nor the sum, nor a complex, nor a product of these.

Let her do all this as training, as mothering, as preparing the general reader, the general listener-in for the fate that will one day be at hand: the fate, the day of the new mandate, the day when he will rise on the stepping stones of old creeds to receive new light on life, on the worlds, new light that he will receive, will accept in proportion as he has been looking for it, training for it.

I do not find that Professor Alexander's Conational Psychology won any more followers than did Ward's Self-headed Psychology. I only wish it had. I speak with diffidence of one so wise and by me so honoured, but I venture to think, that such want of result as actually followed was due to three things:—he was timid and tentative where he might have been firm and uncompromising; he did not posit the 'man' in the forefront, but introduced him incidentally, as it were by a side door (on the 19th page and in a note); he used for his central idea a weak ineffective term. He confessed to a desire to supersede cognition by conation. But his theory called on him to go further and to make conation supersede mind. 'Mind is made up of conations'; he wrote;..... 'there is nothing in the mind but acts'; 'every mental act is a conation and is nothing else':—these are emphatic uncompromising sayings. And if a reformer, if a pioneer do well to call a spade a spade, instead of some less true, but prevailing name, then in this author's diction conation should have practically ousted mind, when used in a more than specific sense. But it did not.. do so. Moreover it is an awkward word; it names but thing, not act, not agent. And it is of mushroom growth. These *together* make it unfit to name a great fact, one of the biggest facts of our life. My own teacher made a similar effort to

push the word 'intellection' for thinking or cognition. It was doomed to failure, and for the same reasons. He judged that cognition involved 'object' too much for psychology, *i.e.*, consideration of process. Professor Alexander held that will also involved 'object,' and was therefore presumably too specific, too little general a term.

The anxiety of psychologists to wean their subject from its mother is to me a little pathetic. It is an artificial screening off during analysis, which may at the moment be very useful to the pupil. *Beyond that* it is cramping, and in the long run futile. For the psychologist has more than the classroom to consider. And that is the progress, the growth of world-ideas. The world is waiting for him, waiting for him to give it, not analytic cross-sections of life, but world-mandates, 'mondial' mandates, about this very big thing in life which it generally calls mind, intelligence. If he will tell the world that this is really and more truly 'conation,' and why, the world will probably pass by on the other side. It has done so. If psychologists will take a great, old word such as men all use, use especially in crises big and little, a word hallowed by its association with a widely spread creed,¹ and if they will admit this word in their analysis to the wide meaning it can bear, and not nail it down to the narrower meaning it often (but not always) does bear,—if in a word they will use 'will' as the general name for the inner or psychic activity of man the willer,—then they will call to men with more chance of being heeded, then will they be bringing to men a mandate pregnant with the future, then will they be showing men what a sword to cut down ignorance and evil they have in their own, their inherent nature. A technical term takes root quickly when it words some conquest over that which is not ourselves. But it may be otherwise, when man is called upon to reshape his very self-knowledge. Easier, quicker will it be

¹ "Thy will be done...not my will, but Thine be done,"

for him to do when the names in the reshaping are already used in that self-knowledge. Such are the names : 'man' and man's 'will.'

I said above : such as all men use. But that this is not true of India I have done my best more than once to show. That India could have shaped a true word for 'will' and did not do so, is an important historical fact, which writers (and translators) should not either evade or glide over as they so far have done. But I am not fanatical on the subject ; I am no less keen to worth the makeshift terms that we find. Let us briefly review these. And let my point herein be noted : we do not find man generally described in terms of any one of them, with one solitary exception. The general description of man in nature or agency will be in other terms (such as those in which my first article opened).

The solitary exception is that "man is made of '*kratu*,' " "consists of *kratu*"—*kratumayaḥ puruṣaḥ*—This is in the sayings attributed to Śāṇḍilya in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Dictionaries give *kratu* as meaning 'purpose, plan, design.' Max Müller translates it here by 'will' ; Hume, by 'purpose' ; Deussen and Bloomfield, by 'insight' ; Tatya, by 'reflection.' The word is plentifully used in Vedic writings and, with regard to India generally, tests my position to some extent. Had Indian teachers realized the truth and importance in Śāṇḍilya's saying, it is possible that they might have reshaped their view of man, and have fostered the use of the word in its Vedic meaning. But that meaning seems to have died out, and *kratu* to have become merely or mainly a term of ritual. Anyway, whereas it was a word very suitable for the vocabulary of early Buddhism, whereas it was a word which it is hard to conceive the Founder not using, had it been current in his day, we do not find it in a Pali form in any of the sayings in the Pali books. It is highly probable that, as a psychical term, it had then become as obsolete as, in England, another valuable psychical term, the term 'inwytt' also became obsolete.

The somewhat similar, if weaker, compound term *saṃkalpa* ; Pali :—*sankappa*, seems to have been replacing it. It is not a Three-Veda word ; it first appears in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. It has the meaning of purpose no less than *kratu* ; it suggests 'thought' at least as much as 'wish-to-do' ; it suggests work of mind when confronted with need of action, that is, of overt action. Hence translators are seldom at one how to render it, as I have shown elsewhere. Now this word was current, it may be said, in Gotama's day. It forms a 'limb' or aspect of the 'Way.' And though the limbs of the Way called the 'eightfold' may well have been an expansion made by the Sangha of the more probable threefold, older division of human action, so often ascribed elsewhere to the Founder, it is very possible that this expansion was made before the end of his long life. Elsewhere the word occurs seldom, but always its meaning is dynamic. Thus in the Sutta-nipāta we see the aged loving disciple Pingiya telling how, his body inert, he hies in thought, " by *sankappa*'s going," ever to the beloved man.¹ Again we read : " Is his mind (*manas*) well aimed as to all creatures ? Is his *sankappa* as to the desired and the undesired under control ? " ² The satisfied person is said to have his *sankappa*'s fulfilled.³ And the word is used in two other categories, both concerned with conduct. The later definition of *sankappa* in Abhidhamma is also dynamic, at least as much as it is the opposite. It is made an equivalent of *vitakka*, which is an active, attentive aspect of mind ; as such it is likened to fixating, focussing, setting thought on to the object.⁴

This is not without value in a gospel of the will as was the WAY. But this is all. Save in the numberless reiterations of the Way as eightfold, *sankappa* plays a very thin part, and, separately, less use is made of it than of any of the other seven 'limbs.'

¹ Verse 1144.

² *Majjhima-Nikāya*, twice.

³ *Ibid.*, ver. 531.

Dhamma-Saṅgāṇi, § 21.

• But, it will be said, what of that other compound: 'sankhārā's.' And what of its first, and perhaps therefore its dominant item: 'cetanā'?

As to *cetanā*, a word which in structure is simply 'thinking,' it is true that it has come, in modern and possibly mediaeval Buddhist schools, to stand for the Western word will or volition. It is possible that, in course of the growth of thought and word, the lack and the need of such a term had come to be felt. But in the Pali scriptures this feeling is not manifest. It is true that once *cetanā* is called *kammaṃ*, but then all mind, all thinking is rightly called *kammaṃ*, *manokammaṃ*, and the point of the text¹ is that *cetanā* is action of mind: 'having thought (or purposed), we act in thought, word and deed.' Together with *cetas*, *cetanā*, like *manas*, has to do double duty for thought and will.

And as to *sankhārā*, a word which is not Vedic, and, at least as applied to our inner life, must have been new in Gotama's day,—we have seen the same thing happen even in our day with the word 'complex'—it means not a force such as is will, but any mental manifold, any mental compounding. The notion of activity is present, and to bring this out, I have substituted 'activities,' and 'synergies,' for the more static 'syntheses' of my earlier work. But the emphasis in the term is in the 'manifold' rather than in the activity. It must be remembered that the Buddhists were what we would now call pluralists, keenly interested, with the spirit of their age, in the manifold and the analysis thereof. It was the *many in man*, not the man, that drew them. Their interest herein was that of the doctor in disease. Both compound action and the compound thing were impermanent, woeful, not the 'man.' The Well they sought they came to word later as the 'uncompounded datum'—Nirvana.

So far then we have not lit upon a simple equivalent for either will or willer. Now when once there is purpose, aim,

¹ *Anguttara-Nikāya*, iii, 415.

plan, there *has been will at work* ; there is now emergence. For that matter India is not found speaking of man even as planner, purposer, aimer. Let us fall back on the words *preceding* his action as such. There is, I have said; desire : *kāma*. Here is a strong simple word that might well have served as does our will. In one passage only, to the best of my knowledge, does it so serve :—‘ Man is altogether *kāma* ; as is his *kāma* so is his *kratu* ; as is his *kratu* so is his *karma* ; as is his *karma* so is his destiny.’¹ It is a noble and pregnant utterance, foreshadowing in its last clause much of India’s religious teaching. But as to its first clause, the level of truth was not maintained. The Vedas had already declared *kāma* to be ‘the first seed of mind.’² Here we have the static worthing of man’s inner world preoccupying the later sounder position of the Upaniṣad reformer. And later usage worsened *kāma* to mean the urge to sense-pleasure. Religion, coming to take its stand on the moral betterment in man, found in it no worthy instrument.

Chanda practically shared the same fate. Almost the Pāli scriptures suggest an effort to salve it from sensuous uses, and worth it as will, or at least as worthy desire. We even have it guarded later by the prefix *dhamma*-, ‘righteous desire.’ I do not value its apparent promotion in the Iddhi-pāda formulas ; it will there have originally meant ‘mantra,’ its other meaning ; the presence of *virīya* almost justifies this conclusion. But nowhere does it really rank above just ‘wish’ ; nowhere is it given any important place in man’s nature or conduct ; it is often made equivalent to *rāga*, and the saint is said to have laid it aside. It was too suggestive of the more radical *trāṇā* to commend itself to the ideal of the monk.

Then there are the words for modes of will, the words for ‘effort, endeavour, energy. Here we see a notable contribution by Buddhist thought. Here we see how Buddhism needed

¹ Section I.

² *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 4, 4, 8.

the wording of will, how largely its teaching had been at first shaped to be a training of man as willer, how far from true it is to speak of it as an unmixed Quietism, or pessimism, albeit it came to be largely the one and the other. *Viriya* and *padhāna* are worthy makeshifts for will; the former is peculiarly Buddhist from the first; *padhāna* is not solely a Buddhist term, yet it was chosen for the formula best showing the attempt at systematic will-training in the teaching. As such it is always called the right effort (*samma* =). To *virīya* there was not only given a place in the expanded formula of the Way, it was also made one of the five spiritual faculties (offset doubtless to the five senses); a host of interesting equivalents go to describe it in *Abhidhamma*,¹ and to it is given man-value, agent-value, in the word *viriyavant*, *padhānavant*, albeit such use is very rare and perhaps poetical only:

*so viriyavā padhānava dhiro tādī.*²

I have called the evangel, starting what we know as Buddhism, an appeal to man the willer, that is, the seeker after, the chooser of the Better, who inevitably becomes better in choosing the better. I called this a great opportunity, missed because of two things: the traditional view of man as radically thinker, and the vehicle of monk-monopoly.³ In the last article I have tried to show how the vehicle missed the right 'Way' by dropping the 'man.' Here I have showed how the vehicle, handicapped from the start by having no fit word for will, tried to some extent to make good by a fairly worthy emphasis on makeshift terms. After all, you will say, the Buddhists were aiming at the evolution of the perfected man, the arahān, or even a Buddha. And for this, individual effort, individual resolve were essential.

This is true. But note how they cut the ground away from

¹ *Dhamma Saṅgahī*, § 18.

² *Sutta Nipāta*, ver. 581.

³ Section I, June 1927.

under their feet. For their perfect man they had no worthy conception of the very man, the man-in-man. This was no unseen very-real, akin in nature to That Whom he sought, expressing himself by will-, or mind-force in the seen body. There was but a compound of mind and body—so it came to be held—and the only worthy perfecting was of the mind. Yet this was expressly held to be ‘not of you,’ not the very man (*attan*). And since all that was body and mind was *anitya*, subject to birth and death, the only way to conceive the perfect man, *i.e.*, mind, was as the done, the ended, the completed, the will-less, the done with life, done with the better, done with the yet to be, the yet to become. The formulas describing the saints and saintship show this very clearly.

Let us not quarrel with Buddhism because it took as its ideal the man made perfect. Is there any other religious ideal so worthy as this? Where we may join issue is with those Buddhists who cramp and contract that ideal. It is a cramping of that ideal to judge that any man can attain, or can ever have attained perfection on earth, so that at death, even if he come not again to earth—that may well be—he ceases to be man, he ceases to become.

Of this more hereafter. Had the followers of the Founder and of his worthiest fellow-workers grasped the very truth, which, in spite of want of the word—the new bottle for the new wine—he tried to teach in ‘the Way,’ I think they would have found fit words. They could have taken up old words, like *kratu*, or framed new ones. Language, I repeat, is strewn with these increments. Some man in India, long after the beginnings of her literature, brought in *saṃskāra*; some man brought in *saṃsāra*; some man converted *hita* into its meaning of welfare, and we could, any of us, quote other cases. And it is not always, if ever, the inventor of the new who finds the fit word. Ask Signor Marconi! It is the men who are to the fore in worthing, and taking up what he has thought and uttered.

But the after-men of Buddhism were not worthing as of central importance what their founder tried to say in terms of the Way. It is a very tragedy, but not found in Buddhism alone. They were monks whose central theme was that the world is ill, and this was the world they had left, left the growth of it and the working with it and fellow-sympathy with it, brotherhood with it. Will, the will to become—how were they likely, with such views, to find a fit word? They only lit upon *trṣṇā*, *taṇhā*, for 'will' meant more life, and that, even in any world, was in the long run ill. Other worlds, as ways for ever nobler exercise of will, were no more appreciated. Life in them must be met by *nirodha*: stopping; the will to live must be stopped. They dropped the man, wayfarer through the worlds. Was it likely that they would seek to name man's will which is the man's most essential self-expression?

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA

The general belief of all the European adventurers who, in the fifteenth century, began their "quest of the Indies" was that they were to accomplish the discovery of a new way to this goal. The intercourse between India and Europe through Egypt, or overland with the Mediterranean, goes back to the earliest times of recorded history. A succession of political convulsions in both continents interrupted communications for centuries and led up to the period when it might be said with truth that India had to be rediscovered by Europe. That fresh discovery was gradual; and, although the scenes they visited lay far to the north, the Papal envoys in the thirteenth century, who visited the Court Camps of the Mongol Khans and at the same time the residence of the Venetian, Marco Polo, at Cambalue, the modern Peking, all contributed in different degrees to increase the general desire to reach still unknown divisions of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Without doubt the absence of an exit by water at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean complicated the situation. This defect in Nature left no choice to Europeans but the arduous and perilous overland route across Asiatic Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, until the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama turned the Cape of Good Hope and opened up the Indian Ocean in 1497. The immediate result of that grand discovery was the creation of a Portuguese Empire in India by Albuquerque which remained undisturbed by other Europeans during the whole of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese termed their possessions an Empire, but they represented more correctly a trade monopoly first conferred by Hindu Kings and subsequently ratified by the Mughal Emperors.

After the Portuguese, the Dutch and English entered the field, their intrusion into the Portuguese sphere commencing

with the closing years of the sixteenth century. But the Dutch passed on to more Eastern scenes leaving to others the contentions that arose on the Western coast of India.

There is no more fascinating chapter in Anglo-Indian history than that recording the visit of English envoys to the Court of the Mughal Emperors to establish a commercial connection with India. Never before in English history had the idea of commercial expansion in the East become so dominant as it was towards the end of the sixteenth century, and it was a legitimate ambition on the part of the English to take effectual steps to establish a distinctly English trade in those regions where other European nations were claiming an undue commercial influence and monopoly. That the enterprise ultimately assumed a national character is due to the impetus which the early pioneers gave to activities and plans for securing the desired end. The first Englishman in India of whom there is any record was the Reverend Thomas Stevens, S.J., of Winchester and New College, Oxford, who joined the Jesuit Order to become Rector of their College at Salsette in 1579. It is doubtful whether he would have aided any of the early English traders, who represented a Protestant Power, even if he ever had knowledge of them, but at least he must have let the Indians know that he was not of Portuguese nationality. Certainly some curiosity existed in Western India about the unknown English before their first representative set foot in that country. The dawn of English trade with the East Indies dates from the first voyage of James Lancaster in 1591. To Ralph Fitch must be accorded the honour of being the "pioneer Englishman" who went to the Court of Akbar armed with a royal letter and succeeded in obtaining some practical results. The accounts which he and other English envoys give of the Court of the Mughal Emperors form a series of fascinating glimpses into Indian history and throw valuable sidelights on the conditions of life under Mughal rule. John Mildenhall visited the Mughal Court, after an interval of

twenty years. He was a man of altogether different character from Fitch; of unscrupulous methods and somewhat impeachable morals. Mildenhall assumed the rule of an accredited envoy from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. William Hawkins arrived in India in August, 1608, entrusted with a letter written by King James requesting Jahangir to grant reasonable liberty to the English that they might trade and establish a factory at Surat. He was well received on his arrival in India and soon came to be regarded as the representative of a people of whom much had been heard, but who had seldom been hitherto welcomed to Indian shores. In spite of opposition from the Portuguese and Dutch, Hawkins was allowed to reside in high favour at the Mughal Court. The Emperor Jahangir gave him the rank of a *mansabdar* with a yearly allowance of £3,200 and the former further showed his interest by endeavouring to provide him with a wife in the person of a daughter of an Armenian Christian. Hawkins' friend William Finch came out with him in the *Hector*. During his short stay in India Finch was able to collect an extraordinary amount of topographical information concerning the cities and towns visited by him. These men and those who followed afterwards were the real founders of a political situation unprecedented in the world's history and they paved the way for that later generation of Britons who, under more favourable circumstances, carried forward the flag of Empire to a magnificent consummation of unchallenged supremacy, more extensive than the dominions of Akbar or Aurangzib. Who can doubt then, that these pioneers are worthy of a place in the illustrious roll of Empire-builders?

All these early travellers set out on their adventurous journeys inspired by a common motive. That was the desire to bring their own country into contact with India for the promotion of trade. The desire,—even the very thought—of conquest was completely absent from their minds. There was rivalry between the different nations of Europe, but all equally desired to obtain the favour of the rulers of India and to

conciliate the goodwill of her people. In regard to the latter object there was no difficulty. The peoples of India displayed goodwill and good feeling towards the foreigners. The national spirit was distinctly friendly and hospitable. The Xenophobia so rampant in China was conspicuously absent and what was true in the sixteenth century is unfortunately less true to-day. The spirit of India was frank and prone to welcome.

These travellers, or at least the majority of them, arrived in India at a remarkable moment. A new and foreign government had been recently established and a dynasty of conquerors exercising imperial power was on the throne. Under such circumstances it would not have been surprising if Europeans had been regarded with suspicion and shown little tolerance. But it happened that the early Mughal Emperors were men of remarkable talent with broad views and a freedom from religious prejudice very exceptional among Mohammedans. They were so tolerant in religious matters as to show an individual tendency even towards Christianity. In this impartiality they presented a striking contrast to the Christians themselves; for between Catholics and Protestants there was an unbridgeable gulf of antipathy admitting of neither tolerance nor concession. It may have been this very exhibition of Christian bigotry that arrested the tendency of Akbar and his immediate successors to adopt in part or altogether the tenets of that creed brought so persistently under their notice by the Portuguese Jesuits and other emissaries of the Church of Rome. For it is only fair to state that the English and the Dutch, representing the new or Protestant division among Christians, displayed no desire to proselytise. It is interesting to speculate what might have resulted in India if their efforts had been successful. If that conversion had taken place it would have had an extraordinary effect on the India of the present day and would have prevented the communal animosity now so prominent. The history of India might have been totally different. But this was not destined to be.

Having reached India first by land and then by sea what did these early travellers find? First of all, they found a vast and productive country full of remarkable scenery which had all the charm of novelty. This country, which after all was not so very different from their own, being only more favoured in climate and soil, was inhabited by people with the same essential attributes of civilisation as themselves. The population was clearly amiable, hospitable and pacific. So far as the people went the new-comers soon discovered that they need have no misgivings. Trouble if or when it should develop would not come from that direction.

But after all, strangers in a new country must secure recognition not so much from the people as from the established government. By a favourable concatenation of circumstances the highest representatives of that government were disposed, in the initial period of European intercourse at least, to be benevolent and accommodating. This may very possibly have been due to no better reason than that the Mughals regarded the English travellers, with their requests for favours and privileges, as contributing to their own greatness, and as proving how far their reputation had spread. The travellers saw enough to justify that reputation. They found a magnificent court with a severe and imposing etiquette different from the usages of Europe but still in its ceremonial aspect not inferior to their own. There was a more lavish display of wealth; pomp and parade were on a larger scale; and jewels with gold and silver were employed with a prodigality beyond the experience of any Europeans. As the minds of men are influenced by what they see we need not be surprised that these early travellers carried home tales of the ineffable splendour and incalculable wealth of the Mughal Emperors. From them Milton borrowed some of his finest imagery :

“ Where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.”

If the Mughal Emperors had desired to impress the visitors with a sense of their magnificence they succeeded to a degree far beyond their knowledge. It took many generations to discover that behind the splendour and the majesty of the Empire there was little real power but an ever increasing canker of corruption and decay.

It must be conceded, however, that the reigns of the first Mughal Emperors were marked by considerable literary activity. The man of letters and the poet were in high favour at the Courts of those rulers. The great Emperor Bābur set the example by compiling his own *memoirs*, which form one of the most remarkable human documents in any language. Persian poets, ready to supply distichs and elegies at brief notice, were prominent among the pensioners that flocked round the ruler—who found relaxation from the exhaustion of warfare in listening to their half-flattering, half-admonitory strophes. Thus the Persian language ousted the older Arabic from the Moslem Court and acquired a pre-eminence which endured for three centuries. The second phase of this literary activity was even more remarkable than the first, for Akbar the Great decided to give the record of his reign by the pen of another, and he found the ideal historian in his Chief Secretary Abul Fazl. It is interesting to note that the early English travellers arrived in India towards the close of this epoch of literary intensity, but there is no reason to believe that Hawkins or Sir Thomas Roe ever heard of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and certainly they were not handed copies of that work for presentation to their Sovereign, the sapient James I, as would have been done in more modern times. Although the accounts given by the English travellers are of secondary importance, they were free from Mughal influence and rested on their own powers of observation. The detachment of their impressions as foreign travellers constitutes the value of their reports, which are indispensable for a correct estimate of the Indian authorities of the period and also enable us to estimate the value of those other impressions recorded by the Jesuit

Fathers concerning the Mughal Court and administration. It is by this comparison and combination that a faithful picture can be obtained of the state of India under the Mughal Emperors when the English began their enterprises within the realm.

HARIHAR DAS

INDIAN BAZAARS

All night they travel 'neath the stars
To reach these Indian Bazaars
Down from the dark and ancient plains
They come and brave the tropic rains.
The sandy plains left far behind
A Mecca for their goods they find
They spread upon the dusty floor
Soft carpets made in Mirzapore
Bokhara silks in strange designs
Praying mats with holy signs,
Amber beads on silken strings,
Brooches, clasps and turquoise rings,
Deadly knives with hafts of jade
Some far-off skilful craftsman made.
They mix the priceless with the cheap
All in a gaudy tangled heap
O! What is the lure and strange-delight
With which, in the silent tropic night
I gloat o'er the daggers, silks and jars,
Bought from those Indian Bazaars?

LELAND J. BERRY

SOUTH AFRICAN DIPLOMACY AND INDIA

With the appointment of the Rt. Hon. Shastri, as the High Commissioner of India to the Union of South Africa, Indo-South African relations have entered into a new and significant stage. From the international point of view, its importance is second only to India's participation in the League of Nations. From the standpoint of inter-imperial relations of India within the British Empire its importance is even superior to the inauguration of the appointment of High Commissioner of India in London ; because the High Commissioner of India in England is not clothed with the power of transacting any diplomatic business between India and the British Empire, but he generally acts as purchasing agent for the Government of India in England and performs such tasks which the Secretary of State for India and India Office do not regard to be important enough to be transacted by them ; whereas the High Commissioner of India in the Union of South Africa will have to tackle India's foreign relations with South Africa and the problem of Indian rights and Indian Immigration. In this article, I wish to discuss some phases of South African diplomacy and their possible bearings in future Indo-South African relations.

(I)

A little over twenty-five years ago the Boers fought desperately to uphold their independence against British aggression. In the battlefields they were outnumbered by British forces ; and they were finally subjugated through the application of the policy of starvation under the cover of so-called " concentration camps." The Boers lost the war ; but they under the guidance of astute leaders, as General Botha, General Smuts and others, immediately began the work of " transforming the defeat into a glorious victory." Through diplomacy the South African people, the Boers, the Dutch and others—are marching to their

destiny of independence, as a part of the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations, with full right to secede from the British Empire whenever they choose to do so.

As things stand to-day the people of South Africa are virtually independent. The British people who have settled in South Africa cannot rule the country without the co-operation of the Boers—the Dutch; and it is the Boers who are ruling the country. It will be worth-while for Indian statesmen to minutely study the many-sided activities and carefully worked-out plans of Boer leaders which have resulted in the virtual Boer conquest of the British colonies in South Africa without firing a shot. I shall try to mention a few outstanding points regarding this transformation.

1. Just as soon as the Boer leaders realised that they could not fight the British and preserve their independence, they agreed to surrender not as slaves but with the understanding that they would not be deprived of their essential rights as free people, living within the British Empire.

2. Immediately after the conclusion of the Boer War, men like General Botha and others began to work so that the Boers should secure full autonomy within the British Empire, as Canada enjoyed at that time. During the ministry of Sir Campbell Bannerman, the Boers were given this privilege; and the former enemies of Britain who led armies against British forces, assumed partial political ascendancy in the affairs of the state.

3. Then came the movement for the federation of British States in South Africa—Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State—into the South African Union. Many British statesmen thought that by promoting the federation scheme, they would, in any case, be at least able to hold the balance of power and preserve imperial interests in South Africa. The South African statesmen agreed to the formation of the Union; but they also planned to work that the Union would be ruled by South Africans for South African interests first and imperial interests afterwards.

4. All the South African leaders, irrespective of party affiliations, were for South African independence. They worked for the same cause although they differed in their tactics. Botha-Smuts party followed the path of moderation and co-operation with the British Africans, whereas the other South African leaders like General Hertzog and others took a more radical stand and immediate emancipation of South Africa from British control.

5. Under these circumstances, the British Africans felt that it was their duty to side with the Botha-Smuts group, so that the policy of moderation would prevail against the policy of the extremists. (It is like Lord Morley's policy of "rallying to the moderates of India against the Indian extremists.") This peculiar internal condition and the growing seriousness of the international situation, leading to the Anglo-German War (the World War), forced the British Imperial authorities to cater to the Botha-Smuts group. These far-sighted South African statesmen, advocates of moderation, did not lose sight of the goal of achieving South African independence; however, they first utilized their prestige and position to consolidate the status of nationhood of the Union of South Africa within the British Empire.

6. When the World War broke out, the British Government had to depend upon the Botha-Smuts group of South Africans, for the protection of British possessions in South Africa, from internal insurrections and external attacks. Germans encouraged revolt in British South Africa, just as the British enticed the Arabs to revolt against the Turkish rule. The revolt in British South Africa was led by uncompromising idealist Boer leaders; but it was crushed by Botha's forces. Before the World War was over, most of the German possessions adjoining the British territory in South Africa was conquered by the Boers; and the Botha-Smuts group virtually became the protector of British power, prestige and realm in South Africa.

7. These Boer leaders fought against the Germans, not to promote British imperial interest, but to secure German possessions, adjoining the South African Union as parts of their own South African Empire. This object became evident when General Smuts invented the ingenious "Mandate system" to acquire German colonies without formally annexing them. General Smuts inspired the Canadian as well as Australian statesmen to assert their diplomatic autonomy in an international scale by signing the Versailles Treaty and entering the League of Nations as free and independent nations.

8. When America refused to enter the League of Nations, General Smuts felt disturbed ; but he encouraged the Canadian statesmen to start independent treaty-relations with the United States. He was anxious that Canada, South Africa, Australia as well as New Zealand should participate in the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments. He was one of the promoters of the Anglo-Irish settlement by the creation of the Irish Free State, which, according to his ideas, should follow Canadian and South African policy of assertion of the Dominions in international affairs.

9. The South African Government asserted its independence even in imperial politics, when it refused to spend South African money in the project of enlarging the Singapore Naval Base and also when it refused to respond to Lloyd George's call to arms against Turkey.

10. The Government of the Union of South Africa continued the campaign against the Indian interests in South Africa, as the Governments of Natal, Transvaal and other states did before. This policy of the Union Government was due not merely to promote the doctrine of "white supremacy" in South Africa, but to assert that South Africa was the sole mistress of her internal affairs and would not sacrifice her own interests to please the British imperial authorities. Thus it was the Government of South Africa which tenaciously upheld its rights so as not to agree to respect Indian demands and

rights in the Imperial Conference. For this reason alone and not for any love for India men like Sir Valentine Chirol, Earl Reading and others condemned the attitude of the South African Government.

11. Although General Smuts' Government was consistently promoting the ideal of South African nationhood, the radical advocates of South African independence came in power under the leadership of General Hertzog. General Hertzog's coming to power has the significance that the majority of the voters in South Africa feel now that after twenty-five years of diplomatic moves, the time has come when South African Empire should assert its independence with greater readiness.

12. General Hertzog's government has done a great deal to promote South African independence. But I shall note its most outstanding achievement. General Hertzog's insistence of assuming equal partnership in formulating British foreign policy by the Dominions—which are free and independent nations, associated with the British Empire by their free will and not through any coercion and are free to leave the British Empire, if they wanted to do so—brought about the momentous decision of the last Imperial Conference which has virtually changed the constitution of the British Empire, and has augmented greater autonomy, if not full sovereignty of the Dominions, as nations.

13. The South Africa Flag Bill and the efforts to eliminate the " Union Jack " from the national flag of the Union of South Africa is another expression of assertion of radical nationalism and independence.

14. To-day the South African Government not only controls its own legislative, administrative and financial affairs but it also controls its national defence. A Reuter's despatch from Cape Town, dated 31st May, 1927, shows that the South African Government is inaugurating a special Department of Foreign Affairs. The despatch reads as follows :

" Dr. H. D. F. Bodenstein, Professor of Roman Dutch Law at Stellenbosch University, and formerly Assistant Editor of Die Burger,

has been appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The new Department, which is under the Prime Minister, will be opened on July 1."

15. During the World War, the British Government, in violation of the established principles of International Law, confiscated private property of German citizens who were residents or in business in British territory. But with characteristic sagacity, the Boer statesmen opposed the idea of confiscation of German property, as a token of good will to the Germans, who sympathised with the Boers, during their struggle—the Boer War—for independence against British Imperialism. This act of supposed generosity of the Boer statesmen will serve as a great political asset. General Hertzog has recently declared that the former German South West Africa should be incorporated as the fifth province of the Union of South Africa. The bill drafted for the purpose will afford the German residents in South West Africa full control over the local government of the new province. If this policy of incorporation of German South West Africa as a part of the South African Union is carried out—there is every reason to believe that it will be done in near future—then the radical South African nationalists will have the support of the German population in the scheme of promoting independent South Africa. Of course, British Africans (English-speaking ones) will try to devise means so that they would not be reduced to a powerless insignificant minority opposed and ruled by a Dutch-German majority. However, it is clear that the Boers are to-day ruling over British South Africa; and their programme is radical nationalism and the establishment of an independent South African Empire, nominally attached to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but for all practical purposes enjoying full sovereignty and independence. It may be confidently asserted that any programme which will minimise the demand for assertion of South African nationalism will be defeated by the South African people.

It is generally regarded by Indian statesmen that the

attitude of the South African Government to have an agreement on Indian Immigration question, through a direct negotiation with India is a very laudable one and actuated by the motive of settling the dispute and to promote imperial interests. But we are inclined to think that the real motive behind this piece of diplomacy is to set a new precedent on the method of settling disputes between South Africa and any part of the British Empire. It is to establish a precedent that South Africa will not be bound by the decisions of "Downing Street" and in future all relations between South Africa and any other country will be settled through direct negotiations carried on by the Department of the Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

In connection with the recent agreement arrived at between the Government of South African Union and the Government of India, I must say that if the Indian statesmen are depending upon this agreement as a guarantee towards maintenance of Indian rights, then they are living in a "fool's paradise." First of all there are many loopholes in the text of the agreement and there will arise future disputes about the interpretation of various clauses, particularly "what constitutes European standard." Secondly, the Indian public should realize that the agreement is based upon the abandonment of Indian rights in South Africa. Mr. Pillai and Mr. P. S. Iyer of Durban and Mr. Joshi of Johannesburg are perfectly right when they assert that Dr. Malan, representing the South African Government, "got all he desired under the Class Areas Bill, and a little more, in order to make South Africa a white man's country." I have repeatedly advocated that India's standard of dealing with any foreign nation on Immigration or any other question should be based on the principles of *Racial Equality and Reciprocity*. Instead of asserting Racial Equality and securing Reciprocal Treatment, the Indian government has agreed to so-called voluntary Repatriation which is in reality compulsory in practice, so far as financially poor

Indians are concerned. Furthermore, the Indian Government have accepted the Colour Bar Act, Industrial Conciliation Act and Wages Act which are based on the principle of an "All White policy." The promises held out for the uplift of Indians educationally are worse than doubtful, because primary education is in the hands of the Provincial Council and the legislature is not likely to sanction any expenditure for the purpose. The declaration of Dr. Malan is also to be noticed that, the Union Government has not in any respect or to any extent, surrendered their freedom to deal legislatively with the Indian problem whenever and in whatever way they "deem necessary and just."

Among other things, what the responsible and far-sighted Indians in South Africa want is "Removal of all racial discrimination contained in several legislations, harshly operating against, and immigration disabilities now suffered by, Indians." *The Indian View* editorially regards the solution arrived at by the so-called Indo-South African Agreement "as another blunder" and says the following in the issue of April 22, 1927 :

"On various occasions the so-called agreement between this Union and India has been contended in these columns as of no advantage to the community in general, inasmuch as the basis of the same is voluntary Repatriation now masquerading under the high-sounding phrase "State-aided Emigration." We hope every Indian will bear in mind that it is nothing more than the will o' the wisp, and is more a snare than a tangible effort to solve the problem which, every right-thinking Indian and European hope will be eventually adjusted to our mutual advantage. Much as the Europeans may accuse Dr. Malan of having bartered away their rights, facts on the other hand go to show that it is the Indian that has been "sold" and there can be no more convincing proof that the latest attempt of repression as evidenced by Dr. Malan's New Bill ; a Bill which aims at taking away existing rights, rights that have been previously enjoyed and for which the community has suffered considerably...As an active factor in the Indian community of this Union, we have no hesitation in forecasting that a few years hence this settlement will be the means of depleting the community here, and in fact the very name of Indian will have disappeared..."

On the other hand the real spirit of the one-sided and so-called Indo-South African Agreement has been well described in *The Star* of Johannesburg of April 12, 1927, in the following passage :

“ The Chamber of Commerce (of Potchefstroom) has received a reply from the Minister of Interior to the recent protest made against the agreement entered into between the South African Government and the Government of India. *The whole object of this agreement. Dr. Malan wrote, is to get as many Indians repatriated as possible, and the energies of the conference were bent in that direction—namely to draw up a satisfactory scheme with the help of the Government of India. All other points were subordinate to this. The Agreement Is Not An Agreement In The Usual Sense Of The Term. The Union Government Did Not Bind Itself in any Way With Regard To Future Legislation It Likes If The Repatriation Proposals Not Working Satisfactorily...*”

From the above it is conclusive that to get rid of as many Indians as possible from South Africa by any means was the real spirit of the Conference and the solution of the Repatriation scheme. It is clearly stated above that if satisfactory results of getting rid of Indians are not arrived at by the present scheme, the South African Government will undertake further legislation for that purpose ; and from the standpoint of the South African Government the Agreement is not binding as usual agreements are : just as the Gandhi-Smuts agreement was broken by the South African Government to suit its internal and external policy, so later on the South African Government will disavow the spirit of the agreement, and if necessary, for the sake of formality, will demand new negotiations for the revision of the pact to the detriment of Indian interest.

The South Africans, advocates of White Supremacy, will play the same game as they have done in the past, to achieve their present independent status. One group will show apparent conciliatory attitude and try to secure a section of Indians to side with them. In this they have already succeeded—Hon. Habibulla, Hon. Shastri and their adviser Rev. Andrews are now supporters of the Hertzog Government's anti-Indian policy.

Then the other group of South Africans will make threats and continue to ill-treat the Indians and ignore the agreement and demand its revision and further drastic legislation. After a while they will make the present agreement as an issue in an election campaign and denounce it as a betrayal of "All White Policy." Just as the Hertzog Government will change, a new and more drastic policy against Indians will be adopted. To prove the above conclusion, I quote a portion of a letter from a responsible Indian in which he describes the new development :

Let me say that the new bill has come up with compound interest... To-day the new Bill threatens the very existence of thousands of Indians in the country. *The petty injustices are innumerable...The Transvaal Indians have practically seceded from the South African Congress.*

In all parts of South African Union a new anti-Indian agitation is in full swing. According to the report printed in *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), March 18, 1927, Colonel H. J. Pretorius, representing South African Party of Witwatersberg, in a parliamentary debate made the following significant remarks :

There was the danger, said Colonel Pretorius, that Asiatics would open shops or in near locations, in fact, they were actually doing so. As soon as the licensing courts stepped in and refused to grant licences they would provoke a conflict with the Indian Government. *Yet he would rather provoke a conflict than allow the present situation to continue. The crisis would come very soon, because the Asiatic was not satisfied and was demanding a say in municipal and other public affairs.* Col. Collins had correctly represented the Transvaal feeling that the rights of the people of South Africa had been sacrificed (by solution arrived at by Dr. Malan).

The above represents the opinion of some of those who are supposed to be moderates in South African politics. None should be deluded by the supposition that it is the Dutch or the Boers who are at the root of the anti-Indian agitation in South Africa. Although the British Government fought the Boers and held up before the world that Britain could not tolerate the ill-treatment accorded to the Indians in Transvaal, the treatment

accorded in British colonies of Natal, Cape Colony and other places was no less abominable. The Dutch, the English, the Irish, in other words, the Europeans—the majority of them—are pledged to the anti-Indian or anti-Asian policy. There are rare exceptions and only a few people wish to see justice done to the people of India in South Africa and their rights preserved. From the days of indentured labour in Africa, through the days of the Boer War, the World War and after, the history of Indo-African relations has been persecution of Indians and depriving them of their just rights. This will continue, in spite of all “agreements,” unless the people of India can set their own house in order and become independent as the South African people are. When the Indian nation will become a sovereign power, controlling its internal and external affairs and national defence, then South African Union and others will treat the Indians with some respect and consideration. In the present-day world there is no justice for enslaved and weak people.

TARAKNATH DAS

SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN POETRY

THE NATURAL AND SUPERNATURAL.¹

It is not without some fear I take up such a vexed subject as contemporary English poetry. What gives me courage is that I do not come balance and scales in hand and spectacles on nose like the jealous critic, but rather as a humble worshipper at the altar of poesy. It will therefore be my endeavour to understand rather than criticise, for otherwise argument only begets argument and we are no nearer to our goal, which is surely true appreciation. And at last with Omar Khayam we have to say,

“Myself when young did eagerly frequent
 Doctor and saint and heard great argument
 About it and about. But ever more
 Came out by the same door whereⁱⁿ I went.”

For like the Deity poetry defies definition. Even the wisest critics amongst us have failed when they have attempted to define poetry. The fact is the more we follow her with our meagre measuring rods, the more she eludes our pursuit. We seek her on earth and we find her smiling amidst the stars. We soar to divine heights, and lo! she is not there. We find her lurking like a mischievous child behind a pebble or a little way-side flower. Not only will poetry not be defined, but she will not be confined. Thus when Wordsworth tried to confine her within the limits of his maxims, she fled in terror leaving only the bare husk.

I do not mean by this that Poetry does not follow any laws. She does follow one law, and that is the law of her own being.

¹ Paper read at the Lucknow University under the Presidency of Dr. Cameron, the Vice-Chancellor. •

But this law is as subtle as the life force within us and as varied. We cannot reduce it to terminology but we know when it is there though it may find a hundred different manifestations. It may come to us in the bare simplicity of tragedy as when Beatrice in *Cenci* says :

“ Give yourself no unnecessary pain
My dear Lord Cardinal, here mother tie
My girdle for me, and bind up this hair
In any simple knot ; ay, that does well,
And yours, I see is coming down. How often
Have we done this for one another. Now
We shall not do it any more. My Lord
We are quite ready. Well, 'tis very well.”

Or it may come clothed in all the luxury of grief as presented to us by W. B. Yeats in *Countess Cathleen*.

“ Bend down your faces, Oona and Aleel,
I gaze upon them as the swallow gazes
Upon the nest under the eave, before
She wander the loud waters. Do not weep
Too great a while, for there is many a candle
On the High Altar though one fall. Aleel,
Who sang about the people of the raths
That know not the hard burden of the world,
Having but breath in their kind bodies, farewell !
And farewell, Oona who spun flax with me
Soft as their sleep when every dance is done.
The storm is in my hair and I must go.”

Or it may come wafted on the airy wings of fancy and song as in

“ Full fathom five thy father lies ;
Of his bones are coral made ;
Those are pearls that were his eyes :
Nothing of him doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea change
Into something rich and strange

Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell :—
Hark ! now I hear them
 Ding, dong, bell."

Such a piece though sheer poetry will not submit itself to any critical ruling. Its justification lies in the sheer joy of its own being. Contrast this with Milton's staid numbers and more exalted strain.

" When I consider how my light is spent,
 Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
 And that one talent which is death to hide,
 Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
 To serve therewith my Maker, and present
 My true account, lest he returning chide,
 Doth God exact day labour, light denied?
 I fondly ask :—But patience to prevent
 That murmur soon replies, God doth not need
 Either man's work or his own gifts ; who best
 Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best, his state
 Is kingly ; thousands at his bidding speed
 And post o'er land and ocean without rest :
 They also serve, who only stand and wait."

This too is poetry, exquisite poetry, but of a texture how different. Yet there is a fundamental similarity and that is, that Milton's sonnet like Shakespeare's dirge is true to the law of its own being. It is a far cry from this to Walter de La Mare's

"...Three jolly gentlemen,
 In coats of red,
 Rode their horses
 Up to bed.

 Three jolly gentlemen
 Snored till morn
 Their horses champing
 The golden corn.

Three jolly gentlemen
At break of day,
Came clatter, clatter down the stair
And galloped away."

But there is a simplicity and inevitableness in this that lifts it to the realm of poetry.

I have deviated from my subject to clear your minds of the cobwebs of existing prejudices. I do not want you to judge modern poetry from this point of view or that, but from the only standard we have a right to impose, and that is whether it does, or does not fulfil itself.

There is a confused notion in some quarters that Georgian poetry has broken entirely with past tradition. But this is true only of a small group of poets who are experimenting with new forms according to certain maxims and whose poetry if it survives will only survive as literary phenomena. The great bulk of contemporary poetry has its feet firmly fixed in the literary traditions of the past.

No review of modern poetry can be complete without some account of "*The Imagists*," as these experimenters in verse style themselves, and though they represent only a small school, we cannot ignore them in modern poetry just as we cannot ignore the impressionist school in modern painting. For it is not the conscious and literal following of their principles, but its unconscious influence that matters. Wordsworth when he consciously followed the principles laid down in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, wrote poetry that did not matter, but the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* had nevertheless a deep significance for the poetry of the Romantic Revival. The Imagists are therefore entitled to their due, so let me give you their manifesto as published in the pages of poetry by Messrs. F. S. Flint and Ezra Pound, some dozen years ago.

"I. An image is that which presents an intellectual or emotional complex in an instant of time. The instantaneous presentation of such an image gives the sense of liberation from

limits of time and space and that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of great art. It is better to produce one image in a lifetime than to produce a voluminous work.

II. Treat the thing that is the image directly whether it is subjective or objective. Go in fear of [abstraction, that is, use concrete images having the hardness of clear-cut stone.]

III. Use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation. Use either no ornament or good ornament. Do not mop up the particular decorative imagery of some one or two poets that you happen to like.

IV. Study Sappho, Catullus, Villon, Dante, Hiene, Gautier (sometimes) and Chaucer specially.

V. Do not attempt philosophical or descriptive poetry.

VI. Compose in the sequence of the musical phrase and not in the metronome.

VII. Study cadences, the finest you can discover, preferably in a foreign language, so that the meaning of the words may be less likely to divert your attention from the movement. Saxon chains, Hebrædian folk song, Dante and the lyrics of Goethe and Shakespeare are specially recommended. Study the possibilities of the verse form as the musician studies musical construction. The same laws govern and you are bound by no others.

In other words, the recognised metrical standards in English do not hold."

Such a mixture of shrewd sense and sheer nonsense can scarcely be imagined. If carried to their logical conclusions the objections to these dictums are manifold. An isolated image can scarcely lead to an emotional complex, nor can you relate your images into a vision of life without abstractions. Then there are obvious inconsistencies. If we compose in musical phrases and not in the metronome, we must obviously write verse libre, but how can the seven abovementioned poets help us in writing better free verse than others.

It is true that when these precepts are followed to the letter a result is attained which does not conform to the metrical standards of English. I would go further and say that the result attained, be what it may, is not poetry. I shall illustrate this from a few lines from an American poetess who is supposed by her own school to be its best exponent :

“ Your stature is modelled
 With straight tool edge,
 You are chiselled like rocks
 That are eaten into by the sea,
 You are white as a limb of cypress
 Bent under a weight of snow.
 The narcissus has copied the arch
 Of your slight breast,
 Your feet are citron flowers
 Your knees cut from white ash,
 Your thighs are rock-cistus.”

Here, if you like, is an experiment in method. You have the single images but it does not lead to any emotional complex. There are no abstractions but the concrete images lend a hardness not of cut stone but the monotonous beating of a hammer in a smithy.

This manifesto of the Imagists is however of value because it voices the reaction against the tradition of smooth pretty versification in the Victorian era, just as Wordsworth's preface to the Lyrical Ballads is valuable as voicing the protest against the artificiality of language and formality of versification in the eighteenth century. Victorian poetry was clogging the mouth with too much sweet and a reaction was necessary to lend sinew and freshness to English verse. Even during the Victorian period we have a reaction in the classicism of Arnold and the intellectualism and rugged simplicity of Browning. Both these poets would have heartily supported the Imagists in their dictum. “ Use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation. Use either no ornament or good

ornament. The Pre-Raphaelites show a reaction in another direction, i.e., against the pseudo-poetical feelings of the Tennysonian tradition and come to grips with genuine passion.

The revolt against the Tennysonian traditions was not accomplished however till the advent of the poets of the 'nineties.' These, once for all, bade good-bye to the poetic rusticity of Tennyson and set their scenes amidst the noise and din, the dust and smoke of towns. Laurence Binyon in *London Visions*, Stephen Phillips, Oscar Wilde, Earnest Dowson, Lionel Johnson, all paint the life of cities. But the most perfect expression of this reaction is to be found in a poem entitled *London* by Manmohan Ghose, an Indian poet who was amongst the company :

"Farewell, sweetest country ; out of my heart, you roses,
 Wayside roses, nodding, the slow traveller to keep.
 Too long have I drowsed alone in the meadows deep,
 Too long endured the silence nature espouses.
 Oh? the rush, the rapture of life ! throngs, lights, houses,
 This is London. I wake like a sentinel from sleep.

Stunned with the fresh thunder, the harsh delightful noises,
 I move entranced on the thronging pavement. How sweet,
 To eyes sated with green, the dusty brick-walled street !
 And the lone spirit, of self so weary, how it rejoices
 To be lost in others, bathed in the tones of human voices,
 And feel hurried along the happy tread of feet.

And a sense of vast sympathy my heart almost crazes,
 The warmth of kindred hearts in thousands beating with mine.
 Each fresh face, each figure, my spirit drinks like wine,—
 'Thousands endlessly passing. Violets, daisies,
 What is your charm to the passionate charm of faces,
 'This ravishing reality, this earthliness divine?

O murmur of men more sweet than all the wood's caresses,
 How sweet only to be an unknown leaf that sings
 In the forest of life 'Cease, Nature thy whisperings !
 Can I talk with leaves, or fall in love with breezes?
 Beautiful boughs, your shade not a human pang appeases
 This is London. I lie, and twine in the roots of things."

But this reaction against the poetical rusticity of the Tennysonian tradition led to a truer appreciation of nature and country life. And this takes me right into the centre of my subject, for modern nature poetry is one of the finest aspects of contemporary verse. I shall not say that individual poems have not been produced at other periods of English literary history which may favourably compare with, or even surpass the best nature poems of to-day. But I think I can safely say that never before has there been such a great output of nature poems of so uniformly a high standard; never before has there been such a pure delight in nature for her own sake as in contemporary English poetry. The Elizabethans too often used nature as a background or as a foil for their loves, or for creating a pastoral atmosphere. We find this tradition continuing with a few exceptions right up to the period of the Romantic Revival. Both Milton and Dryden have a bookish knowledge of nature. Even Marvell who shows, perhaps, a greater appreciation of nature than most poets of the period often surcharges his natural descriptions with the atmosphere of his own thoughts. The eighteenth century descriptions of nature are stiff reflections of conventional classical nature poetry. It is only with the Romantic Revival that we get a true appreciation of nature. The two names that rise most prominently in our minds are those of Wordsworth and Keats. But Keats cannot always get away from the note of human joy or suffering, or discard poetic imagery; and Wordsworth's appreciation is all too often marred by moral or philosophical reflections or is full of reaching out towards a vague pantheism. But not so the typical nature poet of to-day. His heart is full of sheer joy in the natural objects themselves. He needs no poetic ornamentation to enrich the effect; and this lends a reticence, a forcefulness and an inevitableness which results in poetry of a very high order. A very good illustration of what I have been saying is afforded by two little poems—one written by Wordsworth and the other by W. H. Davies—perhaps the finest nature poet of to-day. The source of inspiration in both

cases is the Rainbow. The first reaction of both is the same, that is, a sense of deep joy. But whereas in the case of Wordsworth the sense of joy leads to a moral reflection, in W. H. Davies the joy bubbles over like that of a little child irradiating everything around him. Wordsworth's lines run thus :

“ My heart leaps up when I behold
 A rainbow in the sky :
 So was it when my life began,
 So is it now I am a man,
 So be it when I shall grow old
 Or let me die.
 The child is father of the man
 And I could wish my days to be
 Bound each to each by natural piety.”

Contrast this with the contagious delight of Davies :—

“ Sweet Chance that led my steps abroad
 Beyond the town, where wild flowers grow—
 A rainbow and a cuckoo, Lord,
 How rich and great the times are now !
 Know, all ye sheep
 And cows, that keep
 On staring that I stand so long
 In grass that's wet from heavy rain—
 A rainbow and a cuckoo's song
 May never come together again ;
 May never come
 This side the tomb.”

Opinion may differ as to which is the greater poem. But there can be only one opinion as to which is the better nature poem. I do not deny that Wordsworth has written better nature poetry than this, poems which waft the pure mountain air to us and reveal craggy cliffs and wooded uplands. But what I want to point out is the fundamental difference of outlook on nature between the poets of to-day and the poets of the Romantic Revival. Poets of the Romantic Revival and the Victorian era, though writing with their eye on the object, are always looking

beyond. Again, the poets of to-day delight in every detail and are not content with giving atmospheres.

“How sweet this morning air in spring,
When tender is the grass and wet!
I see some little leaves have not
Outgrown their early childhood yet;
And can no longer hurry home,
However sweet a voice cries “Come.”

Here, with green Nature all around,
While that fine bird the skylark sings;
Who now in such a passion is,
He flies by it and not his wings;
And many a blackbird thrush, and sparrow,
Sing sweeter songs that I may borrow.

These watery swamps and thickets wild—
Called Nature's slums to me are more
Than any courts where fountains play,
And men-at-arms guard every door;
For I could sit down here alone,
And count the oak trees one by one.”

The last couplet shows the whole modern attitude towards nature. We see, too, how the poet has rid himself of all superfluous imagery.

Not only is modern poetry rich in details but also rich in atmospheres. In two stanzas Hilaire Belloc gives us the whole atmosphere of the south country :

“But the men that live in the South Country
Are the kindest and most wise,
They get their laughter from the loud surf,
And the faith in their happy eyes
Comes surely from our sister the Spring
When over the sea she flies;
The violets suddenly bloom at her feet,
She blesses us with surprise.

I never get between the pines
But I smell the Sussex air;
Nor I never come on a belt of sand

But my home is there.

And along the sky the line of the Downs
So noble and so bare."

"In nothing," says John Drinkwater, "did the Victorian genius so justify itself as in its love poetry." If the same sort of estimate were made of Georgian poetry, I think in nothing would it justify itself so much as in the subtlety of its imaginative quality. Poetry seems once more to have attained its childhood. I have shown how the Georgians have been uniquely successful in looking at nature with the fresh eyes of a child without any thought behind. They share, too, with the child his sense of the mystery of things. And ever and anon thoughts of other lives come hauntingly in the poet's mind :

"The waves came shining up the sands
As here today they shine
And in my pre-pelagian hands
The sand was warm and fine.
I have forgotten whence I came
Or what my home might be
Or by what strange and savage name
I called that thundering sea.
I only know the sun shone down
As still it shines to-day
And in my fingers long and brown
The little pebbles lay."

This sense of the mystery of things existed in English poetry before. We get it in the old Saxon poetry and the old English ballads. But the Renaissance with its enlightened paganism drove this spirit out and we only get a glimpse of it here and there. Blake, however, recaptures it. Like that of a little child Blake's mind was a phantasmagoria of angels, demons, strange beasts and birds. The silence of woods is full of voices for him, and airy forms flit around him. The little child, who ran home to his father and stated with simple conviction that he had seen an angel, never died within him. We see it reflected

in his art and in his poetry. Blake's spiritual successor was Coleridge. There is not the same childlike simplicity about his supernatural touches, but he is, perhaps, a better master in producing eerie effects. From the moment when the old mariner with his lean brown hand and bright eyes bursts on the wedding scene to the end of the poem, the sense of mystery never leaves us. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's mind was stored with the superstitions of mediaevalism and they find haunting echo in his poetry. "Sister Helen" most perfectly illustrates Rossetti's genius in this direction.

The note of the supernatural in contemporary English poetry owes most, however, to the Celtic Renaissance. The Celtic spirit, nourished for centuries on the primitive legend and superstition of a dreaming peasantry, long divided from English, by its adhesion to Gaelic speech, first finds expression in the poetry of J. C. Mangan, and attains perfection in that of W. B. Yeats. The most everyday matter goes to the making of this enchantment as in "The Land of the Heart's Desire." Again, Yeats learns a legend in Kerry, and the result is "The Ballad of Father Gilligan." The spirit of Celtic mysticism haunts the minds of some of the best contemporary English poets. Walter de la Mare when asked if he believed in ghosts and spirits said with utmost simplicity that he firmly believed in them. And the element of the supernatural haunts his poetry and lurks behind his lines. I shall quote to you from the well known poem "The Listeners" in order to show you how beautifully he handles this kind of poetry :

'Is there anybody there?' he said.
But no one descended to the Traveller;
No head from the leaf-fring'd sill
Leaned over and looked into his grey eyes
Where he stood perplexed and still.
But only a host of phantom listeners
That dwelt in the lone house then
Stood listening in the quiet of the moonlight

To that voice from the world of men :
Stood thronging the faint moonbeams on the dark stair,
That goes down to the empty hall,
Harkening in an air stirred and shaken
By the lonely Traveller's call.
And he felt in his heart their strangeness,
Their stillness answering his cry,
While his horse moved, cropping the dark turf,
'Neath the starred and leafy sky ;
For he suddenly smote on the door, even
Louder, and lifted his head,
' Tell them I came, and no one answered,
That I kept my word,' he said.'

It seems an anomaly at first sight why when science is penetrating into so many of the mysteries of nature, poetry should still be singing so hauntingly of the mystery of things. The *raison d'être* both of this poetry of the supernatural as well as of the science of spiritualism is, perhaps, to be found in this terror of losing hold of the mystery of life and leaving us only mundane reality, the striving after the something beyond which is the most precious gift of the human mind.

But apart from the definitely supernatural element in contemporary poetry, there is a fine imaginativeness in which the chief strength of Georgian poetry seems to lie. If imaginativeness were the only criterion of poetry, the Georgians would undoubtedly win the laurel. But in our strength lies the source of our weakness—in the case of nothing is this so true as in the case of poetry. Thus if we examine the various periods of English poetry we shall find this to be true. The reaction against the Romantic movement came when it became futilely romantic. The reaction against the 'eighteenth century poetry came when it became mere form without spirit. The degeneration of metaphysical poetry into mere *tour de force* of the mind led to its decay. So one day this fine imaginativeness will lose its spirit and become a literary trick. The

alarm is already raised in some quarters. But let us enjoy it at its best.

“When you are old and grey and full of sleep,
And nodding by the fire, take down this book,
And slowly read and dream of the soft look
Your eyes had once, and of their shadows deep;

How many loved your moments of glad grace,
And loved your beauty with love false or true,
But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you,
And loved the sorrows of your changing face.

And bending down beside the glowing bars
Murmur, a little sadly, how love fled,
And paced upon the mountains overhead,
And hid his face amid a crown of stars.”

Any good selection of modern verse will show how rich English poetry of to-day is in this quality.

I have tried to show the two most striking achievements in contemporary poetry. But its greatest strength lies in its style. It has used the language of everyday speech and still produced undeniable poetry. It has voiced the simplest thoughts, and yet avoided banality. With little of imagery it has attained an imaginative height which other ages can well envy. It is, perhaps, too early to pass any judgment. But I feel sure when the ultimate history of this period will be written the Georgians will compare very favourably with other epochs of English poetry.

LOTIKA BASU

SOME RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY

Science does all the drudgery of the world in order to minister to the needs of man but in the seclusion of her Laboratory she is occupied with attempts at unravelling the mysteries of nature depending on the solid ground of observation and experiment. These two sides of Science are roughly spoken of as the Applied or Practical branch and Pure or Theoretical branch respectively. In the present essay an attempt will be made to take a stock of the most important and up-to-date achievements of the Science of Chemistry in both its branches.

It is needless for me to dilate upon the great influence exerted by Science on the arts and industries. The fact was brought to the notice of the Bengalees dramatically, when following upon an experiment performed in a Chemical Laboratory in distant Germany, the thriving indigo industry of Bengal disappeared, as if by magic, during the last decade of the 19th Century. The artificial indigo prepared by the German Chemist Baeyer was cheaper and so it ousted the natural indigo from the world market. Even at the present day we are being painfully made aware of the importance of scientific knowledge. The industries started in this country during the last war, when German goods could not be imported, are languishing due to renewed German competition at the establishment of peace. Not only in India, but in England also we find that a great agitation is set on foot to organise chemical researches bearing on the industries. It is significant that the two latest Presidents of the Chemical Society of London chose as the subject of the annual Presidential address, the importance and need of stimulating chemical knowledge in order to preserve British industries from foreign competition.¹ Thus Dr. Wynne, the President of the year 1925 said, "University and Industry—theory and practice—obviously must

¹ *Vide Chemical Society's Journal*, April 1925, and April 1926.

collaborate if the chemical industry of the country is to make headway in face of present difficulties." Similarly Dr. Crossly, President of the year 1926, impressed upon the minds of his audience the need of the co-operation of science and industry. "Much has been heard recently," said he, "of the necessity of co-operation between the employer and the employed but there is almost as much need for co-operation between business men and teaching institutions regarding educational matters. No one can afford in the interest of our national welfare to say that he has no interest in education, for it is an essential part of the life-work of every one."

Now let us turn to examine critically what solutions have been offered by Chemists to the most important problems of life, like the bread problem. Again and again have we read in the popular magazines that very soon our food will be prepared in the laboratory at a very cheap cost so that starvation will become an unknown thing in the world. But the expert opinion on this point is almost positive that there is no such likelihood in the near future, and for a long time to come, we shall have to depend on the plant for the manufacture of our food materials. The all-important problems of synthesising the fundamental food-stuffs, viz., starch, fats and oils and proteins at a cheap cost await solution. The problems have been made more difficult by the recent discovery of the vitamins—subtle chemicals of complex composition which are present in fresh natural food, but absent in artificial food. These vitamins which are absolutely necessary for health have got to be synthesised and mixed with artificial foods before they can take the place of natural food. This is sure to prove a very difficult task for the Chemists of the future, for even if they succeed in preparing these complex substances, the cost of preparation will probably be prohibitive when compared with the natural varieties. Thus we see there is little prospect of preparing our foods artificially in the near future and the main use of Science for sometime will be in the direction of improving

the methods of agriculture in which great advance has already been made and more is expected in future.

Next in importance to the food question is the question of our available source of energy. It is an interesting fact that all kinds of energy, heat, light, electricity, etc., that exist on earth are traceable ultimately to the sun, the great source of all worldly energy. If the reader traces the brain energy he is spending in reading this essay now to its source, he will find that it has been supplied by the food he has taken, which formed a part of an animal or plant, the animal living on plants in his turn. The plants got the energy from sun's rays. Similarly, the coal, which supplies energy to the steam engine and petrol, which supplies energy to the motor cars, are remnants of plants and animals of ancient geological periods, which stored up sun's energy in those days. Coal and mineral oil, fossil fuel as they have been happily named by Arrhenius, have become the most important sources of energy to the modern world. Looking at the reckless manner in which huge quantities of them are being used up now-a-days, thoughtful scientists have become very anxious for the fate of our civilisation when both of them will be exhausted. From calculation made on the basis of the world's stock and expenditure of coal, it has been shown that coal cannot last for more than a few thousands of years at the most. The case of mineral oil is far more serious. Van Hise calculated that with the same increase in the use of oil as that at present going on, the oil-supply of the United States will be used up in 1935. Of course, recently oil springs have been discovered in Persia, Kurdistan, etc. "But even with those supplies," says Arrhenius, "we can only look sorrowfully into a future without mineral oil." At present no good substitute has been found for use in automobile and aeroplane engines. Up till now no other source of energy has been discovered which can take the place of the fossil fuel. The amount of energy derived from the water-falls can never be considerable

on account of the comparatively small number of water-falls found upon the earth. There is little doubt that the main source of energy of the coalless and oilless earth of the future will be the heat directly radiated by the sun. Some practical methods of utilising this immense source is expected in near future. In this connection it may be observed that, as has been pointed out by an Italian chemist, the hot countries will have a decided advantage over the cold countries, as the former receive more of the sun's energy than the latter.

Now-a-days there is a good deal of writing in the magazines regarding the possibilities of utilising atomic energy, *i.e.*, the energy that will be available when atoms can be broken up. Sometimes we find quite sensational announcements in the newspapers with regard to this subject. For example, the other day a Professor declared that he had theoretically discovered the method of liberating the energy of the atom, but he could not perform the actual experiment as the resulting energy will be so great as to blow up the college buildings. Such statements should be accepted for what they are worth. Here I must sound a note of warning to the unscientific readers. Premature announcements of great discoveries are frequently made in the papers and the public will do well to wait for some time till these discoveries are verified by other researchers. As regards this much advertised atomic energy, it has been assured by authorities like Soddy and Aston that there is no certainty of man's ever tapping the energy of the atom.

This being the present position with regard to our sources of energy, we must be very careful in avoiding any waste of the existing sources. We must never forget the following wise words of Arrhenius. "There holds in chemistry a rule which must be applied in all wise housekeeping. It is the 'chemist's Commandment'—*'Thou shalt not waste.'*"

So long we have been engaged with the practical branch of chemistry. Now let us turn to the theoretical one. Here I have

space sufficient only for briefly dealing with the most important discovery, *viz.*, atomic structure and radio-activity.

We are struck with wonder when we think of the great progress that has been made in our knowledge regarding the constitution of matter during the last century and a half, after man had been satisfied with the so-called five elements of the Hindus (Kshiti, Ap, Tejas, Marut, Byom) and four elements of the Greeks (Earth, Water, Fire and Air) for more than two thousand years. It is only a little over a hundred years when Dalton promulgated his atomic theory of elements, but already the discoveries of radio-active elements have rendered it necessary to introduce modification into that theory. We now know that atoms which were supposed by Dalton to be the smallest possible indivisible particles of matter are in fact compounds of much smaller particles, called electrons, discovered by Sir J. J. Thomson and his pupils. The electrons have been termed atoms of negative electricity and the weight of an electron is probably about $\cdot 00054$ of that of an atom of hydrogen, the lightest known atom. It was observed by Prof. J. A. Cunningham (a pupil of Sir J. J. Thomson) and myself that electrons are liberated during chemical reactions.¹ Thus the structure of an atom has been compared to that of our solar system. Just as planets are revolving round the sun following definite orbits, so in the atom the negatively electrified electrons are revolving round the positively electrified nucleus or the core of the atom, following definite orbits of their own. This nucleus is a cluster of hydrogen atoms and electrons. Imagination is staggered to compare the two solar systems of the world—one on a gigantic scale with the sun and the planets and the other on an infinitesimal scale within the atoms.

It has also been found that the atoms of some elements like radium, known as radio-active elements on account of the vast quantities of energy radiated by them, are spontaneously disintegrating. No one understands the cause of this breaking up,

neither has any method been discovered up till now to influence the process in any way. In 1903 Ramsay and Soddy found the element helium as one of the products of the disintegration of the element radium. Later researches have supplied many cases of such changes of one radio-active element into another. For example, the element Uranium, the heaviest known element, after some transformations, changes to the element Radium which again changes into elements called Niton, Radium A, Radium B, Radium C, Radium D, Radium E and Polonium and is ultimately converted into lead. Some of these exist for a long time, before they are broken up, whereas others exist for a brief period only. Thus according to Professor Rutherford, the average life of Radium is 2500 years and that of Radium A is only 4 minutes. We find Uranium as the first ancestor and lead the last descendant of Radium. Thus we have genealogical tables of certain families of radio-active elements like Uranium family and Thorium family just as we have genealogical tables of the Stuart family and Bourbon family of Kings. Here I think historians will be glad to find that their subject has supplied some inspiration to Chemistry.

Then, atomic transformations are accompanied by liberation of vast quantities of energy in the shape of peculiar rays, called α rays, β rays and γ rays which are similar to but different from rays of ordinary heat and light.

This energy was stored up in the atoms of the radio-active elements and is called atomic energy. It is present in atoms of all elements but we do not find any disintegration of ordinary elements, so this energy is not liberated as it is in the case of radio-active elements. The extreme rareness of radio-active elements makes their atomic energy of little use, as is proved by the excessive cost of radium, the price of one gram being about £20,000.¹

¹ Here it may be observed that Prof. Soddy has said that the high price of Radium is unfortunately hampering research work on radio-activity. The researches of Mme. Curie naturally have cost many thousands of pounds, provided in part by the Austrian Government and the Rothschilds (Interpretation of Radium by Soddy).

At present scientists are anxious to discover some methods by which ordinary elements can be broken up and some are trying to convert cheap metals into gold, like the alchemists of the middle ages. Of course theoretically there is no impossibility in this so-called transmutation of elements now as there was in the 19th Century, when it was customary to laugh at this wild goose chase of the alchemists. It is true that we have read in the scientific journals that Prof. Miethe of Germany and Prof. Nagaoki of Japan claim to have converted mercury into gold. But we have also read more recently that this sensational announcement still lacks confirmation. Other chemists have shown that the mercury employed in those experiments already contained minute traces of gold from which it is very difficult to free ordinary mercury.¹ Dr. Aston, an authority on the subject of atomic structure, has written in the Annual Report of the Progress of Chemistry, 1925 :

“The transmutation (of mercury to gold) requires the addition of an electron to the nucleus of mercury. Nature has provided a mechanism which effectually prevents positively charged nucleus absorbing casual electrons driven in their directions. Otherwise matter could not exist at all. The forces binding together the component parts of nucleus of an atom are gigantic and to be measured in millions of volts. Until the progress of electrical engineering makes such potentials technically available in the Laboratory, it seems unlikely that transmutation of elements on a chemical scale will be possible.”

Similar reports of transmutation appear in the papers from time to time. Thus we have read in the Scientific American of Feb. 1926, that two Dutch Chemists, using quartz mercury vapour lamp, claim to have changed lead into mercury and thallium.

The latest announcement in this line is the one made by Prof. Paneth and Peters, that they have succeeded in detect-

¹ *Nature*, Nov. 21, 1925,

ing the presence of helium derived from hydrogen which had been absorbed by finely divided palladium at the ordinary temperature (Nature, Oct. 9, 1926).

I have already said that the public should wait patiently for some time to know whether such announced discoveries have been verified by scientists. In this connection, I am reminded of a sensational incident in the history of the transmutation of elements. Some years ago, we were startled one day to find in the Chemical Society's Journal that Sir William Ramsay had succeeded in changing the element copper into the element lithium. But a few months later we read that Mme. Curie had shown that there had been some error in Ramsay's experiment.

Of course, there had been some well-established cases of transmutation. Prof. Rutherford, by bombarding the element nitrogen with α -particles which are given out by the disintegrating radium atoms, has succeeded in shattering the nucleus of the nitrogen atom and hydrogen atoms have resulted in consequence of this. But Prof. Soddy has criticised this work in the following words, "It must be remembered that in this case transmutation has not been really artificially initiated. What has been done, at the most, is to use a naturally occurring transmutation, that can still be neither initiated artificially nor controlled, to produce a secondary transmutation. The real problem of how artificially to transmute one element into another at will remains still completely unsolved.

There is only another point that I should like to impress on the minds of my young readers. If in future some cheap metal be transmuted into gold, the value of gold, even if it remains what it is at present, will pale into insignificance by the side of the immense source of atomic energy that will be simultaneously made available to man. It is also certain that the value of gold will diminish in direct proportion to the increase of supply of this metal by artificial means. But there is absolutely no doubt regarding the immense value of the

atomic energy. I cannot do better than end this essay by quoting the eloquent words of Prof. Soddy.

“The problem of transmutation and the liberation of atomic energy to carry on the labour of the world is no longer shrouded by mystery. It may be that it will remain for ever unsolved. But we are advancing along the road likely to bring success at a rate which makes it probable that one day will see its achievement. Should that day ever arrive, let no one be blind to the magnitude of the issues at stake, or suppose that such an acquisition to the physical resources of humanity can safely be entrusted to those who in the past have converted the blessings already conferred by Science into a curse.” Whether atomic energy will be properly used or grossly abused by man, only futurity can show.

SATISCHANDRA MUKERJEE

UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL LIFE¹

MR. CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I count myself fortunate in having the opportunity to associate myself with you on this occasion of the first Convocation of the Andhra University. It is a unique honour to participate in the events of this day which will live in the annals of the Andhra country. I thank you most cordially, Mr. Chancellor, for your kindness in inviting me to give the address.

Graduates of the Andhra University, the degrees conferred on you to-day are a recognition of your successful completion of a course of liberal education. You go into the world well equipped for a life of usefulness and service to man. Some of you, I hope, will dedicate your lives to scholarship and search for truth. To all of you falls the responsibility in life due to exceptional opportunity. I congratulate you as you enter on a life which will both test and reward you and bid you bear in mind the great ideals for which the University stands.

As the first *alumni* of this University, your responsibility is great. The life you lead, the ideals you entertain and the service you render will be cherished by your successors. It must be a matter of peculiar satisfaction to you to be enrolled as the graduates of this University along with such distinguished educationalists as Principal Ramanujacharlu, Sir Venkataratnam Naidu and Brahmasri Venkataraya Sastri. Each in his own line has contributed in no small measure to the intellectual awakening of the Andhras. With these gentlemen at the head of the University roll of graduates, you need not feel that the University is only an infant just a year old and has therefore no traditions about it.

¹ Convocation Address to the Andhra University, delivered on 5th December, 1927, with H. E. Lord Goschen, the Chancellor, in the Chair.

While the term 'University' is a modern one in India, its meaning has been familiar to us for ages past. If the earliest records of India are to be trusted, we find that students gathered round famous teachers with strange enthusiasm and in surprising numbers. Takshasila, the capital of Gandhara in North West India, the native land of Panini the grammarian, attracted five young men from all quarters of India even as early as the fourth century B.C. The famous seats of learning belonging to Nalanda, Vikramasila, our own Dharanikota, Benares and Navadvipa were cultural centres to which flocked not only crowds of Indians but many eager students from distant parts of Eastern Asia. The *Universitas*, the whole body of teachers and pupils had something like a corporate existence. These seats of learning were responsible for developing the higher mind of the country, its conscience and its ideals. They helped to produce what we might call a university world, a community of cultural ideas, a profound like-mindedness in basic aims and ideas. In the altered circumstances of to-day, it is the universities that have to assume the leadership in the world of ideas and ideals. India distracted by the deadly feuds of creeds and communities requires more than ever the spread of the university spirit of self-criticism and broadminded reasonableness towards the peoples' beliefs and practices. I am afraid that the Sastries and the Pandits, the Moulvies and the Moulanas, the Missionaries and the Clergymen of the conventional type are not likely to be of much help to us in our present condition. They seem to think that religion has come into the world in order to afford careers for pedants and priests and not that the mass of men may have life and may have it more abundantly. We are all familiar in this part of the country with the type of mind which is concerned with the protection of privilege. It upholds privilege by plausible arguments and employs in its defence the powerful motive of self-interest. It deludes itself into the belief that what the critics call privilege is but the law of nature and the barest justice requires the

satisfaction of its prejudices. In North India, the troubles are due to the opposite type of mind, the type which strives strenuously to obtain universal conformity to its own standards. The mind which works for conformity shrinks at nothing to gain its ends. When inflamed by passion, it resorts to violence and persecution. To cast the whole of a great people in one mould and subdue them into the blind acceptance of a central power or creed is what we are taught to characterise as the Prussian method, though it is not peculiar to Prussia. Conformity has been the dream of despots, political as well as religious. The ideal of the university is the promotion of liberty of mind or freedom of thought. It has little to do with the protection of privilege or a call to conformity. It contests privilege which is something other than that excellence which follows on intellectual eminence or spiritual greatness. It contests conformity, for each individual has the right to develop his own convictions. As a society of thinkers, the university is the home of liberty. The power and presence of the types of mind which deny liberty and uphold privilege or conformity are responsible for communal bigotry and religious fanaticism. It is the task of the university to break down these types of mind and reshape the thought and temper of the age.

The history of humanity is a ceaseless conflict between two fundamental instincts, the instinct of defence, of conservatism which jealously clings to what it holds, turns back into itself and locks itself fast in and that of expansion, the bubbling of life, of the vital urge that ceaselessly strives to break down the barriers. Every age of expansion is succeeded by one of contraction and *vice versa*. The age of the Vedic seers was a period of vigour and vitality when India gave voice to immortal thoughts. The great epic of the Mahabharata gives us a wonderful picture of seething life, full of the freedom of enquiry and experiment. New and strange tribes poured into the country and the Mahabharata relates how the culture was vigorous enough to vivify the new forces that threatened to stifle it and assimilate to the old

social forms the new that came to expel them. In the age of the Buddha, the country was stirred to its uttermost depths. The freedom of mind which it produced expressed itself in a wealth of creation in all phases of life, overflowing in its richness the continent of Asia. Chandragupta, the great military leader, almost unified a continent. Asoka of immortal fame sent Buddhist missions to Syria and Egypt, Cyrene and Epirus. India soon became the spiritual home of China and Japan, Burma and Ceylon. Under the Guptas and the Vardhanas, we had an immense cultural flowering. Those who carved deep out of the solid rock "cells for themselves and cathedrals for their gods" which are even to-day the admiration of the world must have had sufficient strength of spirit. But soon the spirit of creation died away. The vivid life, the passionate enthusiasm and the strong conviction gave place to teachers less original, to ambitions less exalted and to tame compliance with the old forms. There was a dread of venturing outside the safe limits of guaranteed ideas. The country seemed to suffer from exhaustion. The ebb of the tide has reached its utmost. At the present moment, we are in one of those periods when humanity pushed back by the powers of reaction is about to make a great leap into the future. Everywhere the same suffocation is felt, the same vital need to pull down the walls, to breathe freely, to look around on a vaster horizon.

If the Andhra University is to participate in what may fittingly be called the Indian Renaissance, it must pay adequate attention to the study of India's past. This land of ours is no sand bank thrown up by some recent caprice of earth. It is a stately growth with roots striking deep through the centuries. Nations have a history as well as a geography. They live and grow not by the forces of wind and rain, sun and stars but by the passions and ideals which animate them. The University must stimulate an interest in the sources of our civilisation; its art and thought, its language and literature, its philosophy and religion. Any one who has studied and meditated on the ancient

classics of this country will testify to their peculiar greatness, their power to yield new meanings and their inexhaustible value as a criterion of present day modes of life. In these days of startling scientific developments, it may not be useless to point out that reconstructing the mosaic of the long forgotten past is not a less ennobling performance on the part of the human mind than calculating the movements of the stars or making ships fly in the air.

To plead for an awakened interest in Indian culture is not to advocate a return to the conditions of antiquity. The past never returns. In the European Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries, there was a renewal of interest in the thought of Greece and Rome and the early Christian church and it marked the beginning of modern European civilisation. So I believe, a study of our past will lead to a quickening of our cultural life and a triumph over scholasticism.

In the handling of the past of one's country, there is one serious danger which we have to guard against. We are tempted to look for great things in the past which is generally regarded as a golden age of peace and plenty, when men lived for centuries, married with angels and entertained gods. The farther we go into the past of a country, the greater is the temptation to the uncontrolled imagination. The danger is a very subtle one to every real interpreter of history. If he is to present his work in an intelligible way, he must note the general principles unifying the multitude of facts with which he deals. It is but a short step from perceiving this unity to imposing the design of one's own making. We must beware that we do not give more than their due weight or value to the facts observed. To pervert the past in order to gain new sanctions for our dreams of the future is to sin against our intellectual conscience. If a scientific study of the past of India is possible, it is only in the atmosphere of a university.

• A discriminating and critical study of the beliefs and institutions of our country is fitted to be much more than a means

of satisfying an enlightened curiosity and of furnishing materials for the researches of the learned. It is a powerful instrument for progress. History is a mirror in which we may see ourselves, not merely our outer forms as in a common glass but, if only we choose, our inner selves, stripped of trappings and spread out on the table. We can find out our strength as well as our weakness, the germs of life, growth and recovery as well as the maladies which afflict us. We can discover why we the products of a civilisation which has lasted for nearly 40 centuries are only half alive to-day. We live and yet do not. Why is it so? If we are to be restored to health and vigour, we must learn to conquer our national failings. We must find out what those institutions are which have outlived their utility and still survive, thanks to our mental laziness and the extreme unwillingness which men have to overhaul habits and beliefs which have become automatic in their workings. To the conservative mind and the artist soul it may appear a melancholy task to strike at the foundations of beliefs in which as in a strong temple, the hopes and aspirations of a large section of humanity through long ages have sought a refuge from the strain and stress of life. It is difficult to break even a physical habit, it is much more difficult to break long established habits of thought and mind. But I hope that love of ease, regard for antiquity or considerations of safety will not induce us to spare the ancient moulds, however beautiful, when they are outworn. It is not true conservatism, but a false sentimental one which tries to preserve mischievous abuses simply because they are picturesque. Whatever comes of it, wherever it leads us, we must follow truth. It is our only guiding star. To say that the dead forms which have no vital truth to support them are too ancient and venerable to be tampered with, only prolongs the suffering of the patient who is ailing from the poison generated by the putrid waste of the past. We need not shy at change. Our philosophy tells us that permanence belongs to eternity alone and unceasing change is the rule of life.

It is impossible for any nation to stand still and stiff within its closed gates, while humanity is marching on. The world is no more a miscellaneous collection of odd and dislocated spots where we could live alone. It has become a small neighbourhood where we would neither live alone nor be let alone. We cannot return to the walled cities of the middle ages. The flood of modern ideas is pouring on us from every side and will take no denial. On the question of response to the new forces, there is much confusion of thought. We come across a curious blending of self-assertion and timidity. There is a passionate loyalty to everything Indian haunted by deep but secret misgivings. The conservatives adopt an attitude of forlorn resistance and cling tenaciously to old ideas. They little realise that the forces will steal unknown, bring down the defences where they are weak and cause inward explosion. The radicals are anxious to forget the past, for to them, it is to be remembered, it at all not with pride but with shame. But they forget that where other cultures may give us the light, our own furnishes the conditions for action. The constructive conservatism of the past is the middle way between the reactionary and the radical extremes. If we study the history of Indian culture from the beginning of its career somewhere in the valley of the Indus four or five millenniums ago down till to-day, the one characteristic that pervades it throughout its long growth is its elasticity and ability to respond to new needs. With a daring catholicity that approaches foolhardiness on occasions, it has recognised elements of truth in other systems of thought and belief. It has never been too proud to learn from others and adopt such of their methods as seemed adaptable to its needs. If we retain this spirit, we can face the future with growing confidence and strength.

The recovery of the old knowledge in its depth and fulness, its restatement in new forms adapted to present needs and an original handling of the novel situations which have arisen in the light of the Indian spirit are urgent necessities and if our

universities do not accomplish them, nothing else will. I hope that the 'Andhra University will give an important place to Indian culture in its school of humanities. It is needless to say that its special task would be to present to the world an authentic account of the history of the Andhras based on literary, artistic and historical records. Sanskrit literature, the Epics and the Puranas will be of considerable value in such an undertaking. I hope the University will make the study of a classical language compulsory for all students at some stage or other of the arts' course.

I am aware that we are anxious to give greater attention to Telugu and make it, if possible, the medium of instruction and examination in the degree courses as well. This very desirable reform has to be worked out with great caution. English is not only the language of international commerce and thought but is also one of the chief factors in the making of the Indian nation. If the course in English is not of a sufficiently high standard, our students are likely to be at a disadvantage in their search for posts, which, after all, is not a minor consideration. India is not the only country in the world where we have to pay regard to the commercial value of a university career.

While we look to the humanities for the development of the inner spirit, which is necessary for any sound national reconstruction, sciences, pure and applied, will help us to build the outer organisation. A passionless and understanding contemplation of objective nature is in itself an intellectual satisfaction of a high order. The scientific temper is characterised by a passion for facts, careful observation and cautious statement of conclusion. It discourages reliance on vague impressions, second-hand evidence and hasty generalisation. It is quite possible in these days of specialisation that our graduates might obtain their degrees without the knowledge of a single objective science. I hope the Academic Council will make such a thing impossible by providing for the compulsory study of an objective science by

the arts' students at the stage of the Matriculation, if not the Intermediate.

We live in an age of intense striving and creative activity. If we are to be credited with intellectual power, we cannot afford to say, 'let others make the experiments, we will benefit by their experience.' The assumption that we are metaphysically minded and are not interested in the pursuit of science is not quite true. In our vigorous days, we developed sciences like astronomy and architecture, mathematics and medicine, chemistry and metallurgy. Latterly, however, there has been a decline in scientific activity owing to the cramping effects of scholasticism. All signs indicate that we are waking up from our scientific slumber. The work done in the Post-graduate schools of the Calcutta University shows that our ~~men~~ are competent to do original work of a high quality, if only they have the opportunity. If we are to swing out again into the main stream of the life of the world, the University must build laboratories and equip them adequately thus offering opportunities for original investigation to the abler students of science.

I hope there are not many who sneer at the conquests of science as materialistic avenues to the betterment of human conditions. A spiritual civilisation is not necessarily one of poverty and disease, man-drawn rickshaw and the hand-cart. It is one thing to say that wisdom is more precious than rubies and the wise man is happy whatever befall him and quite another to hold that poverty and ill-health are necessary for spiritual advance. While poverty is spiritual when it is voluntary, the crass poverty of our people is a sign of sloth and failure. Our philosophy of life recognises the production and increase of wealth among the legitimate aims of human endeavour. Pursuit of wealth does not in itself spell spiritual ruin. It is a means, in itself ethically colourless, neither good nor evil but a necessary means for the attainment of the higher life for the individual and the mass of mankind. What counts is the purpose for which wealth is striven after.

and so long as we realise that it is a means to a higher end, we can boldly venture out on the path of the conquest of nature's secrets and their utilisation for man's service. There are so many ills that flesh is heir to which need not be met by fatalism and folded hands. Instead of facing suffering and disease by apologetic justifications of the ways of god to man, a nobler piety demands their reduction and ultimate removal.

Economic crises are slow and undramatic. As we cannot visualise the coarse poverty of the large majority of our people, our emotions react to it rather sluggishly. The average standard of material well-being is exceedingly low; poverty is widespread and is causing immense unhappiness, though it is not for the most part the fault of the poor. The middle class unemployment is growing apace. Industrial and commercial activities to which educated young men of other countries devote themselves hardly exist in India. Young men from five years of age up to twenty are trained in our educational institutions and at the end of all the toil and the cost find themselves faced by blind alley occupations and unemployment, either in or out of law courts. It is a tragic waste of human effort in a country where so much needs to be done. Earth and its resources are bountiful and there are plenty of hands capable of producing wealth and yet they are all lying idle. It is not fair to contend that Indians are unwilling to apply themselves to industrial pursuits as they are more speculative than practical. There does not seem to be anything radically wrong about the Indian mind. Till the industrial revolution, the conditions were practically the same in India and in Europe. Our agricultural methods, economic institutions, industrial developments and the relations between the landlords and the tenants were governed on almost the same lines in India as in Europe. Only we happen to remain still in large part in the mediaeval agrarian and pre-industrial stages. It is a matter for deep concern that Great Britain has done little to stimulate us into life and activity in spite of our long and close political and economic

association with it. One would expect that this connection with Britain would have given us a start in the race and enabled us to outstrip our competitors in the East. But nothing like it has happened. An educational policy overweighted on the literary side on account of its inexpensive character is largely responsible for the wrong notions of the dignity of certain callings and indifference to others. It is not more dignified to hold a pen and keep accounts than work in a factory or a field. What little there is of industrial development is largely in the hands of British firms who do not seem to realise that they cannot for all time depend on imported skilled labour. It will be to their advantage and to ours as well if they take young Indians in their firms and give them training and facilities. Perhaps, we are not justified in expecting British firms to be so generous as all that. Lieut. Col. Paddon in his report of the work of the Indian Store Department for 1926-27 observes, regarding the work of assisting Indian students to obtain facilities for practical training in various branches of manufacture and industry: "The problem of placing a large number of students each in the line of industry in which he desires training is both complex and difficult, particularly at the present time when trade depression and labour troubles have resulted in decreased production. Factories working half-time or less are not as a rule prepared to afford facilities for training an individual whose experience may later be placed at the disposal of a rival source of supply. In certain trades, the matter is further complicated by the fact that a large proportion of the orders placed by the Department go to the continent; in other lines of manufacture certain processes are jealously guarded as trade secrets." We can easily understand the economics of this attitude though not the ethics of it. Greater efficiency in the cotton industry of India will mean less business for Lancashire. A higher standard of idealism will be necessary if Britain is to encourage and assist the development of trade which may compete with its own. In a spirit of narrow vision

and legalistic quibbling, it is adopting that most perilous of all policies—drift. It is very much to be hoped that the State will give up the narrow view of its functions as a super-policeman maintaining law and order and in a larger spirit foster the industrial growth of the country and help India to find her feet in the world. It is not fair to condemn lack of private initiative and enterprise, for State socialism prevails to a large extent in the country. Industrial development is obviously not the direct concern of the university. Technical education will have to depend on the creation of industries which does not lie in the hands of the university. But with the goodwill and co-operation of the State the University can help the industrial growth of the country by the institution of new technical courses which will have a direct relationship to the Indian industries in general and those of the Andhra area in particular.

A realisation of the defects of the purely affiliating universities led to the constitution of the Andhra University which has for its objective, the establishing of honours and post-graduate schools in arts and science as well as technological institutions. The Madras University, started nearly seventy years ago, has succeeded not only in supplying the State with a body of able and faithful servants but also in producing men of distinction in arts and science. Thanks to it, South India is astir to-day with the promptings of a new life in every sphere. Its unwieldy size and affiliating character, however, hampered its usefulness. Academic opinion, the world over, is against purely examining and affiliating bodies. The main function of a university is not to grant degrees and diplomas but to develop the university spirit and advance learning. The former is impossible without corporate life, the latter without honours and post-graduate schools.

While many students join the university for its utility rather than for its culture, still when once they are in, they

the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. This is the old Indian ideal of *gurukulavasa* carried out on a larger scale. The university is not so much the official lecture room where the teacher gives a set lesson to his pupils as the atmosphere where the new generation first becomes conscious of itself, where reputations, sometimes lifelong, are made in private discussions in some body's room. Concentration in three centres contemplated by the Act is intended to give our young men the advantages of university life.

Honours and post-graduate schools provide training of the highest kind and offer our students opportunities for self-expression and advancement of knowledge. As divorce between under-graduate and post-graduate work is not desirable, Rajahmundry and Anantapur which have decent under-graduate colleges maintained by Government are selected as centres to be developed eventually into full-blown universities. I have no doubt that the State which has delegated the management of higher education in the Andhra area to the University will transfer the control of these colleges to the University with sufficient safeguards for vested interests.

I am not, however, much in sympathy with the idea of developing the sciences in one centre and the arts in the other. The liberal arts and the pure sciences complete, correct and balance each other. Recent events in England and America have shown the enormous importance of scientific evolution for philosophy and religion. Lord Haldane in his Bristol address on the *Civic University* observes, "You cannot without danger of partial starvation separate science from literature and philosophy. Each grows best in the presence of the other." Subjects like Experimental Psychology and Anthropology are closely related to both arts and science. Only the other day we requested a distinguished professor of Physics to explain to our philosophy men in Calcutta the principles of Einstein's relativity. The students will be the gainers by living in a university where all subjects are taught, though each may pursue only a few of the

subjects. In these days of specialisation, it is difficult for one to keep oneself up-to-date in any branch of learning without neglecting to a certain extent other branches of learning. University life, where men pursuing learning in different spheres daily meet together in intellectual and social intercourse, is the only safeguard against the dangers of over-specialisation. I am strongly of opinion that both Rajahmundry and Anantapur should have provision for arts and science.

The value of university training consists not so much in the information acquired as in the scientific habits developed. The student should learn to distinguish knowledge from opinion, fact from theory, should be able to weigh evidence, argue closely and state and examine fairly the opponent's point of view. The spirit of research is nothing else than the carrying out of this attitude of free enquiry and rational reflection. Whether a university succeeds in this its chief aim or not depends on its staff of professors. It is the men who fill the chairs that create the atmosphere. We cannot be overcareful in the selection of professors. No other consideration should weigh with us in the appointment of professors than academic achievement and original work, for where there is no zeal for research there is no zest in teaching.

Strong as may appear the assertion, I do not see how I can avoid making it that we Andhras have been deficient in practical sense. We have not shown much constructive enthusiasm or sense of the practicable in our discussions about the University. There is not to be found that real and effective public opinion which no Government or Legislature can despise or disregard when its voice is clearly heard. It is split up into sections and represents very often the views and interests of this class or that clique. We could have raised the Rajahmundry College to the Honours standard, a decade back, with organised action in the Legislative Council and persistent pressure on the Government. We attempted more and achieved less. The selection of a non-centre as the headquarters of

the University is not very creditable to our academic sense. Even after the passing of the University Act, events have taken a sad turn. Each local group is trying to pull its own way and serve its selfish ends and we have reached in this matter a condition of stalemate. While the leaders are wrangling about the claims of localities, young lives are being cheated of their legitimate aspirations.

The University has a right to the devotion of the Andhradesa in a way which no other institution in our area can hope to emulate ; and the public which can now through the Legislative Council control educational policy will, I trust, hereafter at least, not tolerate obstruction to educational progress. We are fortunate in having as our first Vice-Chancellor an educationist of knowledge and vision, ability and devotion. He has burning love for the Andhras and his zeal for their educational advancement will not let him rest satisfied with anything short of the best. An architect who combines imagination with expertness is found with difficulty and when found we should let him build. If we can have two fully equipped and adequately staffed universities at Rajahmundry and Anantapur with technological institutions at Vizagapatam, it will be the ideal thing for the Andhra country. We are told that the resources of the State are not unlimited and they can provide only for the development of one centre. Mr. Chancellor, I ask your indulgence when I venture to express my lack of faith in these professions of poverty. The expenditure of the Madras Government on universities is inconsiderable when compared with that of other provinces. The Government of Bengal not only maintains a good number of colleges but spends annually over twelve lakhs of rupees on the universities at Calcutta and Dacca. It is no use starting a university without providing it with necessary funds. I hope that our Chancellor will not allow His Excellency's Government to treat the Andhra University as a step-child. If we do not wash our hands, we are dirty ; if we do, we are wasting water. You cannot stint money and then

complain that the Andhra University is a second-class institution, if not a failure. Our leaders in the Council and the country must press the Government to develop both the centres before the money released by the remission of provincial contributions is utilised for other purposes.

While it is the paramount duty of the State to undertake the higher education of the community, the responsibility of the people cannot be ignored. While we in the Andhra are not so fortunately situated as the people of Bengal or of Bombay in having a large number of rich millionaires, we have a fairly good number of gentlemen not only with the means to assist the University, but animated by a desire to do so. That we will not look in vain to private benefactors is evident from the endowments already to the credit of the University. Benefactions in a cause so noble and so urgent as the spread of sound knowledge among all classes of people are entirely in accordance with our traditions. I need not remind you how in the classical times the schools and their teachers depended for their maintenance on the people of the place. A single professorship, a single fellowship, a single scholarship will help to maintain the memory of the donor's name and create the reputations of several others.

In education, as in politics, the best is often the enemy of the good. Now that the Government are prepared to provide funds for the development of one centre, let us start work at once at one centre and keep up the agitation for the development of the other. Where the development first takes place there should be the headquarters.

Graduates of the Andhra University, your University has for its motto a great saying of the Upanishads *Tejasvinav adhitam astu*. May our study impart that inward light or *tejas*. May it grant us the power (*virya*) to stir the soul to effort. If you are truly educated, you will have the light to see the truth and the strength to make it prevail. Young men and women of to-day have a greater opportunity to show their real

worth than at any other time in our recent history. I am sure that each of you is dreaming of the day when India will be self-governing but I am not sure that you are aware of the conditions necessary for the realisation of this ideal. Our leaders seem to be of the impression that all will be well if there is a change in the form of government. Some believe that we can coax our rulers to grant us this boon, others who regard themselves as more advanced argue that it can be extorted as a concession to clamour and threats. But no amount of wizardry can induce an immediate millennium. We cannot win Swaraj by simply shouting for it. Self-government cannot be talked into existence. No people can keep another in subjection against its will if only its will expresses itself in the achievement of that unity and organisation which will enable us to act as one. Swaraj is not a mere change in the form of government or a transfer of the seat of authority. It is the transformation of the habits of mind of the people. I am afraid that we are paying too much importance to the criticism of the machinery and too little to the moral forces necessary for improving it. The great light (*tejas*) which shall also be an actuating power is what we need, the light that tells us in the famous words of Lamartine "No man ever rivetted a chain of slavery round his brother's neck but God silently welded the other end round the neck of the tyrant." Unfortunately, it is the case that the ardent advocates of modernism in public life are at the same time staunch devotees of medievalism in social life and habits. There cannot be substantial political advance of industrial growth unless we develop corporate life and comradeship. No power on earth can stand against the corporate effort of a people to recover its manhood. The difficulties of the enterprise, far from being a reason for giving it up in despair, are to my mind, a reason for accepting it as the challenge of the age. Education and discipline and constant forbearance alone can help us.

∴ We, the Andhras, are fortunately situated in some respects.

I firmly believe that if any part of India is capable of developing an effective sense of unity it is the Andhra. The hold of conservatism is not strong. The generosity of spirit and openness of mind are well-known. Our social instinct and suggestibility are still active. Our moral sense and sympathetic imagination are not much warped by dogma. Our women are relatively more free. Love of the mother tongue binds us all Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians. If the University supplies a constant stream of young men and women imbued with love of truth and service to man, it will help to bring about a renaissance, not an intellectual renaissance only but a moral and spiritual one. May it be your endeavour to realise the poet's dream that in this land all may be in a position to overcome the difficulties of life, to attain an insight into the good, to gain wisdom and find enjoyment anywhere.

“Sarvas taratu durgani, sarvo bhadraṇi paśyatu,
Sarvas tad buddhiṃ āpnotu, sarvas sarvatra nandatu.”

Friends, we cannot offer to you any glittering prizes of wealth or position or power. You have only difficulties of an unheard of character to face. May God give you the courage and the insight, the self-sacrifice and the devotion which alone can make you worthy to fulfil the task before you. Farewell!

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

JOY OF LOVE

I

My mind to me a prison is,
 O break it, break it, Love,
Set me free to roam with Thee
 Where's no below, above
Set me free, O, set me free
Lost to be for ever in Thee.

II

I peep at Thee thro' prison bars,
Mine eyes are lost' midst shining stars—
Men call them sages Thine and saints
To touch their joy in Thee mind faints.
Mind lives again their joy to see—
Their joy is mine ; what care for me?

III

I not regard the honey of life
 But only flies it draws ;
I value not the rose of life
 But curse the thorn-pain's cause.
O Love, when heart once thirsts for Thee,
Of joy the birth-throes pain, I see.

IV

Take dirty child upon Thy breast
 Of all, Thou, Mother divine ;
O, wash him clean and give him rest;
 Mother of all and so mine !
Forget the hurt he gave Thy love
 By hurting children thine,

O soothe the hurt below above
And make the black spot shine !
Give peace to me, though way-ward, wild,
I claim Thy love ; I am Thy child !

V

The curfew bell now soon will tell,
The rope is in the puller's hand.
The glass is well-nigh empty be
And grain by grain flies life's grey sand.
The things of world that rapture me
That peal, when heard, will chase away,
Descending darkness kill the sight
That shows myself to me—life's day.
In night of life thou art the light—
The light that soul men call—
The light that lighteth all.
The soul's a maiden coy,
When wed to mind she's joy—
Joy—joy without alloy.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJ!

FEAR

. It was years ago, most probably rainy season, and the time midnight. I was hurrying through the streets. The loud and rapid steps of my foot-fall disturbed the silence. Almost all doors were shut. Not a soul was stirring. The streets were semi-dark. The lamps were burning dimly. A stray dog passed by me. I looked around but before I could see it, it was gone. My heart beat with loud thumps. I hurried along. The road seemed unending. I took a short route and entered a narrow alley. Before I had proceeded a few steps I saw the indistinct outlines of a human figure standing a few yards off. A street robber waiting there to ambush me; I had no weapon—not even a stick. What resistance could I offer? I had not a single copper pice in my pocket. But would that dissuade him from laying his hands on me? Certainly not—rather that would give him an additional provocation. My blood rushed into my brain. My legs became shaky. I slackened my pace and approached the figure cautiously. I had not the courage to accost him. My throat was dry. My lips were sealed with fear. I could hear my own heart-beats. When I passed him, he did not budge an inch. I thought he would attack me from behind. But I had not the courage to turn my eyes behind. I proceeded a few steps further every moment apprehending a blow. I saw an open door and a dim light burning within. A maidservant was cleansing the floor—it was a boarding house. She was picking up the food-crumbs. It struck me that the figure which had frightened me so much might not be a cut-throat. He was probably waiting for her under cover of darkness. Perhaps he was watching her. It may be the man found his room too solitary to remain alone. Perhaps he was jealous of somebody else. The night was dark and cold, the road slushy. Surely some strong impulse held him there. I hesitated in my mind.

Should I go back and enquire who he was? But before I could come to any decision I reached home. Silently I crept into my solitary bed. I was safe in my own room. I muttered a few prayers. I swore I would never return home so late and composed myself to sleep. All night I dreamt of that figure standing in a narrow alley unmindful of time and place.

RASH RANJAN BASU

YESTERDAY

A dewdrop on the cobweb of eternity.

Have you seen it?

It is that moment when my friend and I

Were drawn out of the sweating mists of space

Into the essence of all lovely things.

A dawn-time ..

When a fainting world and all the sobbing agony of man

Grew little...vanished...only Love remained.

A dewdrop on the cobweb of eternity.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

KANDY

(An Appreciation)

Kandy—Beautiful Kandy! Fairest of all the gems of Ceylon, the Isle of gems and spices, of flowers and beauty!

High up in my aerie-tower in Queen's Hotel, I can look forth from any one of the six wide windows and view wondrous pictures—everchanging, always lovely in sun or rain, with the high lights and deepening shadows, a constant joy to the Soul that renews itself in beauty.

From my high windows I can only see the everlasting hills, the eternal blue of the sky, covered over with drifting clouds of white and grey, of rose and gold. I can only see the tree-tops—such wonderful trees! Such varied tints of greens and browns, with here and there the flame of the tulip-trees, the gold of the acacias, and rose of the mimosas; what a symphony those varied tones would produce were our ears, like Beethoven's inner-ears, only open to hear them!

Here in Kandy from my aerie-tower I look to the east, the south and the west: I see the glory of the sun-rise, and receive the benediction of the sun-set; only heavenly vistas meet my gaze—if I would view the roads or the lake, or watch the passing traffic, I must stand and look forth from the window.

When I chose the tower-room I thought,—here I will be above the noise and discord of the streets; here I can read and think and dream; here I can “loaf and invite my soul,” and commune with the Powers-that-be.

Well, we shall see! From afar I can hear the rhythmic beat of tom-toms; and now and again the wind bears to me the sound of a flute—the music is gladsome, the tom-toms are insistent of joy—they excite and charm... “Where? where?” I

rush from window to window. ' They come nearer, from around the lake, ' out of the *Malwatte Poyagé* (garden of flowers), the Buddhist Monastery, where the priests are educated and taught to tread " *the Eightfold Path*." Nearer and nearer they come and pass on their way to the *Daladá Málígáwa* (Temple of the Tooth). It is a festival called *Pinkama*, a gift-bearing feast. The music is followed by many yellow and orange-clad priests, walking sedately beneath their white and yellow umbrellas. Then follows a procession of men and women bearing on their heads great covered pots of food, and many women bearing rolls of newly-dyed yellow cloth for robes of the priests. An immaculate white cloth is held aloft over the gift-bearers as they joyously follow the music, all shouting, " *Saddhu! Saddhu!*"

The Buddhist priests of Ceylon wear their robes in seven pieces, and, by the way, they must be dyed by the priests in the extract from the wood of the Jack tree, which produces a brilliant yellow and orange dye, and often several shades of yellow are combined in one costume, which is gracefully draped, leaving one arm and shoulder bare. Unfortunately this dye is not permanent, and the cloth must be re-dipped every time it is washed. This has been the custom for many centuries, and the great stone vats in which they dyed the cloth are still to be seen in Anuradhapura. This festival, like all others in Ceylon, is governed by the moon.

At another time from a distance, I hear the wailing of a flute, and the beating of tom-toms—it is indescribably sad—it is like trickling tears; the cry of the pipe is filled with anguish, and yet, there is a note 'of hope' as in Chopin's "Funeral March." They come nearer, the tom-toms express heart-throbs of grief: following the music is a long, slender cart of carved wood, all wreathed with flowers—the coffin is hidden beneath garlands of white flowers. The cart is pushed slowly along by men, and an incense-bearer walks beside it; following are the relatives and friends of the deceased, who is being borne

to the long, long rest. I cross myself and murmur, "*Requiescat in pace.*"

Another picture: the hills and trees are draped in deep shadows, the clouds are black and lowering—a sudden down-pour of rain when, lo, like a curtain the clouds are torn apart, and behold, the Sun comes laughing through the rain, and paints a radiant bow against the eastern sky!

I lean from my window at sun-set and see the reflected gold and pink-glow from the west mirrored in the lake—that mirror of so much loveliness! In the morning it is as a sheet of mother-of-pearl, and the trees along its banks, all refreshed and uplifted by the enfolding Night, seem to lean to look at their reflections in the shining water, and like Narcissus, they doubtless fall in love with their own beauty.

In the mornings many priests pass around the lake from the monastery to the "Temple of the Tooth"—they, too, are mirrored in the water, making beautiful splashes of yellow and brown.

On a moonlighted night the lake is like a great sheet of molten silver, in which the hills and trees are clearly reflected, and the lights around the drive are like long pillars of gold cutting across it; the ripples of the water fanned by the breeze make the reflected lights spread out like waving trees of gold. When we have a night of stars the constellations shine in the water as they arise, and thousands of fire-flies hold carnival over the lake; the trees are filled with them at times, as though celebrating a fairy Perahera, and cicadas beat their little tom-toms all through the night—the trees lean and listen, the water ripples and flows, and it seems that a bridge of white-mist is thrown across to the little Island, that gems the middle of the lake, and pale ghosts of other days walk back and forth. Ah, there is witchery in the nights at Kandy!

Then comes the "Salutation of the Dawn"! I lean from my eastern window to salute and bless it: The lake glows and blushes like a bride newly awake! The dew-washed trees

rejoice, and shake their branches to awaken the birds ; they preen their wings and burst into song ; the crows add their raucous bass notes trying their best to make melody, and the great chorus of the Dawn bursts forth ! The tom-toms begin to sound from the Vihara, little bells chime from the Hindoo temple anear, and from the mosque comes the call to prayer : — “ *La Allah illa Allah*—Come to prayer ; prayer is better than sleep ! ” All praying to *That One*—*That One* who is the Origin and primal Cause of all life.

“ Whether Jove, Isvara or Allah,
Or Pagan, Gentile or Jew,
In all beliefs is the thread of gold
That Truth’s shuttle has run through.”

Later I watch men, and women with little children passing—many with flowing hair fresh from the morning bath. They are dressed in gay saris and serongs, with the quaint jackets worn by the Sinhalese ; many wear spotless white, others bright garments and head-dresses of many varieties ; they all bear gifts of fruits or flowers to the Temple ; brass trays of white star-jasmine, or the fragrant, waxen ‘ temple flower,’ with their hearts of gold ;—to be offered to the great gilt image of the Buddha, the “ ever-compassionate one.”

The Tamil women are sweeping the streets—free-stepping, graceful creatures, in glowing red, yellow and purple saris carelessly draped over bare shoulders and arms—they wear many ear-rings and silver bangles and are the high notes of colour in the picture.

An artist could select a hundred types from the passing, morning throng ; each one, beggar or gift-bearer alike, picturesque.

Even the bullock-carts, with their neatly woven cocoanut-leaf tops, with the fringes and tassels hanging across the front to shield the drivers’ eyes, the jingling bells on the necks of the sleek animals ; the black and brown men, with strong,

sinuous bodies, carrying bamboo pingos across their shoulders from which depend huge bunches of bananas, or carrying on their heads baskets and trays of fruits and vegetables—all fit into the picture of morning in Kandy, beautiful city of the hills!

Many ask, why is the place called Kandy? What does it signify? Kandy is not the real name at all, but a sort of “nick-name”; its proper name is much more dignified—“*Senkadagala Nuvara*.” The city, “*Senkadagala*” became a royal residence and the capital of the hill-country towards the end of the fourteenth century, long after the beautiful cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa had been laid waste by invading vandals, and deserted, and left to the bats, jackals and wild-beasts of the jungles.

The king of “*Senkadagala Nuvara*” became king of all Ceylon two centuries later, and the name was then changed to “*Maha Nuwara*,” the chief city.

In speech and writing the king was known as the “King of the Hill-country”—“*Kanda-uda-rata-raja*.” The Portuguese occupying the maritime districts from the sixteenth century, corrupted the designation into “King of Kandy.” The Dutch continued the name of Kandy, and the British did likewise, hence Kandy it remains. The Kandyans, who are the Sinhalese of the Hill-country, remained independent until 1815 A.D., when England gained full possession of the Island.

The last Kandyan King, Sri Vikrama Rajah Sinha, was a Tamil, and he was an unspeakable brute and tyrant, he committed many atrocities upon his people, and inflicted much grief and suffering. The only commendable thing left to perpetuate his name was the turning a paddy-field into a lovely lake, which with the bund and strong wall around the lake, is the chief adornment of Kandy. He also caused to be built the Octagonal tower into the Daladá Máligáwa, which is the most artistic part of the temple. It is true that they were built by forced labour, for which the distressed workmen received no pay beyond a pittance.

of food ; but if their spirits exist and can see the delight their work has afforded and will continue to afford to many thousand souls, they will feel amply repaid for all the hardships they endured. The Octagonal tower of the temple contains the Oriental library, which is rich in its collection of rare books and Pali and Sanskrit manuscripts. The books are all beautifully bound, many are written on "olas" with a stylus, and contain the wisdom and teachings of the great Teacher, Gautama Buddha. The "olas" are carefully prepared strips from the talipot palm, and last for centuries. These strips are made into books, and are bound in covers of the same size, made of carved wood, or with jewelled-set silver and gold or ivory backs, which are beautiful to inspect closely. The present custodian of the library is a learned monk who is now writing a book on thin sheets of silver, and using a stylus as in days of old ; the work is exquisite. There are many portraits hanging above the low book-cases around the library, one life-sized picture is of King Vikrama, whose character is clearly imprinted on his face for all to see.

There are two immense gilded statues of Buddha in the temple, before which many rich gifts and daily offerings of flowers are placed. These images are very different to the gross monstrosities one sees in China and Tibet, as they are carved or moulded by strict directions, and exact measurements which the artificers reverently carry out. This is the direction for the standing Buddha, the Law-giver :—"*Hail to Omniscient ! Let this Lord Buddha, having cheeks of a golden hue, lips of light red, captivating eyes, brows that are lovely as a bow, shining like the moon who eclipses the lotus, is beautiful as the faces of the daughters of Mara, guard thee.*"

The seated Buddha, or the Yogāsana, "must be carved so that the tip of the nose, the right thumb, and heel of the right foot will be visible to the eye of the image, which must express unfettered quiescence, and absolute pure-mindedness from head to feet."

The recumbent Buddha "must express complete rest, bliss, Nirvāṇa. The Image if perfect will bring a blessing to the house and increased riches ; if otherwise it leads to destruction of health, and length of days."

There is also in the temple a beautiful image of the Yogāsana carved out of pure crystal and illuminated by an electric bulb, back of it making it as radiant as a diamond. In the "holy of holies," where the "Sacred Tooth" is enshrined is an exquisite Buddha carved out of an immense emerald, it is kept with other rich gifts and jewels in the silver dagoba. There are gold service plates set with large sapphires, gold bowls, and other rich temple receptacles of great value that rest on a solid silver table before the shrine.

Across the road from the Daladā Māligāwa is the *Nata Dewale* wherein are three dagobas, one containing a large figure of the reclining Buddha to whose shrine many people bear their offerings and kneel to pray. There is a very large, beautiful Bo-tree also in the compound under which is an image of the seated Buddha.

The town of Kandy and the lake are in the bottom of a bowl, as it were, completely surrounded by hills, and that "*inverted bowl we call the sky*" is a fitting cover for it. There are two broad drives around the lake, one just beside it beneath the wide-spreading trees, the other high up on the hill-side.

There are miles of drives and walks, and lovely bungalows all through the Kandyan hills, from which wonderful views can be had of out-lying mountains, tea-gardens, and valleys. The richly tinted foliage is like rare tapestries woven in the looms of God. The entire Kandyan district is unsurpassed in natural beauty, with its streams and water-falls, its hills and vales, with here and there a white bell-shaped dagoba marking the site of a little village hidden amid the greenery.

There are eight thousand acres of tea under cultivation in the Kandyan hills interspersed with cardamom, cinchona, nutmeg, with groves of cocoa-trees, plantations of rubber, the

ever-useful cocoanut groves, and the broad-leaved plantains, such a blessing to the natives. The Vanilla vines festoon the forests, perfuming the air, and the valuable beans are sold on the streets at a low price.

Kandy is also a haven for the naturalist, botanist, and entomologist: there are myriad brilliant-hued butterflies, like living flowers; scarlet dragon-flies of immense size, gay-plumaged birds, numerous queer bugs, some exactly like the green and yellow leaves of the trees they inhabit. There are scorpions and lizards of unbelievable length, that are bright blue in colour, but if annoyed they turn yellow while their heads grow red. There are many varieties of chameleons, and many deadly serpents beside the highly venerated cobra.

There is a legend that while Buddha meditated beneath the Bo-tree, whenever it stormed an immense cobra extended its hood to protect the "Holy One" from the rain. Hence, you will find the cobra painted and sculptured in many temples, and is sacred to the Buddhists and Hindoos alike.

There are many beautiful roads around Kandy, one of the most picturesque is known as "Lady Horton's Drive"; it curls around the templed hills going ever higher and higher, until the top is reached from whence the extended views on every side are sublime.

Another fascinating road is "Lady Blake's Drive"; it winds downward, and beside the dashing, foaming Mahawile-ganga river, as it leaps over rocks and great boulders as though rejoicing in its freedom and strength, and twines around its thousand little islands, while across the river the thickly wooded hills arise in majesty and loveliness. We also pass beside the bathing ground of the splendid temple elephants, who disport themselves in the river daily, for about two hours, while their keepers diligently scrub them down with heavy brushes, and passers-by stop to admire their antics, and feed them on their much-loved sugar-cane.

We may return by the famous "Royal Botanic Garden,"

and drive through its exquisite palm-bordered avenues, and revel in perfume and beauty on every side. The Perideniya Garden lies in the arms of the Mahawileganga river, forming a little peninsula over a mile in extent ; it contains one hundred and fifty acres filled with rare trees, vines, plants, flowers, ferns and orchids ; such a collection as is nowhere else in the world found, all together. There are broad avenues of Palmyra-palms, Royal-palms, Talipot-palms, cocoanut-palms and others.

There are wonderful vistas to be seen through over-arching Malacca, and other gigantic bamboos, and there are festoons of flowering vines to charm the eyes of the beholder. One vine I must speak of : it is commonly called the "cannon-ball vine," (*Couropita Guianensis Myrtaced*). Its large blossoms are blended tints of rose, lilac and pale-yellow, and they exhale a delightful, spicy perfume. The strangeness of the flower is that it represents the "Naga Rajah," or king cobra, with extended hood overshadowing Buddha. The fruit of this remarkable vine is like a large, dark cannon-ball, and it is the repository of the seeds. One tall tree in the garden is filled with a weird sort of fruit that hangs by the thousands, like bunches of grapes, from the branches ; there are flying foxes, taking their repose during the day, to set forth at twilight in search of the fruits upon which they subsist, and to live their little lives and loves beneath the stars. It is well-worth a trip to Kandy just to go through Perideniya Garden and to study the rare trees, plant-life and flowers.

In the town of Kandy there are many interesting old buildings ; on the bank of the lake is the library, the lower story of which was erected by the last king as a bathing house for the queens and ladies of the harem ; it is just across from the "Temple of the tooth." Just back of the Temple is the present Museum, which was once the old palace of the Kandyan queens. It is now filled with interesting relics of the past, and on the pavement at the entrance is a very pleasing example of moon-stone carving ; there are also several such stones within the

enclosure of the *Daladá Máligáwa*. They are usually most beautifully carved in semi-circles, with the sacred *hamsas*, (wild geese), the *simha*, (lion), the mythical ancestor and totem animal of the Sinhalese, the ubiquitous elephant, and there is always a full-moon with a face or the *have* (hare), thereon.

There is a pretty story in Ceylon of one of the pre-human incarnations of the Bodhisatva:—once he came to earth as a hare and the god, Sakra, (Indra), seeking to test his fidelity and goodness descended to the forest in the form of a Brahmin, appearing before the hare weak and exhausted as though from long fasting. He besought the hare for food, and the poor animal thought, “What can I get for this holy-man? I, who live upon grass and leaves alone? A hungry man needs meat.” So telling the Brahmin to kindle a fire and he would provide food, he hurried off. When the fire was lighted, the hare returned and hurled himself into the flames, eager to immolate himself for the sustenance of the holy Brahmin. However, the fire was only an appearance, in reality it was a bed of fragrant flowers into which the hare jumped. The Brahmin turned back into a god, and that all might remember the sacrifice of the hare he painted its picture against the moon! You will find it so painted on the walls of many Viharas.

The Audience Hall, still in use, adjoins the Temple and was also built by King Vikrama, and was in his day the stage for many fearful and heart-rending scenes. It looks very peaceful and inviting now, with its many beautifully carved iron-wood pillars. The so-called new palace of the queens, is now the domicile of the Government Agent. The king's palace was destroyed during warfare, and the Kachcheri, a building of offices for government employees, now occupies the ground.

While driving about Kandy one can but admire the well-planned and terraced paddy-fields; but little do we realize the important ceremonies that attend the sowing, growing and garnering of this all-important grain. Astrologers must be consulted as to when to sow the seeds; incantations and charms

must be offered to the gods of the harvest; good elementals must be invoked to keep away destroying insects, thuswise: "By the power of the Lord Buddha,—this very day all ye flower-flies, black-flies, proboscis-armed-flies, and earth grubs of this field, away, away; stay not." Great ceremonies are observed at the reaping of the grain, attended by priests, doctors, astrologers, and devil-dancers; there are also many tom-tom beaters, to accompany the ceremonial dancing, and joy rules the day; for without the precious, life giving rice, the poorer classes could hardly exist.

During the wonderful Esala Perahera I was honoured by being invited, with a small party, to witness the robing of the Temple elephant for his part in the last night of the great procession. It was the night of the Esala full-moon, and the great silver-gilt dagoba that usually contained the six other gold and bejewelled receptacles of the Sacred Tooth, was to be borne forth for all to behold—the Tooth is never taken from the Temple.

The *Déva Nilamé* (Headman of the Temple and of all its affairs), was gorgeously apparelled as in days of old, and was most imposing to behold. He wore the traditional eight-pointed coronet set with rich jewels, and the gold band across his brow which betokened his high estate. A splendid large-linked chain of gold, from which a jewelled pendant hung reached to his waist, where the ivory and gold handles of his daggers could be seen, thrust through the broad velvet, gold-embroidered girdle. His jacket was of heavy cloth-of-gold, with buttons of rubies, and the full sleeves reached only to the elbows. On his left middle finger he wore an immense jewelled ring of office. Wound around his body in folds that came down to his slippered feet was about fifty yards of gold embroidered silk-tissue of finest quality, ending in little frills around his ankles. The tom-tom beaters and pipers, and the Temple dancers, in a sort of harness made of many-coloured beads and tinsel, followed by incense and flower bearers all

danced before the *Déva Nilamé*, as we went forth upon the Temple-porch to witness the robing of the sacred elephant—who by the way, is not a native of Ceylon, as the breed here do not wear such tusks as does his majesty, who is of Indian origin. He was brought into the main entrance of the Temple and his gorgeous trappings were ready for his adornment; the crimson velvet head-covering was richly embroidered in gold and silver and jewels, surmounted with an image of the seated Buddha. Then his entire body was draped in velvet, with rich fringes, and his tusks were sheathed in gold; throughout the entire process his majesty stood patiently and seemed to realize the important part he was to play in the procession. A splendid *howdah* was then put upon his back, and on a great silver tray of jasmine, and the lovely plumier flowers, the sacred dagoba was placed, and over all was lifted a silken canopy supported on either side by rods of iron, which were upheld by uniformed men. Several head-men, bearing baskets of flowers, mounted the elephant, their attendants sitting back of them holding aloft their gold and silver umbrellas; then two other richly caparisoned elephants were brought to escort the bearer of the Shrine.

Each division of the Perahera procession is led by a chief-tain similarly dressed as the *Déva Nilamé*, save that their hats are four-cornered, richly gold-embroidered and surmounted by a lovely ornament called a *Malgaha* (Tree of Life), which is a little tree made of gold with leaves and flowers of jewels. Each chief has his own temple tom-tom beaters, flageolet-players, and dancers, who never turn their backs on their chieftains. This imposing procession is preceded by whip-wielders to open the way through the dense crowd, and they have certainly perfected themselves in their art, as the long lashes snapped like pistol-shots behind the fleeing, laughing throng.

When the new Esala moon ushered in this pre-historic celebration, the High-Priest of the *Malwatte Monastery*, who had been ill for some time, passed out, which of course delayed

the Perahera festival, while his body lay in state in the *Pansala* for the multitude to view.

The funeral obsequies were of great interest to me, and rivalled in splendour the Perahera. Led by a brass-band playing a mournful dirge, came from temple and monastery a long procession of yellow-clad monks, under white umbrellas. Following were the head-men and chiefs, flag-bearers, incense-bearers, and on an immense banner was painted a life-sized portrait of the Holy-man, seated in a throne-like chair, and holding a palm-leaf fan in his hand—together a noble-appearing figure; this was borne aloft by four men. Following were some fifteen flower-twined bullock-carts, or sorts of floats, filled with great piles of puffed-rice, through which were mixed small coins, this was generously thrown broad-cast among the thousands who thronged the road-way, and was to represent the casting aside of all earth's cares, and as a blessing and farewell to his people. The carts also carried large, brass urns filled with perfume which was continually sprayed upon the air. Following were the Temple tom-tom beaters and pipers, making weird and mournful music which was thrilling to the senses. Just behind them came a most imposing catafalque upborn on the shoulders of many men; it was wreathed with garlands of white flowers, and on it rested the flower-hidden coffin of the beloved High-Priest; as they passed through the vast multitude, they all cried out a blessing and farewell, shouting, "*Saddhu! Saddhu!!*"

He was borne several miles out to the cremation grounds, where, I was told, the catafalque was placed in a beautiful temple-like structure, and all was burned together. May he find his desired Nirvana!

In contrast I attended a few weeks later a high-caste Sinhalese wedding, and was charmed with the quaint and interesting ceremonies, the elaborate decorations of white lotus-flowers, the picturesque costumes, and rich gifts to the bride and groom. So it seems that life is made up of contrasts,—of lights and shadows.

The Sinhalese are most proficient in their original mode of decorating the roads when any important function takes place, or when a distinguished guest arrives, as when the new Governor of the Island visited Kandy the highways leading from the depot to the "Temple of the Tooth," and on to Government House were most wonderfully decorated. From posts of areca-palms arose arches of golden bamboo, fringed with the tender young leaves of the cocoanut; and there were four splendid Pandals, like unto the "*Arc de Triomphe*." One was erected by the Sinhalese, one by the Hindoos, one by the Mahomedans, and one by the Afghans now residing in Kandy, and it seemed that each tried to surpass the others in the elegance of the Pandals. The frame-work of these structures are of bamboo, lightly built on lovely columns of the areca-palms, elaborately fringed with split cocoanut leaves, hung with every sort of tropical fruits and flowers and vines, palmyra-nuts, kitul-berries, and cocoanuts, which are supposed to bring good-luck, and they also sported many coloured lights and flags.

Pandals are really very beautiful constructions, the building of which was handed down from the lost days when the kings held sway in the splendid cities that are now only dignified and pathetic ruins.

Kandy—beautiful, peaceful Kandy! Never shall I forget the halcyon days spent amid your verdant hills, that have indeed been blessed by the Creator, and are watched over by the gods.

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE NEW ECONOMICS OF LAND

Dr. Michael Hainisch, the first President of the Austrian Republic has produced a monograph which should prove to be of immense theoretical interest to the advanced students of land-economics in Europe. It is well calculated to furnish the Indian statesmen and economists also with practical suggestions in regard to the problem of land-reconstruction. The volume is entitled *Die Landflucht*.¹

From the title alone the reader will believe that the author discusses perhaps the too common subject of exodus from the country or *mofussil* into the cities. This conventional topic of village *vs.* town economy is certainly one of the main themes. But another and perhaps more important subject is the exodus from agriculture into non-agricultural occupations. It need be observed at the outset that to take to non-agricultural occupations is not necessarily tantamount to an exodus from the village into the metropolis. For, a great part of the big industries of the modern world is to be found in the *mofussil*.

The fundamental problem with which Hainisch deals is the unpopularity of agriculture as a profession. And the economics of the unpopularity is exhibited in a statistical and historical manner. The treatment is comparative and although intended to be a suggestive study on the situation in Austria, may well be taken to be a contribution to the science of land reform in Europe. Those of us in India who are familiar with the theories of Sering's *Innere Kolonisation* (1893) and their repercussion on the economic legislation of Germany, Denmark, Great Britain and other countries will not fail to notice the advances that Hainisch's treatment of land questions with special reference to their attempted solution have scored upon

¹ Fischer Co., Jena, 1924, pp. 371-10.

those of the former. Economic theory like economic development has been going ahead in the Western world.

The modern world is essentially a capitalistic one. Mass production, large-scale business organization, "finance-capital," international competition and world-finance are some of the features of this economy. Whatever be the occupational activity or profession it will have to submit to the requirements of this world-order. The choice of a career or occupation, whether from the standpoint of the capitalist or from that of the labourer, will naturally and normally be directed just to those branches of economic enterprise which are likely to possess the possibilities of success by this test. So far as industry is concerned, there is not much room for scepticism. For, the requirements of capitalistic business-economy are well met by manufacturing organizations. Indeed, it is in the industrial fields that the capitalistic system is what it is. But neither psychologically nor technically is agriculture as yet well suited to capitalism. In the struggle for existence and self-assertion between agriculture and manufacture, therefore; the former has every chance of being weeded out. The exodus from "land" is thus an inevitable necessity of modern economy.

Mobilization of labour is almost as easy to-day on account of the facilities of transportation as mobilization of capital. Labour seeks the highest rates of remuneration as capital the highest rates of profit. There cannot be two rates of earnings for the same class of services in one and the same market. Agricultural labourers therefore want to be paid at the same rates as the labourers in the industrial factories. But the farmers are not in a financially prosperous enough position to employ labour on such favourable terms. The landless agricultural labourers must therefore seek position as hands in non-agricultural concerns, no matter whether in metropolis or mofussil. What now about the capitalists? Would they care to invest their money in farming when they know that they can-

not make it paying or at any rate paying to the same extent as some of the rival occupations? Certainly not. They run away from agriculture exactly as the labourers do.

The question of the unprofitableness of agriculture has been challenging for about two generations the agricultural faddist, land-hobbyist, "ruralist" as well as the patriot, social reformer and other denominations of applied economist. Each one has been attempting to make the impossible possible, *i.e.*, render agriculture, unpopular as it has grown to be by sheer force of world development, popular both among peasants and princes. One universal panacea is well known. It is "co-operation" discovered in the middle of the 19th century. Another discovery of the last two decades of the same century is the colonization of the lands of the country achieved through the redistribution of population within its boundaries. The "small holdings" movement belongs to the same genus of land-doctoring. The first is to-day universal enough to be an almost inevitable item in schemes of economic development for Young India. The second measure, "internal colonizing," has perhaps been demanding the attention of a few high-brows in recent years. There are chances of its being no less popular in Indian economy than the co-operative movement in the near future.

Now comes the third great discovery, as presented in Hainisch's analysis. He has tried to beard the lion in his own den. The chief problem, as he envisages it, consists in making agriculture an economically worthwhile proposition. The importance of having a large number of people employed in farming belongs, in Hainisch's economic system as in that of many other theorists, Continental and British, to the minimum of sociological postulates. But the labourers will stick to their lands only so long as they are liberally remunerated. Now, higher wages for agricultural labour can become normal phenomena only under conditions of high incomes for farmers. The question of higher prices for agricultural produce becomes automatically a part of this economic ideology. Nor is this all.

Logic compels us to bring in the problem of land-values in this theoretical complex. It is a precondition for this system that the land-value should not rise. We are therefore counselled to a comprehensive scheme of agrarian reform which through legislation would dictate "fair" remuneration in regard to land, wages and prices.

The desired and desirable relations between land-value, wages and prices cannot come through "natural" laws. Hainisch makes good use of British protectionist theory and practice in regard to agriculture during and since the war. State intervention is postulated to be an indispensable method in agrarian reform. On the question of minimum wages and minimum prices, likewise, the author has drawn considerably on the war-time and post-war experience of Great Britain. He is especially in favour of an agricultural monopoly to be exercised by the state. And this he considers to be much more worth while, socially speaking, than protection. As soon as a state monopoly is introduced in regard to the goods to be imported, the way is laid open to the fixing not only of prices and wages in connection with the land to be cultivated within the country but the fixing of the land-values as well. The state thus comes to the rescue of agriculture in a national economy by rendering it worth while to all the parties concerned.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CONSOLIDATION OF AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN BENGAL

Every one acquainted with the topography of the villages in Bengal knows that the plots appertaining to a particular holding covered by one tenancy held by one or more co-sharers lie scattered about in the village. The "plot" is not necessarily a piece of land within only one set of boundaries without any dividing "ail" between, but is a piece of land of the same class belonging to one tenant or set of tenants held under the same tenancy-conditions which may include more than one geographical plots or smaller parcels with distinct dividing boundaries of their own. It is important to remember this distinction between the Settlement-recognised plot and a geographical plot for a correct view of the obstacles to the use of mechanical processes, which among others is one of the main objectives of consolidation. Even when held by the same person in one block, plots are divided for the purposes of irrigation, etc.

Now the consolidation of agricultural lands may mean (a) grouping together of all tenancies held by the same person or the same set of persons, or (b) grouping together of all the different plots of land held by the same tenant, or (c) aggregation of lands to form larger units to be owned by the same individual or set of individuals within, as far as possible, one set of boundaries.

To effect the first is an easy process. There is however no legal enactment to force it when either the landlord or the tenant objects to its application; but in Khasmahals and in estates of enlightened landlords such consolidation is frequently effected. Its effect on the efficient use of the land, however, is nil. It simply reduces clerical work in accounts. The third one is really a development of the second and it is this latter which needs to be examined first. It is proposed, therefore, to examine how far it is desirable to arrange for a geographical juxtaposition of

plots held by the same individual or set of individuals working jointly to create consolidated units or blocks within one set of boundaries, and if economically desirable how to bring about such a juxtaposition. Next it will be seen if the third process raises any complications.

The chief causes which lead to disintegration are two :
Causes of disintegration. (a) the laws of inheritance, (b) inequalities in the advantages of the different blocks of land to the cultivators. The former constitute the permanent and the latter the non-permanent causes of disintegration. Some detailed consideration is necessary to appreciate the difficulties in the way of practically dealing with the problem.

(A) The two main religious groups interested in the land are the Hindus and the Mahomedans.

For the Hindus there are two schools determining the course of inheritance : the Mitakshara and the Dayabhag. In Bengal the number of families governed by the Mitakshara system is very limited. The major portion is governed by the Dayabhag system. In both, however, inheritance is determined by the question of the right of offering *pindas* to the dead. Some difference of opinion exists as to whether the offering of *pindus* and inheritance are inseparably connected. But the passage of Manu “ *pindam dadyat haret dhanam* (पिण्डं दद्यात् हरेद् धनम्) has been generally accepted as the authority for the proposition that the right of inheritance is founded on the benefit conferred by the offering of *pinda*. It is not necessary to discuss the principles underlying this conception. It is sufficient to note that it seems to be a very ancient conception, traces of which can be found even among the Greeks and the Romans (see Smith's Greek and Roman antiquities). This conception among the Aryan settlers of India developed into a religion and now forms part of the principles on which the ritualistic Hindu bases his socio-religious practices. It will thus appear that the principles of inheritance are bound up with the religion of the Hindus.

For the Mahomedans the rules of inheritance are more definite. Detailed rules—the limits and the quotas—are given in the Quoran. They are based on the following clearest injunctions :—

(a) “Telka hududulla wa main you ti illaho wa rasu lahu youd khelho jannatin tajri mun tahtihal anharo khalidina fiha wa zalikel fawzul Azim ”

which translated means :—

“ These are Allah's limits and whoever obeys Allah and His Apostle He will cause him to enter gardens beneath, etc.” (Chap. IV, verse 13.)

(b) Wa main yasillaha wa rasulahu yata adda hududahu youd khelho naran khalidan feeha wa lahu azabum muhum ”

which means :—

“ Whosoever disobeys Allah and His Apostle and goes beyond His limits He will cause him to enter fire to abide in it and he shall have an abasing chastisement ” (Chapter IV, verse 14.)

It is clear, therefore, that the disposition of property for the followers of Islam is regulated by the clearest injunctions in the Quoran ; and deviation therefrom is held as a sin.

Thus both to the Hindus and the Mahomedans the rules of inheritance are a part of their respective religious code ; and one may say that the ideas of entail or primogeniture or the like, are against their communal prejudice. We have to reckon with the fact therefore that the rules of inheritance will be more or less permanent factors continually at work to disintegrate property at each succession and break it up into smaller and smaller parcels, and any legislation to alter the rules of inheritance will be interpreted as interference with the religions of the people. Consolidation, consequently, once made will be immediately unmade and a solution under existing conditions will only be temporary in effect.

The other cause which tends to split up lands into small fragments is the inequality in the advantages and the class of the land. Suppose an individual dies leaving his homestead and

other lands in different fields. The homestead portion with temples and tanks for use is coveted by all for facilities of performing religious rites and of meeting domestic needs. Similarly, each of the heirs and successors may demand a particular field with facilities for irrigation to be split up into parts for equality of advantage. An Aman land has got to be split up so that each may have his share of Aman as well as of Aus or Rabi. Over and above these each field has got to be "ailed" up to hold either rain water or water from irrigation channels. Leaving out the question of homestead lands for the present the inequality is mainly, though not exclusively, of advantages in irrigation and the quality and nature of yield. All these are removable. Science may remove the inequalities. But till it does, the tendency will be to disintegrate.

Fragmentation : advantages and disadvantages.

3. Fragmentation has advantages : but these are entirely due to the present conditions.

The cultivator (a) gets a part of land of each class; he shares in the advantages and disadvantages with his co-sharers, (b) can "ail" up his land and thus retain his share of water, and (c) has narrow demarcating strips which leave portions for grazing cattle.

The disadvantages are obvious and are mainly these :—

(a) Waste of time and labour in shifting his cattle and implements from place to place.

(b) Being scattered, improvements in the shape of devising means of irrigation by sinking wells or excavating tanks are almost impossible to effect.

(c) Improved appliances which require large blocks to be worked cannot be introduced.

(d) Effective personal supervision is difficult.

(e) Small scattered blocks lead to wastage in seeds, manure and labour.

(f) The demarcating strips have to be left out of cultivation.

The idea of grouping parcels into one block is not foreign to the cultivators of Bengal. Any record of rights will show that there are cases of "Badlayan" or "Ewaj dakhal" which means that the cultivators have exchanged lands on the ground of contiguity. By mutual arrangement they are known occasionally to have permanently exchanged plots on the same ground.

The existing aids to consolidation.

So far as the law is concerned the Partition Act (Act V of 1893) permits a court at the instance of a party applying for partition of joint property under certain conditions to have it sold up and bought by one. Individual co-sharers in agricultural holdings with separate possession can, if they desire, and under the conditions laid down in the law, get the holdings thus sold up and bought. The number of separate holders of a joint-holding can thus be eliminated.

Similarly the Mahomedan law recognizes a right of pre-emption in sale by holders of contiguous lands.

It appears therefore, that the idea of voluntary exchange exists and that through the Partition Act and the right of pre-emption for Mahomedans consolidation of holdings to a certain extent is possible. The practical effect of these aids however is not very great. Exchange on voluntary agreement can only be effected by mutually interested persons owning neighbouring lands in different blocks; it not infrequently depends upon the good-will of the landlords too or their agents. Such instances, however, are rare.

The Partition Act procedure involves the institution of a civil suit; and as it depends on the option of the court, the result is uncertain. The purchaser needs ready money and as he cannot always command this he is often prevented from resorting to it. The procedure thus is resorted to only in very rare cases.

The exercise of the right of pre-emption is dependant on certain conditions laid down in the Mahomedan Law. The offer.

to exercise the right must be made immediately (*talab-i monasibat*) and it must be made specifically with certain gesture laid down in the law before witnesses (*talab-i-isthad*).

The right is liable to be lost by acquiescence while the vendor can defeat it by leaving out a small strip of land immediately adjoining those of his neighbours. All these make the procedure somewhat complicated, and in more cases than not the claim is frustrated.

If consolidation has to be better and more exclusively organised more effective methods are necessary.

Legal position.—It should be recognised that consolidation if it is to be an effective means for improved and intensive agricultural operation must be made by methods which can be adopted by those actually engaged in cultivation. The large majority in Bengal so engaged belong to the class of raiyats, most of whom again have a right of occupancy under the Bengal Tenancy Act. The law about the transferability of this right is now in a chaos. Without a clear law on the question of transferability no scheme for consolidation will be effective. The first step, therefore, to introduce consolidation on a large scale should be to make the law about the transferability free from ambiguity. Even the mere right to transfer will not be enough, and legal provision will have to be made to distribute rent on parts of holdings split up, so that the rent of holdings constituted by consolidation may be adjusted. It has further to be remembered that the larger the subinfeudation the greater is the difficulty. Rights of different degrees can hardly be exchanged and where occupancy rights descend lower to under-raiyats of various grades there will be corresponding difficulties. A simple tenancy system being an essential condition precedent to successful consolidation, tenancy legislation in future should aim at simplifying and not complicating the land system.

Psychological change.—The next point that must be attended to is to create the psychology for the change. There must

be a will to consolidate. To create that psychology the benefits arising out of consolidation must be demonstrated. These benefits must not be merely theoretically possible but actually attainable under existing conditions. The two main directions in which benefit is possible are the saving of time and the possibility of employing better tools and appliances.

It is to be remembered that, situated as the cultivator is to-day, when he has little else to turn his energy and attention to, saving of time really has little practical significance for him. Loss of time is of little consequence to one to whom time has scarcely any value. There must therefore be provision for a larger employment of his time and the consequent increase of its value. His means again are so limited that improvements can hardly in the majority of cases be secured by him. The crops that he grows—and paddy and jute must be the largest single product of the land—hardly need any great improved implements. While the total quantum of land for a group of joint cultivators is ordinarily so small that consolidation will hardly appreciably alter the position—a cultivator having an acre and half in all benefits but little if his lands say in three blocks be grouped into one. Other factors which will be discussed later must be brought into operation to create the will to consolidate, and without this will no theoretical scheme has any chance of success.

Assuming that a simple land system, an amended tenancy legislation and the necessary psychology exist, the following appear to be some of the methods by which consolidation can be carried out :—

(1) In Khasmahals and estates under the direct management of the Government, a propaganda for consolidation by voluntary exchange and the offer of facilities to allow mutation without trouble may be announced as the accepted principle. If for the estates under the Court of Wards the principle is accepted and private landlords can be induced to co-operate, a considerable

advance in consolidation of the simpler type may be made without the aid of any complicated machinery.

(2) *Co-operative Consolidation Societies*.—The Punjab method of consolidation which is briefly described below may sometimes bring about good results.

Preliminary propaganda work is done by the credit staff and if, in any particular area, people are found desirous of consolidating their holdings co-operatively, they communicate with the special staff maintained for the purpose. The consolidation Sub-Inspector then proceeds to the spot, camps in the village and starts intensive propaganda. He explains in detail the benefits which will accrue from consolidation. If the zemindars are convinced and are willing to join such a society they are required to sign a statement agreeing

(a) to the principle of re-arrangement of scattered holdings so as to secure more compact blocks of fields for each owner ;

(b) to submit to any arrangement approved by two-thirds of the whole number of members in general meeting ;

(c) to permit the re-arrangement of their land in accordance with any such scheme and to give possession in accordance therewith for a period of four years ;

(d) to submit to arbitration in accordance with the by-laws disputes touching the business of the society (including disputes as to rights, boundaries, rents, responsibility for land revenue and cesses and possession of lands affected by any such scheme) that may arise during the existence of the society.

A committee is then formed from amongst the promoters. Revenue records and mutation registers are consulted and a list is prepared showing the quantity and class of land held by and the revenue paid on each, together with its respective survey numbers. A tentative scheme is then drawn up on the principle of greatest good to the greatest number, and allotment is then made to each person or group of persons, and the new allotment is marked on the village map. A general meeting of the members is then convened and final allotment of

plots is made. If the allotments are agreed to by all, the scheme becomes final. If however any member stands out the whole scheme falls through and a fresh scheme is prepared. When every member agrees a new map is prepared showing the final distribution of lands. When final allotments have been agreed to the Sub-Inspector supplies each member or group of members, as the case may be, with a *parcha* in which the survey number, area, class and land revenue of land held and offered for consolidation and the survey number, area, class and land revenue of land to be held in exchange are shown. With the *parcha* a tracing of the block showing its dimensions and boundaries is given. When the *parchas* are made over to the members concerned they are required to sign or record their thumb impressions in the proceedings book of the Society. An application is then made to the Revenue Officer who proceeds to the spot and sanctions mutations. The operation embraces two mutations:—

(1) where all the land is transferred to joint ownership of the members, and

(2) where land under joint ownership is re-transferred to individuals.

The Land Records Department consider this as one mutation and a fee of four annas per holding only is charged. The new holdings are duly recorded by the Revenue Department, in the record-of-rights.

After the mutations have been recorded, the Sub-Inspector forwards all papers to the Assistant Registrar who scrutinises, examines and forwards them on to the Registrar for registration. All differences amongst the members are settled by arbitration.

It may be noted that, it is not always possible to allot every cultivator a compact block, which will include all the classes of land he originally possessed. In these cases land of a particular class is taken in a block and divided amongst the members according to the area of that class they originally possessed. Thus when there are four classes of land in a village the cultivator may have four blocks of land in the new

allotment. It is important to note that the basis of re-distribution is always the area of the holding and not its money value.

The circumstances in Bengal in the permanently settled tracts are radically different from those in the Punjab. In the Government Khasmahals though the conditions are more parallel, the fundamental difference lies in the fact that in the Punjab the Government is the Controller of the Irrigation Canals. In Bengal Irrigation Societies may supplement the efforts of consolidation societies where irrigation exists; but it is not always available as in riparian strips. Irrigation societies have not as yet got a permanent position in Bengal. Where the question of irrigation is not of importance some progress may be possible.

(3) *Evolution of new types of villages.*—To start with, all rights whatever must first be liquefied and then a distribution should be made upon a basis most conducive to the welfare of the community. The governing principles should be on the basis of the Enclosure Acts in England. The procedure will be similar to that prescribed in the Land Acquisition Act followed by re-allotment after an adjudication of classes according to priority. The machinery will be set in motion on the application of not less than one-half of the villagers.

The application of the procedure may be restricted to blocks or parts instead of being extended to entire villages at once in order, in the first instance, to gain experience of the problems that may arise and details may be modified as the result of such experience. This method however is somewhat radical and in its application great caution is needed.

(4) *Co-operative Cultivation Societies.*—Cultivators owning lands in one block may form themselves into a co-operative society to cultivate the land as one unit, breaking up the "ails" and the demarcating strips, converting the areas held by all the individuals into one block, and dividing the produce after meeting the cost of cultivation according to the share of each. This more or less will be the application of

the principle of group socialism for agrarian purposes. If the people can be educated to the appreciation of this principle, this system may produce very good results. It is, however, in essence based on a communistic idea and the causes which still make communism practically a failure will operate to a certain extent against its success. On the other hand cultivators are known to have combined for specific agricultural purposes—irrigation, harvesting or ploughing; and the extension of the spirit is not altogether impossible to organise. It is unnecessary to discuss details here. It has possibilities but it has practical drawbacks too which should be carefully considered.

(5) Right of pre-emption in sales of occupancy right by a neighbouring cultivating holder may have some effect.

It must be remembered that against all these the existing causes of disintegration will continue to operate.

It has been stated above that (i) consolidation of tenancies will hardly have any effect on improving the methods of agricultural operation.

Larger issues involved in consolidation.

(ii) So far as mere grouping together of parcels of land of the same holding are concerned the quantity of land per group is so small that in the largest majority of cases the grouping will hardly make blocks of more than 2 acres. (It was found on actual enquiry in a typical West Bengal Police Station that holdings under 5 acres were 93·2 per cent. of the total). It is questionable whether this grouping will have any beneficial effect. It has been pointed out that the largest majority of the people have no other means of occupation: time hangs heavy on them and saving of time thus has little real value to them. Unless, therefore, the value of time is increasingly appreciated, saving of time to them means no gain. So unless and until other occupations can be found for them or agriculture can be so diversified that continuous work for them even with 2 acres of land can be found throughout the year, there is no practical utility of consolidation while it is doubtful whether

agriculture can be so diversified that the cultivator with his means can effectively take to it throughout the year.

(iii) The last process is to go on gradually increasing the size by consolidation. This, however, raises the issue as to what is going to happen to the displaced population. England may be taken as a country which embarked on large-scale consolidation to make way for the capitalistic methods of cultivation. It is worth recalling the period when consolidation under the Enclosure Acts was carried on in England. The Enclosure movement started with the visit of Arthur Young, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, immediately after its constitution in 1794 and went on till after the middle of the nineteenth century. This period synchronised more or less with the period of England's industrial revolution. It is on record that the substitution of enclosure for the open field system led to a very large expropriation of agriculturists. This is not the place to discuss whether the present problems of unemployment are not indirectly traceable to the movement then initiated, but it is certain that but for the simultaneous process of absorption of the expropriated tenants in the growing industries, the immediate effect of the movement would have been acute and widespread distress. Improved means of agriculture means largely the utilisation of mechanical inventions; and effective mechanical inventions certainly displace human labour. The human labour thus displaced will need to be provided elsewhere. Unless therefore arrangements for alternative occupations are possible, consolidation may lead to economic, social and even political upheavals by intensifying the problem of unemployment—a problem which in India may assume dimensions beyond control. In one sense it may mean ultimate good in adjusting the population to the means of subsistence from agriculture, but the process is fraught with grave dangers which cannot be contemplated with equanimity.

I do not propose to examine the alternative occupation

which are now open or will possibly be open in future, for that will be much beyond the scope of the present discussion. It is certain, however, that no large avenue is immediately available.

The conclusions may be summarised thus:—There are permanent and non-permanent causes operating in the disintegration of plots. Non-permanent causes may be removed by scientific researches and provision for better facilities for irrigation. Permanent causes, rooted as they are in the religious ideas of the people, are difficult to deal with. It may not be altogether impossible that the economic conditions may alter the social psychology. The code of religion about inheritance may be so regulated by an altered social conscience that the real property may be left intact and others may get the money value of their due shares. That however, is a matter of education, and presupposes a better financial position which can supplement or convert shares in real property immediately with or into cash.

It is not possible again so to organise the social system of the Mahomedan community that family property may get back to one hand again by intermarriage among cousins. The Hindus have definite rules about intermarriage which make in their case such a scheme impossible to work out. It may be observed that in France the Law Napoleon tends almost similarly to disintegrate the family property, but other causes, of which intermarriage with cousins is one, have tended continually to consolidate holdings into larger and larger units in spite of a disintegrating law of inheritance. (The Appendix shows the difference in the sizes of holdings in France and a typical West Bengal tract).

These are, however, matters of education, but without devising some means to counteract the permanent operative causes any attempt at consolidation will be infructuous. Consolidation of different tenancies has hardly any value from the point of view of agricultural improvement. Consolidation of parcels of the same holding in view of the small quantity

of land owned by a group, will not create conditions materially favourable to an improvement of the agricultural operations. Consolidation with a view to make larger and larger units, as well as the mere reason for consolidation which is to make larger uses of mechanical devices, will tend to the expropriation of agriculturists and displacement of human labour. Unless alternative means of occupation are possible such consolidation may lead to great economic distress.

The different methods for consolidation have been indicated. In my opinion radical or hasty action is undesirable. Certain legislative changes and permissive procedure indicated, may be introduced. The perfection of the right of transfer, the right of pre-emption of neighbouring cultivator, the familiarity with the ideas of co-operative methods of consolidation and of cultivation may be very helpful. The will to consolidate must be created. For this the efficacy and the possibility of using better appliances on large blocks should be demonstrated to the cultivators. A slow psychological and economic process may thus be introduced which will adapt itself to circumstances. A forced march will be risky; and too elaborate official machinery and intervention will be an unmixed evil and may lead to serious complications.

One may still believe that science has not yet exhausted all possibilities of research, and it may not be utopian to hope that the highest economic use of land is not inconsistent with the use of small blocks. The up-rooting of large rural population, however tempting it may appear to the urbanised advocate of capitalistic methods, may not prove the one effective remedy even for the most economic use of land and should not be hustled through nor should a scheme with such possibilities be adopted without circumspection.

APPEND

		France.	Garbata.
Under 5 acres	...	10 per cent.	93.2 per cent.
From 5 to 15 acres	...	15 per cent.	4.8 per cent.
From 15 to 25 acres	...	40 per cent.	.7 per cent.
Over 25 acres	...	35 per cent.	1.3 per cent.

BEJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI

MISTS

You were the dawn and the awakening ;
 As you are now the reflected light in the darkening sky.
 You are gone but memory holds dimly a little of your radiance
 All else is gray and silent,
 You built a world around you, peopled with dreams,
 And hope wandered bright toward the gate thereof
 Now all that is ended ; there is no hope nor light
 Love is a beautiful thought—no more than that.
 Like the whisper of wind or far away music
 Some magic that cannot be held
 Grasped in the hands there is nothing
 Only the wet mist the rainbow left.

LINWELL ROHL

Reviews

The Nāṭya-sastra, with the Commentary of Abhinavagupta, edited with a preface, appendix and index by Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi, Vol. I (Chs. 1-7). Central Library, Baroda (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI); 1926.

Students of Sanskrit Dramaturgy and histrionic art know already the great importance of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, which is admittedly the earliest standard work on the subject. The only edition of the entire work, consisting of thirty-seven chapters, is the one published in 1894 by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, in the Kāvya-mālā Series (No. 42); but it is long out of print and has become exceedingly scarce. Grosset edited the text in transliteration in 1898 up to the end of Ch. 14; and to him and Regnaud we owe also the separate publication of Chs. 15-17 and 28. None of these editions, which were based on admittedly inadequate materials, can be said to be final, and there was still room for a complete critical and scholarly edition of the text. The only available commentary on the text is that by Abhinavagupta. Only one chapter of it (Ch. vi) has so far been published. It was, therefore, a happy idea to plan the publication of Bharata's text with its equally famous commentary in the Gaekwad's Series, whose enlightened patronage alone can finance an extensive publication like this.

The record of this well-known Series, which has now passed its tenth anniversary, is an extremely creditable one, and none of its publications in Sanskrit and Prakrit has been without merit or interest. The publication of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, therefore, in this series was eagerly awaited by all Sanskrit scholars interested in the subject. The first volume of the edition, containing Chs. i-vii, is now before us; and three more volumes are promised to complete the work. Manuscripts of the commentary on Ch. vii, however, could not be procured, and of this chapter only the text is printed.

From the editor's own account, we are happy to learn that he was extremely fortunate in obtaining ampler manuscript-material than was vouchsafed to any of its earlier editors; but a close examination of the text fails to convince us that he has been able to make proper use of his good fortune, especially in the commentary portion. The publication is

an extremely valuable one, but its value is seriously impaired by its technical shortcomings. As I have already dwelt upon some of these defects in an extensive review of the edition in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4, I may be pardoned for abstaining from repetition. The chief points which I wanted to make out in that review may, however, be briefly indicated here.

The editor's statement in the preface regarding two recensions of the text and their relative priority as well as his remarks about other versions of the work have not at all been substantiated. As a matter of fact, the editor makes these statements and leaves them in the air! If he wanted to establish his hypothesis regarding these recensions, it would have been more satisfying if he had given full *apparatus criticus* along with the text and other relevant data, in order to enable us to judge of the matter. In stating that the Southern version was older than the Northern and that earlier Northern commentators like Udbhata, Lollaṭa and others made use of it, he really begs the whole question.

The treatment of the text itself is not impeccable; but this may be excused in a difficult text and in its equally difficult commentary. But what is more surprising is that there is no evidence that enough care has been taken to collate the MSS. and editions, and weigh their readings properly, so as to constitute a sound critical or even reliable text. It is also regrettable that the editor should plead "limitation of time, purse and space" in extenuation. The more closely one scrutinises the text, the more evident it becomes that the text is often uncritically copied from the MSS., and the readings adopted are obviously eclectic. One need not be severe and find fault with inaccuracies and mistakes which are inevitable in a work like this; but one surely has a right to demand thorough and conscientious labour and truly critical instinct in the handling of an important and difficult text. All that we can say is that Mr. Kavi's text has not dispensed with the necessity of consulting at every step the readings of the earlier edition of Grosset or even the imperfect Kāvya-mālā edition.

But what is more serious is that in some places there are considerable additions, alterations and emendations of the text without any indication of the fact. This procedure cannot be too highly condemned, especially as the text is delivered with an authority in a well-reputed series. It is conceded that the unacknowledged additions and emendations are made with the best possible intentions or that they are not always of a very serious or extensive character; but in the mass they are enough to render the work utterly unreliable. The limited space at our disposal does not allow us to enter into details; but the reader will find enough

examples to justify the apparently severe remarks made here in my more extensive review of this work referred to above.

Even making allowance for the limitations of Indian printing and the difficulties under which the proofs were corrected by the editor from a distance, one must confess that the misprints and slips with which the book swarms gives one the impression that it badly wants a thorough revision. It does credit neither to the editor nor to the Series. And for some of these lapses the editor cannot altogether escape personal responsibility.

The addition of the illustrations prepared from the figures on the Natarāja temple at Cidambaram is indeed a very good idea ; but one only wishes that the execution of them had not been so clumsy and given them an appearance of heinousness which is certainly not a feature of oriental art.

The undertaking of an edition of this difficult text with its learned commentary does credit to an already well-established series ; but care should have been taken that the edition was worthy of its standard of excellence. It may be urged that it is better to have the book as it is and thank the editor, rather than not have it at all,—but oh for the much needed critical and scholarly edition !

S. K. DE

Kautilya: A Critical and Historical Study—by Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyay, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of History and Anthropology, Calcutta University, published by Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., 15 College Square, Calcutta, price Rs. 7-8, pages 328.

Mr. Bandyopadhyaya's several works on Ancient Indian Economics and Politics have not only given him a position among Indologists, but also contributed liberally to our knowledge of India's past. The present volume from his pen is a study of the greatest work on Indian Politics, *vis.*, the Arthasastra of Kautilya. The author has acquitted himself very creditably in respect of exposition as well as of criticism, and this is a task which means a thorough command of historical and theoretical data. Since the publication of the excellent productions of Prof. Aiyangar and Dr. Law, very little has been done towards revealing further the texture of the master-mind which is reputed to have helped the establishment of the vast Maurya Empire. Mr. Bannerjee's attempt is, therefore, timely and welcome in view of the rapid strides the subject is taking day after day.

It is very well-planned, all the salient features of the Kautilyan theories of life, society and politics having been arranged in their proper places. In the five divisions of the book great care is taken to present the problems systematically and in a connected way. Moreover, they are brought in relation to other theories and systems both ancient and modern. The introductory part is masterly in its treatment of the historical figure of Kautilya, the authenticity of the Arthasastra, the growth of the subject and its bearing on life in general of the time in which the work was produced. It is also to be noted that the most trustworthy sources have been tapped in support of the statements made by the writer and many new points are brought within sight together with valuable suggestions.

The Kautilyan view of life is very ably upheld in Book I, in contrast to those of Brihaspati and Vatsyayana (p. 29ff.). This is exactly what is needed for the proper exposition of political philosophy away from mere records of State affairs. It shows that the study of the Arthasastra is taking a different and healthy turn, and this significant phase of Kautilya's teachings is probably given for the first time to the public. Since the ethical importance of Kautilya's doctrines comes out fully in his political ideas, Mr. Bannerjee has rightly emphasised the moral concepts of the Arthasastra before the social and political, as primarily consisting in discipline, or, in Plato's sense, of faith in the education of human nature. "To attain such a state of excellence man must undergo discipline.... The necessity of *vinaya*, or discipline, has been more than emphasised by Kautilya" (p. 38). If this one fact is remembered consistently the state-craft of the Arthasastra might not appear so crooked as it is generally supposed to be and a re-interpretation of the whole subject may be possible. A striking instance of social justice is very skilfully cited and explained by Mr. Bannerjee in the case of slavery in Kautilya's time. According to the spirit of the Arthasastra nobody was a slave or could be made into one, for by accepting even the Sudra within the pale of Aryan civilization, the author of the Arthasastra did away with, unlike his great contemporary Aristotle, the very theory of this iniquitous institution (p. 210ff.). "In regard to slavery, Kautilya's attitude stands as a glowing light of liberalism and humanity.....characterising it as a custom which could exist among the Mlecchas.....According to him the Sudra was equally an Arya with the members of the higher castes" (p. 211). On the points mentioned here Hindu thought of the Maurya time shows great advance in social theory.

Book III is analytical in the main and treats of difficult political and administrative topics. The legal theory of the Royal Person is a careful

exposition of one of the problems. "The King according to Kautilya, was the embodiment of all authority. This authority he derived from Law—law which was the embodiment of all order, law which was the essence of the regulative maxims of the cosmical order, law the eternal and the universal.....The King, the master of all men, was equally subject to it along with his subjects" (p. 67). Again Mr. Bannerjee's finding is very refreshing regarding village affairs in the Arthasastra. "Villages were," he says, "free from active jurisdiction of the royal officials" (p. 256). This is an authoritative indication of independence in social organisation. The Economics of Ancient India by the writer gives a good deal on this interesting matter, which deserves to be read in this connection. The sections on Rural Autonomy and Civil Law are really illuminating and go to form the most important parts of Book IV. The retrospect furnishes useful information and criticism.

As an exposition of the Arthasastra and detailed work on its principles the volume ought to be studied by all who care for Sanskrit culture. The quotations from original Sanskrit will be found very helpful but it is unfortunately becoming a notorious craze after the Allahabad style to over-burden writings with them. Written in a lucid style Mr. Bannerjee's productions are always attractive and interesting, though full agreement may not be possible with some of his opinions on debatable points. The ground covered by him is practically extensive and he deserves praise for the fine and successful execution of his work.

N. C. GANGULY

I. *Chandidāsa—Les amours de Radha et de Krichna* traduites du Bengali par Manha et Nogendra Nath Chandra—173 pages—Librairie Stock—Paris.

Rabindra Nath has created a certain prestige for the Bengali literature on the continent and people with literary taste are now getting interested in it. There is now a desire, however feeble it may be, to get acquainted with the masterpieces not only of Tagore but also of our ancient writers. It is, therefore, gratifying to see a French lady publishing the first translation of the *Padāvali* of Chandidāsa in France. Though she has used a pseudonym it is not difficult to see that she had been in Bengal for some time. As she was not familiar with the language of Chandidāsa she had to find out a collaborator and she found an able one in Mr. Chandra.

The work is well presented and is published by one of the premier publishers of France. We can very well imagine with what great eagerness the French people of literary taste will receive this book. There are many orientalisists in Europe but they are not generally supposed to have any literary appreciation. It is difficult to find there many people with a real literary appreciation undertaking the work of translating our masterpieces into their own language. We, therefore, congratulate Man'ha on her admirable enterprise. It is needless to speak much on the services rendered by Mr. Chandra, as he has only done his duty as a Bengali in helping a lady from a distant shore in the execution of this difficult task.

It is necessary to point out certain imperfections in the translation of a representative work like this. The *avant-propos* of the work is too poor. The attempt to define the place of Chandidāsa's *Padāvali* in our literature is unsatisfactory. The translators should have borne in mind that the work is meant for a reading public having no idea about our literature but have only read or heard about the works of Tagore.

The translators nowhere mention the edition of the *Padāvali* on which the present translation is based,—there are so many editions of it and the arrangement also do not agree with each other very often. There are also important differences in reading. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to mention the edition utilised.

Transcription of Bengali names is not satisfactory. It would have been better to adopt the method of transcription used by the French orientalisists or to use a consistent method suited to the general reader. A Frenchman would read Chandidāsa, Shandidasa. When *Krishna* is written *Krichna*, *Chandidāsa* should be written *Tchandidāsa* because *ch* is pronounced *sh* in French. According to this *Vachana* will be read *Vashana*. There are many other instances of this inconsistency, ডাকার্না is written *Dakar-Nava* (p. 15), it should have been written either *Dakarnava* or *Daka-arnava*. What is *Dakar vachana*? It should be *Daker-vachan*, *Dharma magal* should be *Dharma-mangal*, *Cunyapurana* should be *çunya-purāṇa*, *Vinichaya* should be *Vinischaya* (p. 15).

P. 14 *Prakrita* was not a "langue populaire parlée par les buddhists" but only a "langue parlée" of that period. Manu in his laws never prohibited the Brahmins to recite the sacred texts in "langue bengal." It never existed in his time!

The first three parts of the translation namely "l'aube" "Raslila" and "le voyage à Mathura" are on the whole good though sometimes

unusual liberty has been taken in “*émondant bien des branches*” as “*aux esprits Européens Chandidasa aurait paru tonffu.*”

But as regards the last section—“*la reunion*” the translators have not been “*fidèle à la lettre*,” as promised in the preface; the meaning has been sometimes wholly changed : to compare only p. 165—

“প্রভাত সময়ে কাক কোলাহলি”—It is not “*s’acoupler!*” but “*s’embrasser.*”

It is needless to point out all the inaccuracies in translation but we are sorry to find that in the last section there are many of them.

We do not, however, want to condemn the work but our complaint is that the translators have not been always conscious of their responsibilities. No translator can render the original beauty of the *Padāvali*, and its music, but they should, however, keep to the sense of the original. It is not at all just to mutilate the finest images and expressions of Chandidāsa for making them suitable to the European public. We hope the translators will improve the work when need for a second edition will arise. In spite of its imperfections the present work is a commendable attempt to make the sweet songs of Chandidāsa accessible to the French-reading public. As such the translators deserve our hearty praise.

P. C. B.

